

**Understanding the Discourse of Creative Economy and its
International Dissemination: The Case of the Czech Republic
between 1999 and 2017**

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Abstract

This thesis explores the relation between culture and the state and presents a critical analysis of the proliferation of new cultural policy discourse, the discourse of creative economy, in the Czech Republic between the years 1999–2017. Drawing on post-structuralist ontology and language-focused analytical methods, the thesis analyses 12 national and city policy documents, and transcripts of 40 interviews with Czech and foreign cultural policy actors, such as public officers, policy consultants, artists and directors of arts institutions. The thesis reveals the interrelations between the agency of policy actors and the trans-national institutions' turn towards creative economy and explains the social, political, and ideological logics of the creative economy discourse in the Czech cultural policy field. The analysis exposes and critiques the rhetorical strategies of the Third Way politics, such as the shift towards an instrumentalist rhetoric, appeal on consensual interconnection of antagonistic political positions throughout the cultural sector and the acts of foregrounding the use value of the arts for economy. Based on a detailed analysis of argumentative structures, metaphors and narratives, the study reveals how ideological beliefs embedded in common sense combined with specific circumstances such as extremely precarious working conditions in the cultural sector, socio-economic spatial differentiation, corruption and 'informal politics' lead to ideological closures and help to constitute and maintain hegemonic power of neoliberal cultural policy regimes.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis focuses on the period between 1999 and 2017 and seeks to explain the process of proliferation of new discourse, the discourse of creative economy, into the field of cultural policy in the Czech Republic. This period was paralleled by a process of international debate around cultural value, culminating in the 2001–2005 negotiations of the UNESCO *Convention on Cultural Diversity 2005*, the first international treaty to give cultural goods a special status, having cultural as well as economic value. Simultaneously, in the early 2000s, transnational institutions such as the European Commission were launching first programmes that were exploring and building on the notion of economic and instrumental value of culture within the European Union. The EU launched its first funding programme for cultural cooperation Culture in 2000 (that joined with MEDIA funding programme into what was later called Creative Europe (2014–2020) in order to foster cooperation between cultural workers and organisations within the EU (European Commission 2025a). Even before the Czech Republic joined the EU, Prague became the European Capital of Culture in 2000, a programme with the aim of developing a European cultural identity but increasingly has been defined as an opportunity for a city to generate the benefits associated with urban regeneration (European Commission 2025b).

In 2004 the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) started a Creative Economy programme with the aim to shape the global understanding of the concept. Its reports became highly influential internationally (De Beukelaer 2014). In the same year the Czech Republic entered the EU and therefore networking and international exchange became easier and more present in cultural policy makers' practice. Another example was the Council of Europe's work on cultural citizenship and enterprise, namely through its *Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (2005) (known as the Faro Convention), which emphasised the value and potential of cultural heritage as a resource for sustainable development and quality of life (Council of Europe 2025). The related processes, events and networking in cultural policy have been instrumental in knowledge sharing and creative economy discourse proliferation across Europe and the Faro Convention principles and criteria framed heritage as an important factor in contributing to the social, cultural and economic

dynamics of the communities. As the analysis presented in this thesis will show, Czech cultural policy actors were part of the informal networks and events in Europe already in the early 2000s when Prague, the country's capital, was awarded the European Capital of Culture title and preparing to enter the EU in 2004. The turning point in the Czech Republic, however, came in the early 2009, during the first Czech presidency of the Council of the European Union, when an inaugural conference of the Year of Creativity and Innovation titled Forum for Creative Europe took place in Prague.

The conference was officially organised by the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic (MKČR) together with the European Commission. With a main goal to “draw attention to the unique potential of creativity in shaping the open civil society and building Europe's global competitiveness”, the conference aimed at “introducing understanding of creativity and its role in transformation of contemporary society as well as its utilisation in education and economics” (MKČR 2009, p. 27). Amongst the participants of the conference were prominent Czech politicians, businessmen, cultural managers and policy makers including the first post-communist president and an iconic figure of the anti-communist dissent Václav Havel, former Minister of Culture Václav Jehlička, prominent economists Tomáš Sedláček and Radek Špicar and many other influential Czech public figures.

As this thesis will show in the following chapters, the conference was an important moment of the proliferation of the creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic since many cultural professionals attended it, just as myself and a group of friends from the University. At the time, we were studying in the undergraduate programme Arts Management at the University of Economics. Being at the conference felt like a breakthrough moment, it was the first time we heard the term “creative economy”. The success stories presented at the conference inspired us when we formed a student association and started inviting people who we deemed successful in culture, arts and creative industries to give lectures and workshops as a parallel, self-organised programme alongside the official syllabus. At that time, we were open to anything that felt like a revolutionary approach against what we thought were old ways of relating to culture and arts – the preservation of cultural heritage interests of our professors, the state institutions and their bureaucracies, the dependency on limited public funding at municipal and national governments and so on. At the Forum, we heard speakers from abroad glorifying creative economy with its success stories of creative cities in which creative class lived and worked in creative

industries. It sounded like it could solve problems in our regional cities and museums that were struggling with post-communist transformation of social, political and economic realities and, as we saw it in our early 20s, not much was going on outside Prague.

The conference programme was conceived by Institute of Arts – Theatre Institute (IDU), a public benefit organisation (PBO)¹ of MKČR in “three thematic blocks” on the following themes: economic potential of the arts and culture; culture as a tool for solving problems of contemporary society; creativity and education, role of artistic methods in and outside educational systems. Together with the panel discussions, the conference programme included presentations of “governmental strategies aimed at building creative economies” and an online live streaming of Richard Florida and his creative class theory (MKČR 2009). The panel discussions and presentations were composed of international thinkers from the field of cultural policy as well as authors and promoters of the creativity-centred concepts such as creative economy, creative class, creative city, creative education (amongst the participants were economists, urban planners and consultants such as David Throsby, John Howkins, Charles Landry, Franco Bianchini, John Holden, Paul Collard). The creativity-centred concepts have been resonating in the Czech cultural policy discourse already a few years before the event in seminars and reports produced by the IDU and activities of a cultural policy focused consultancy company Proculture (Proculture 2007, 2008).

At the occasion of the conference, IDU launched the first printed publication in Czech language on the topic of creative economy with the title *Creative industries: Opportunity for the New Economy* (Cikánek 2009), written by a young cultural researcher and manager Martin Cikánek, a cultural policy graduate from the City University London. As will be shown in the presented

¹ Public Benefit Organisations (PBO) – sometimes referred to as Contributory Organisations (CO), are state/regional/local council owned cultural organisations in the Czech Republic which have not been transformed into private non-government, non-profit organisations (NGO) or other types of charities. Each of these organisations is established by either a ministry or a regional or local/city government which is legally responsible for maintaining its existence, approves its deeds of establishment, assigns the CO with an annual budget and allocates funds and property for its use, while controlling its financial management, the appointment and dismissal of the PBO's management (Vojtíšková and Lorencová 2015).

thesis, the conference, the book and subsequent activities driven by the IDU and Proculture accelerated the debate and served as key instruments in building the discourse of creative economy in the Czech Republic.

Having examined the discourse around creative industries as part of my MA research I became aware of the gap between the uncritical stance of Czech policy actors and more critical academic and non-academic literature reflecting the idea of creative industries concept and associated policies centred around the instrumentalisation and marketisation of culture and arts. The critical perspectives were held by authors such as Jim McGuigan, Nicholas Garnham, Clive Gray, Kate Oakley, Eleonora Belfiore, Justin O'Connor, Philip Schlesinger, amongst many others, who influenced my thinking about increasing neoliberalisation of cultural policy. Their critique contrasted with the uncritical approach of some of the Czech policy actors, such as the IDU as well as representatives of the cultural sector whose activities I was observing as a student and a young non-profit arts festival organiser. By neoliberalisation of cultural policy I mean what McGuigan (2005) presented in the following features: First, destabilisation of core values of cultural policy such as the assumption that there is "some sort of need for public provision in the field of culture" (p. 235). Second, urban regeneration plans and initiatives which are largely funded by public finance although the benefit for wide public is not proved to be bigger than for private companies (for example through many European Capitals of Culture). Third, instrumentalisation of culture, that is, achieving various social policy goals through cultural activity and overall rationalizing cultural policy in economic terms – e.g. emphasis on competitiveness, employment, regeneration impact and abolishment of social exclusion and poverty (McGuigan 2005).

The mismatch between the critical perspectives reflected in the international scholarly literature on one hand and overly positive narratives in my home country on the other inspired me to embark on a study of the processes of change in cultural policy with the aim to explain the origins and appropriation of the creativity-centred cultural policy ideas. Taking into account the origin of the key concepts of creative economy such as the concept of creative industries in the UK, I decided to explore and develop a detailed study of why and how the discourse of creative economy has developed in the Czech Republic after the conference and what were the major drivers of its adoption among cultural policy actors.

I started looking at literature on cultural policy and soon realised that there was very little written on cultural policy in the Czech Republic in neither

Czech or English academic literature circuits. I therefore widened the lens and looked at countries that shared part of their history with the Czech Republic by belonging to the so-called Eastern Bloc, the former communist states² in Europe which extend east from the border of Germany and south from the Baltic Sea to the border with Greece. Although each country dealt with the transition from totalitarian to democratic regime in its own way, my search revealed that similar challenges and problems can be identified when looking closer at specific policy areas such as cultural sector and cultural policy in these countries. Ratzenböck et al. (2012) used division of this region into three main groups – the Baltic states, the Balkan region and Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). All these countries will be collectively referred to as CEE in this study with occasional division to the regional sub-categories when needed.

Reviewed literature revealed that cultural policies in this region faced many common challenges. The common features are for instance: marginalisation of cultural sector within public policy field (Dellinger 2016, Varbanova 2007, Čopić 2009) resulting in self-organisation of cultural sector (Rindzevičiūtė 2012), domination of entertaining and commercial content and unaffordable prices as effects of mass privatisation of profitable creative industries (Kurkela 1997, Ilczuk & Wieczorek 2000), disproportionate representation of foreign and national contents in television, music and film industries (Lustyik 2012, Ilczuk & Wieczorek 2000, Mulcahy 2000), ambivalence of administrative decentralisation of cultural provision (Mulcahy 2000, Rindzevičiūtė 2012), dismantling of state network of cultural centres, theatres, cinemas and music clubs (Toepler 2000), withdrawal of foreign investment in cultural sector (Ratzenböck 2012, Jäckel 2000, Varbanova 2007), subservience of major state cultural institutions to unstable and constantly changing political power (Vojtišková & Lorencová 2015, Varbanova 2007, Dragičević-Sesić & Suteu 2005), hostility towards state cultural institutions from the independent and non-governmental cultural professionals (Čopić and Tomić 2000, Dragičević-Sesić & Suteu 2005), financial crisis of traditionally non-profitable arts and individual artists (Toepler 2000, Varbanova 2007).

² Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Germany (Eastern part), Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Slovenia, Croatia, Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia

One of the common features was the turn to acceptance of new cultural policy approaches from Western European and American context (Varbanova 2007) perpetuated by foreign investment in the region after the fall of Iron Curtain in 1989. Specific policy measures such as lottery funding and laws on copyright and taxation (Dragičević Šešić & Suteu 2005) and concepts such as creative industries, creative city, creative economy, instrumental value of culture were part of the process (Primorac 2009) which continued with joining the EU by most of the CEE countries after the year 2004. However, Dragičević Šešić and Suteu (2005) pointed out that the foreign expertise in various cultural policy issues have not been given proper thought and thus resulted in numerous examples of using foreign expertise in inadequate situations or with very little time with advocacy based on missing data.

When I started my research in 2015, critical perspectives reflecting the process of adoption of creative economy discourse in CEE countries were extremely limited. The closest study related to my interests was Englé Rindzevičiūtė's research on the mechanisms which contributed to the popularity and dissemination of creative industries as a policy idea in Lithuania (Rindzevičiūtė et al 2015). Rindzevičiūtė et al (2015) emphasised the need to study the process of the dissemination of policy ideas as well as consequences in local cultural policy fields and argued that the process matters because it generates ambiguous power relations in the cultural sector by opening the cultural policy to new actors. Among their findings was that creative industries changed significantly Lithuanian state cultural policy which resulted in rethinking of identities and practices of cultural organisations. My motivation to move ahead with my research was partially because I could not find literature that would deal with the initial phase of a new discourse entering cultural policy field even before any formal policy steps took place. I saw a good opportunity to understand better these processes in a cultural context I was familiar with as a practitioner, the Czech Republic.

Tafel-Viia et al (2015) who studied creative industries policy developments in three Baltic capitals identifies them as top-down innovation and reform introduced predominantly by British Council. On the other hand, Rindzevičiūtė et al (2015) conclude that the transfer of the policy idea of creative industries to CEE cannot be regarded as mere "neoliberal colonisation where Western actors impose their models and authority on less developed countries" (p. 15). According to them, the introduction of new

cultural policy discourse introduced pluralising of the fields of cultural policy and cultural organisations and that cultural policy entrepreneurs played an active role in nurturing the introduction of the new policy idea. They suggested further exploration of the power relations emerging from the transformation of cultural policy field which motivated me to look at post-structuralist and cultural studies literature that dealt with different theories of power, particularly the work of Stuart Hall, whose ideas were influential for me as they critically explained the mechanisms of cultural hegemony of the West. I found it relevant for the context of my country because it was part of the former East and was in a process of 'Westernisation' after 1989.

The active role of cultural professionals in nurturing the introduction of the new policy discourses had varying reasons among which according to a number of researchers was a strong disillusionment related to the transformation of social, political and economic realities which followed their initial post-communist euphoria (Hájek 1994, Čopič and Tomic 2000, Toepler 2000, Primorac 2006, Dellinger 2016). Also, the presence of foreign experts and activity of foreign institutions, think tanks and educational centres introduced ideas that resonated with challenges and promised potential solutions to problems cultural professionals were facing. According to Litvinoff (1997), in the mid-1990s cultural professionals and researchers demonstrated that in their understanding, the market approach gained popularity and Ilczuk and Wieczorek (2000) spoke about "successful" privatisation of Polish cultural industries based on an assumption that "private cultural institutions often do this more effectively than public ones" (p. 57). This hypothesis made me interested in those, who actively promoted the creative economy discourse and the way they justified why they were in support of the creative economy discourse.

What characterises creative economy discourse is an implicit assumption that culture and the cultural sector are part of a standard economic growth model and as a resource it is to be used economically (Bell and Oakley 2015; Schlesinger 2016) but also the terminological bond around the term "creative". Scholars in cultural policy studies provide a detailed account of how the notion of creative economy developed in time alongside associated concepts such as 'cultural industries', 'creative industries', 'creative city', 'creative class' in relation to British politics and/or escalating process of technological evolution and neoliberal politics in the Anglo-Saxon countries (for example Garnham 2005, Bell and Oakley 2015; Hesmondhalgh 2013; Flew 2012; O'Brien 2014).

Phillip Schlesinger (2016) talks about a “creative turn” that has introduced complex neologisms with the aim to “capture current transformations in production, circulation and consumption” (p. 6). He adds that the “incessant conceptual parade” includes also terms such as ‘creative innovation’, ‘creative skills’, ‘creative education’ and ‘creative ecology’ and circulates these concepts in the cultural policy field (p. 6). He groups the concepts centred around creativity into the “creative economy doctrine” and argues that there is an overall strategy on the international scale to “construct the creative industries and latterly, the ‘creative economy’, as a policy object that can be managed to secure primarily economic and sometimes social outcomes so as to increase competitiveness” (p. 7). Although my thinking about the subject was influenced by Rindzevičiūtė et al (2015) who regarded creative industries as a policy idea, after my initial literature review and first round of interviews, I realised that conceptualising creative economy as discourse, will be more suitable than seeing it as policy, because it provides a way to address the terminological and conceptual grouping by using post-structuralist theory of discourse, language and power.

Finally, I found understanding the process of creative economy discourse dissemination interesting for several reasons. First, the phenomenon represented a major change in the cultural policy field in the last few decades. As Anna Upchurch observed in the UK, “in the last 15 years the most influential cultural policy has been cultural and creative industries policies, which have been at least as popular and influential with governments as the arts council model was after 1946” (2016, p. 205). Given the long tradition of the arts’ public funding model called ‘arm’s length’ or ‘arts council policy model’ which has been in place since the 1940s, this change points towards a meaningful shift in the way public funding for the arts and culture is justified and distributed. In the heart of this change lies the existence of traditionally non-industrial domains such as arts and culture became articulated as industrial sectors generating economic impact as opposed to the preceding narrative that emphasised rather their intrinsic, non-economic value (McGuigan 1996). Furthermore, Schlesinger stated that the creative economy has established itself as a “conceptual and practical obstacle to thinking afresh and in the round about culture and the complexity of cultural work in the digital age” (Schlesinger 2017, p. 1).

Since creative economy and associated concepts have disseminated in many countries and have been changing the way people think about culture and arts, I believe it is important to deconstruct the process of the creative

economy discourse's dissemination and understand why it appealed to people around the world, outside the Anglo-Saxon context where it first originated.

1.1 Research Questions

At the end of the first year of my PhD studies, based on my initial literature review and discussions with my then supervisors Anna Upchurch and Kate Oakley, my ambitions were still a lot higher than what I finally realised was possible to achieve within the given time frame. I had to tame my wish to embrace a theme as broad as “transformation of cultural policy discourse in CEE countries after 1989” taking the Czech Republic as a case study. I soon realised I had to narrow the topic down, because taking a single country as a representative of a whole region of states with different languages, histories, cultures and politics would not satisfy the ethical principles and academic rigour I wanted to achieve. I was rightly advised to focus on something more specific to allow for greater depth, make the research enquiry more graspable and not end up saying too little about too much. I therefore decided to take the creative economy as the main focus and take on the challenge of conceptualising it as discourse rather than policy object or set of economic transactions. As the contextualisation in the previous part showed, it was clear I needed to focus on social processes, motivations and goals of creative economy advocates as well as the role of international intermediaries such as transnational networks, European Commission policies, foreign institutions and experts that were influencing the cultural policy debate in the country. I also wanted to know how the creative economy discourse had been adopted so far to evaluate the scope of the discourse and how it was already implemented in official policy documents.

This meant that I was going to investigate how the creative economy discourse was articulated in a country whose cultural policy field had been created and developed under significantly different political and cultural settings than the UK. Observing the growing discourse of creative economy and the great number of international references, I was curious how people make sense of a new approach that was changing the way they were narrating the meaning and value of their activities and could, therefore, potentially, significantly change the nature of things they were doing. The primary research question, which this thesis is focusing at is the following:

Why and how has creative economy discourse emerged in the cultural policy field in the Czech Republic?

In research context, explanatory questions, especially those starting with “why” are directed to complex realities such as proliferation of ideas throughout the society. Instead of pretending an aim to find a universal or objective ‘truth’, I have adopted an approach that answers the main research question through its contextualisation in a literature review, analysis of creative economy discourse presence in cultural policy documents and through analysis of interviews with cultural policy actors. In order to break down the complexities embedded in the main research question I developed several supportive sub-questions that this thesis is looking at:

Q1 How do the policy actors frame the creative economy discourse?

Q2 How does the discourse exist within cultural policy documents in the Czech Republic between 1999-2017?

Q3 What are the logics of critical explanation of the existence of creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic?

These questions are more descriptive and simultaneously encompassing enough to construct an answer to the major explanatory research question.

What my research does not aim for is evaluation of implications and implicit effects of the creative economy discourse. It would be necessary to investigate the degree to which the presence of the creative economy discourse has been reflected policy measures in specific countries, but also evaluate their impact on the field, ideally in a longitudinal study. This thesis aims to reveal the forms in which this discourse established itself in the Czech cultural policy field between 1999–2017, unfold the origins of such process, explain why policy actors in the Czech Republic supported creative economy and associated concepts and how they constructed their arguments.

1.2 Original contribution

The presented study extends the field of cultural policy research by critical examination of processes of change in cultural policy discourse in a country undergoing a process of transition from a totalitarian communist to a capitalist system. This means transition from a system with centrally planned cultural policy of ideological control to one with eroded public funding, where the cultural sector is increasingly required to make the case for its economic benefits.

As shown above the appearance of creative economy discourse within cultural policy in the CEE countries has attracted attention of several scholars in the last years. However, much of this literature remains descriptive of creative economies (in the narrow, transaction-oriented sense) or reports oriented at providing recommendations to CEE policy makers who would like to develop creative economies. Few researchers have critically interrogated the process and reasoning for emergence of this specific discourse, its implications for cultural policy and the implicit effects it has on the non-profit cultural sector and arts in the specific cultural environment in CEE countries. My thesis therefore offers an important contribution to cultural policy studies by laying out understanding of the processes of creative economy discourse and the motivations of cultural workers who took an active part in propagating it. I was further examining whether, given the post-communist context, the reasoning underpinning such processes would be different from the countries where the discourse emerged and where I was based as a researcher, namely the UK.

While it would be misleading to think that the explanation for the emergence of creative economy discourse in Czech, a small Central European, post-communist country can be generalised for the rest of CEE both my methods of analysis and findings can be relevant for navigating the situation in other contexts, such as the role of international networking, role of EU funding, British Council's programmes for sharing knowledge and the role of international consultancies in disseminating the discourse.

Major original contribution my thesis is the conceptualisation of creative economy as discourse rather than policy and applying post-structuralist concept of power, where the examination of spreading of the creative economy discourse is not focusing only on the governmental institutions and their actions, but the analysis turns to a wider array of players within the imagined cultural policy field (and beyond) to assess the wider picture of

power relations constituting the creative economy discourse, such as independent consultants, cultural managers, public broadcasters and journalists and so on. Within my thesis the discourse is understood as socially constructed phase that precedes the change of policy agenda rather than a policy idea imposed from the government.

The original contribution of this thesis is therefore based on the post-structuralist discourse analysis that through its in-depth focus on the processes of social construction identifies not only the political and social logics of discourse but also, through its focus on language and dissecting argumentation, it reveals the realm of ideology that might disguise itself as the taken-for granted, unquestioned or 'natural'. The original contribution of this thesis lies in a combination of methods from different disciplines in a way that has not been used before such as thematic analysis that is a common method in qualitative approaches in arts and humanities with methods from the field of linguistics.

For these I used Lancs Box, software that is common in corpus linguistics to analyse the frequency of certain words and to visualise contexts in which they occur. Thanks to the analysis of argumentative structures which led me to focus on the circumstantial premises on which interviewees were building their justifications, I was able to navigate the circumstances in which the interviewees promoted the discourse. In this type of structured argumentation analysis, I was able to understand how people build arguments, what are the premises, consequences, goals, and suggested means of achieving these goals. I believe that this can expand understanding of rationale and its context by a great deal and it could serve as a model for researchers in cultural policy if they want to understand initial phases of policy agenda setting in great depth i.e. policy discourse and emergence of new ideas and concepts adopted from elsewhere and are dealing with the challenge of an explanatory research questions i.e. those starting with a "why". My study therefore shows a potential way forward for policy researchers, who want to engage in understanding where a certain theme / policy idea came from, what are the values and goals of people, who are in favour of it and how are they intertwined with the conditions and circumstances they find themselves in. In my study the circumstances were a major player in the spreading of the discourse and that's why I believe the used combination of methods was key in generating original contribution to the cultural policy research field.

The implications for cultural policy researchers are then that exploring goals, values and premises on which arguments are based within cultural policy discourse can uncover discrepancies between different groups of people who are in favour or against certain policy ideas. Thanks to this, cultural policy researchers would be able to evaluate if implications of policy changes could be the means to achieving goals of those, who might be affected or evaluate if circumstances in which cultural actors have found themselves are a decisive factor in their take on policy. Methodologically, my study's original contribution is showing the importance of analysing the entire argumentation structures in cultural policy discourse to reveal the full picture and deeper assessment of policy discourses.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

Since academic research of creative economy in the Czech Republic hasn't been done in the past in a greater detail, the first step taken in this study was to do so and present the applied theory, the origins, discursive statements and genealogy related to the creative economy discourse's existence. Chapter 2 is therefore based on a review of literature, including academic books, journal articles by authors of the major concepts of the creative economy discourse as well as other types of documents that demonstrate the constitution of the discourse as well as its cultural origins and relation to politics. In the first chapter the existence of creative economy discourse in cultural policy is problematised from an international perspective as well as through the reviewed literature published in the Czech Republic. The chapter seeks to review literature on creative economy discourse dissemination and shows different approaches, findings and hypotheses that scholars arrived to. Studying the previous research helped me to understand the existing knowledge and build on it in the rest of the thesis in my own analysis and findings. The last part of the chapter explains why I have decided to study creative economy as a discourse, rather than policy and provides evidence of the discourse's presence in the Czech Republic via brief analysis of available literature.

Chapter 3 introduces the methodology of my research including post-structuralist approaches in critical discourse studies, which shaped the way I position myself ontologically and epistemologically in the research paradigm I adopted. In this part I explain that I decided to use a case study research design following other researchers who have focused on similar questions in different countries. I opted to engage with policy documents in order to

evaluate how the discourse of creative economy exists within the formal, governmental layers of discourse structure. I focused on two levels of policy – national and city level. I further introduce that I selected 12 policy documents, 8 of them are national cultural policy documents and 4 are from cities and explain how I selected my interviewees out of which 31 were done in the Czech Republic and 10 abroad, mostly with British or Britain based policy actors, cultural professionals, public officials, consultants and researchers. The methodology also presents a justification of the selected analytical methods – thematic analysis combined with analysis of argumentation.

Chapter 4 draws on thematic analysis of policy documents and interviews and the aim of this chapter is to render the studied problem (creative economy discourse dissemination) as more intelligible by identifying relevant themes and provides basis for preliminary hypotheses. According to Glynos and Howarth (2007), this phase of post-structuralist discourse analysis is called retroduction as will be explained in more detail in Methodology. In this chapter I outline the contours of the discourse by presenting how has the creative economy discourse been defined in the analysed policy documents and how it has been framed by the interviewees. By showing what were the circumstances in which the interviewees encountered the discourse I present the sources and trajectories through which the creative economy ideas have been carried and shared. The chapter shows that the interviewees associated creative economy discourse with new approaches to culture and arts and how they visualised the position of art and cultural activities within the concept of creative industries.

These ideas are further explored in Chapter 5 which has three sub-chapters titled after the logics of critical explanation according to Glynos and Howarth (2007), the social, political and fantasmatic logics. The sub chapter Social Logics looks at the social practices of the discourse agents and explores interpretations of identities and motivations of those, who were involved in the creative economy discourse spreading. I further explore how the Czech cultural policy actors related to the foreign experts, who were coming to the country to give workshops, speak at conferences or were involved in various ways in the proliferation of the discourse. This section helps to understand who were the people involved in the discourse proliferation and how it expanded. The social practices are further explored in the Political Logics sub-chapter, there I focus on uncovering how were the social practices institutionalised. I aimed at understanding the political frontiers of creative

economy discourse and what were the politics of its spreading. Here I explored how the discourse of creative economy functioned politically as a way to separate from the previous regime, how it appealed to certain people depending on their values and goals and vice versa – who and why seemed to be critical or indifferent to it. The last sub-chapter, *Fantasmatic Logics*, looks at how ideology grips subjects through common sense beliefs and the unquestioned truths that people maintain. The fantasmatic logics show for example, how ideologies, such as neoliberalism make people ascribe certain qualities to private and public institutions per se, how a perception of development follows a linear trajectory and how cultural hegemony of the West has made people in the Czech Republic believe that there is something to “catch up” with. This sub-chapter focuses on uncovering unsubstantiated but widely spread biases related to the creative economy discourse.

Chapter 6 - Conclusion is the last chapter that articulates all previous parts and critically evaluates the findings and comments on the knowledge gained through this research and also summarises the limitations and potentialities for future research to deepen understanding of creative economy discourse.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Creative economy

In this chapter I aim to contextualise the research enquiry within existing literature and problematise the occurrence of creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic. The central question of this thesis is creative economy discourse and its dissemination. Before looking at the specific case of discourse dissemination evident in the Czech Republic, key terms such as creative economy and related terminology, public policy, cultural policy, policy and discourse transfer are explained. This literature review starts with contextualising the concept of creative economy, its development presented through four narratives of associated terms, the creative industries, creative labour, creative city and cultural policy in order to set the basis for the studied case.

When asking the question “what is creative economy” one must look for narratives and principles, rather than just definitions in order to avoid a long list of slightly altering delineations which don’t say much about the actual range of impact of the term. Creative economy is a term present in cultural policy documents of national as well as international policymaking bodies, such for example UNCTAD (2008, 2010, 2016, 2019), UNESCO (2013), European Commission (2010). Clarifying what is meant by this term is crucial in order to trace and explore its international occurrence or, as some scholars prefer, international diffusion, which is the aim of this thesis. I will do this via presenting four narratives collected from works by other scholars to show the spectrum of principles and relations which the creative economy discourse consists of. Although this thesis is focusing on the Czech Republic, looking at the environment and politics of the discourse origins is essential to understand the discourse itself as well as to follow its diffusion in other contexts.

2.1.1 Narrative I. Creative industries

What O’Connor (2016) calls the ‘imaginary’ of the creative economy has complex roots in the developments of the last four decades, however, its present form evolved according to Schlesinger (2016) from a concept of so-called creative industries. The concept of creative industries is in fact a driving force of the discourse of creative economy and related policy approaches (Schlesinger 2016). Creative industries as a term has originated

in the United Kingdom in the late 1990s during the first government of New Labour which Schlesinger labelled the “political architects of creative industries policy” (2016, p. 10). Nevertheless, there is a much longer debate which preceded the creative industries and started by conceptualising culture as industry and started in the 1940s. The debate originated in the work of Frankfurt School philosophers, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, and their *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947). In their thesis they coined the term ‘culture industry’ in order to harness their critique of commodification of culture and arts and their diminishing ‘enlightening’ role in the society. For Adorno and Horkheimer culture industry was a form of social domination manipulating mass society into docility and passivity.

Further on in the 1970s and 1980s, unlike Adorno and Horkheimer, Left-thinking political movements in the UK saw mass culture as an opportunity for cultural expression of minorities. Hesmondhalgh (2013) shows the background of the cultural industries appeal, based on questioning existing cultural policies privileging the elite and ‘high’ culture on the cost of the expression of the grassroots and marginalised groups of people. Left-wing local governments in Britain in mid-1980s aspired to abolish elitist notions of art based on the argument that commercial cultural production has central position in modern culture. Therefore, mass distribution of cultural content and reaching out to wide audiences was promoted as a priority and media played a central role. In practical terms, broadcasting, libraries and support to marketing and dissemination activities of small and medium-sized cultural businesses were new candidates on the public-subsidy list underpinned by the circulation of cultural content rationale (Hesmondhalgh 2013). ‘Cultural industries’ approach was aimed to direct interventions of the local governments including the Greater London Council (GLC) in the cultural sector and shape the wider market structures in order to make the marketplace more accessible and democratic field for diverse cultural products (Bell and Oakley 2015).

An important step towards the concept of creative industries was John Myerscough's 1988 study *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain*, which for the first time in Britain described the economic impact of culture and responded to the trend of market-oriented reforms in British cultural policy. The need to quantify value and make arguments based on economic indicators plays a crucial role in the history of cultural policy, which in the UK, where the concept originated, began to manifest itself during the Conservative governments of the 1980s and 1990s. Quantification of

economic impacts of culture and arts has been present in cultural policy discourse ever since and as will be shown in the analysis, became a major element in creative economy discourse.

Following more than two decades of Conservative government and significant neoliberalisation of public sector, the government of New Labour introduced the 'creative' instead of 'cultural' industries approach, focusing rather on stimulating the development of cultural businesses in line with neoliberal politics (Bell and Oakley 2015). According to Garnham's (and many others') critical views, the new label was not only a linguistic matter, but brought serious theoretical and political means (Garnham 2005; McGuigan 2005; Schlesinger 2007) such as "reshaping how we think about culture, and particularly about the forms of public policy that are developed in relation to the areas that come to be within its purview" (Flew 2012, p. 4).

An essential point in this process was the first mapping exercise by the Creative Industries Task Force (McGuigan 2009). The internationally influential report defined the creative industries as "those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (DCMS 1998) and initially included 13 sectors: advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and television and radio. This definition of creative industries became cited all over the world and according to Australian scholar Terry Flew (2012) has been a strong point of reference on a global scale and shaped the international policy discourse for creative industries definition and their significance. The key point about this concept was the melding of arts and inherently non-profit cultural activities with the primarily profitable ones, such as advertising or software industry. Although according to O'Connor (2016), this act was understood by many cultural policy consultants as a manoeuvre which could earn a better position in negotiations of funding for arts and culture, it proved to be a trap which hijacked the entire debate about cultural value and infused it with economic reasoning.

The major mission of the Creative Industries Task Force, which was "to recommend steps to maximise the economic impact of the UK creative industries at home and abroad" (Schlesinger 2016, p. 5) installed economic policy logic in the core of creative industries thinking rather than maintaining the position of culture and arts as intrinsically valuable for the enlightenment

of the society. As a result, according to Garnham (2005), public funding for arts and culture set off to be justified not in terms of arts policy, but in terms of information society policy. The supposed outcome of this, therefore, could have not been widened access or even higher quality of arts and cultural activities, but rather jobs and export earnings in a competitive global economy (Garnham 2005, p. 28).

Schlesinger (2016) noted that “by making the exploitation of intellectual property so crucial, the complexity of cultural value was subordinated to economic value” (p. 5) and the need to systematically interconnect creative industries into a unified whole led to a coinage of the term creative economy. The new term, creative economy, was encompassing also the key element shaping creative industries – creativity and creative labour.

2.1.2 Narrative II. Creativity as human capital

A frequently referenced author who first successfully turned this need into a coherent framework in a form of a monograph, is a British economist John Howkins. His monograph *Creative Economy: How People Make Money from Ideas* (2001) became quoted in influential policy documents of transnational institutions such as UNCTAD (2008, 2010), UNESCO (2013) and KEA (2006) a Brussels-based consultancy, a major cultural policy analyses supplier of EU, WIPO, among others.

Howkins (2007) understands “the creative economy as transactions in creative products. Each transaction may have two complementary values: the value of the intangible, intellectual property and the value of the physical carrier or platform (if any)” (p. xiv). Creative product, in Howkins’s definition means “an economic good or service that results from creativity and has economic value”. He further introduced a simple equation for creative economy – where the creative economy is the equivalent to the value of the number of creative products multiplied by the number of transactions (p. xiv). Raw material in terms of classic economic theory is in the case of Howkins’s creative economy recognised as human talent (p. 220). The talent in Howkins’s theory means the ability to generate new and original ideas to create marketable products. Entrepreneurial, just-in-time and ad-hoc forms of work are presented as the primary labour mechanism in creative economy in Howkins’s work, which has, however, become one of the major points of critique coming from scholars who have been researching so-called creative labour marking it rather precarious, exploitative and exclusionary (for instance Ross 2004 Oakley and O’Brien 2016, O’Brien et al 2016, Oakley

2011, Njaradi 2014, McRobbie 2013, 2015; Kunst 2012, Gill & Pratt 2008, Banks & Hesmondhalgh 2009, Blair 2001).

Creative labour and creativity as human capital are frequently discussed in relation to the theory of creative class, which has become promoted globally thanks to books, powerful conference speeches and consultancy business by an American economist Richard Florida. Based on a 30 years old theory of post-industrial society by Daniel Bell (1976) Richard Florida created a popular, quasi visionary thesis on new and distinctive phase of capitalism, driven by human creativity and people who belong to what he called the creative class. Florida stretched the creative class from cultural intermediaries (original meaning of the term created by Pierre Bourdieu in his 1984 monograph *Distinction*, who used it for people who work with “presentation and representation”, meaning advertising, journalism, marketing, public relations and culture in general), to 30% of American population including librarians, scientists, engineers and computer and mathematical occupations, lawyers, managers, technicians and what Florida calls ‘high-end’ sales personnel (Florida 2002, p. 330).

Florida’s work has been criticised by Left-wing urban activists, cultural policy and human geography scholars (McGuigan 2009, Peck 2007) for a synthesis of cultural policy with economic policy. Although Florida criticised his own work himself (2017) it has become highly influential globally, but also served as inspiration for an influential report released in 2007 by the Work Foundation titled *Staying Ahead: The Economic Performance of the UK's Creative Industries*. In Jamie Peck’s words, the influence stems from the theory’s “seductive nature” and compliance with global neoliberalism, elitism and ignorance towards social exclusion, precarious labour and poverty (2005, p. 740). According to McGuigan’s (2009) critique of appropriated “old” ideas and lack of sound evidence in the argument, Florida simply created a new and cool label for the ordinary professional-managerial class and added artistic occupations.

The imaginary coolness and bohemian charisma, the informal, intellectual, social and no-collar style of those who make their living from the so-called creative work was promoted by Florida and Howkins as desirable for cities and countries to capitalise on since it serves and promotes middle class consumption habits and lifestyles (Peck 2007). However, under critical scrutiny, such type of work reveals itself as rather precarious and problematic, sometimes related to the insecurities of involuntary freelance character of work (Oakley and O’Brien 2016, O’Brien et al 2016, Njaradi

2014, McRobbie 2013, 2015; Gill & Pratt 2008, Banks & Hesmondhalgh 2009, Blair 2001). The prosperity of cities with high percentage of creative class according to Florida is however based on neoliberal concept of prosperity and the notion of economisation of culture. The narrative of creative labour and those who execute it is under the creative economy discourse highly positive, beneficial and desired to be maximised. This thesis is in its analytical part focusing on how the interviewees as well as policy documents reflect and appropriate this narrative.

2.1.3 Narrative III. Creative city and regeneration of post-industrial urban space

Alongside Florida's creative class as a popular narrative under the creative economy discourse, concept of 'creative city' by Charles Landry (also promoted in his popular monograph *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators* (2000) has been equally strong. According to this concept, the city is expected to compete with other cities through the "brain power and creativity" and quality of its amenities, services, public realm and entertainment which are satisfying the needs of "knowledge workers and companies" (Landry 2000, p. 33). Similar to Howkins and Florida, Landry (2000) argues that definable settings and manageable changes to an urban environment can generate more creativity, for example intangible assets such as the city reputation or building on cultural distinctiveness (Landry 2000). The evidence-based principal in neoliberal policy practice and thinking, however, builds primarily on the use of quantifiable indicators and measures implied on local creativity (Gibson and Klocker 2005). Measuring creativity allows neoliberal regional economic development to bring cities in competition and present creativity as an indicator of success. According to Gibson and Klocker (2005) as well as other critical cultural and urban policy scholars, neoliberal policy principles are normalising creativity and de-value 'culture' in terms of considering profitable forms of innovation as the only relevant and successful. Less profitable, alternative and perhaps politically subversive forms of creativity are staying outside the major stream of interest (p. 95).

Similar to Howkins (2007), Landry (2000) understands culture as being the raw material of a city in an economic sense and creativity as a method to exploit the raw material (p. 7). Creative city is an approach to planning, managing and changing urban environment as an approach that can according to Landry, help to create necessary preconditions in terms of

‘hard’ and ‘soft’ infrastructure to generate a flow of ideas and inventions and where

a critical mass of entrepreneurs, intellectuals, social activists, artists, administrators, power brokers or students can operate in an open-minded, cosmopolitan context and where face to face interaction creates new ideas, artefacts, products, services and institutions and as a consequence contributes to economic success (p. 133).

What Landry proposes under his creative city approach is what he calls ‘new thinking’ (p. 41) as means of unblocking creative solutions and ways leading to improvement. New thinking is characterised by changing the metaphor for a city – instead of a machine, thinking of a living organism and potentially using Landry’s conceptual toolkit to help urban innovators to make understanding, exploring and acting upon a problem easier. The simplistic metaphor for the conceptual toolkit articulated as “an intellectual equivalent of a hammer, a saw and a screwdriver” (Landry 2008, p.165) became largely internationally popular alongside hiring urban consultants to show policy makers around the world how to use it. Schlesinger (2016) notes that in fact, consultants tend to design opportunities to employ themselves by creating concepts of inherently never exhaustive processes that require expert advice, for example what is called creative place-making (concept by American consultant and writer Ann Markusen) (p. 7). Although Landry argued for attention to local distinctiveness, the idea of a toolkit, when simplified, implies a danger of copy-paste solutions.

It is clear that internationally influential policy consultants and scholars such as Howkins, Florida and Landry tend to glorify entrepreneurialism and associated risk-taking and associate positive values with private sector whilst antagonising the public service which are one of the common features linked with neoliberal thinking. This is one of the major point of academic critique of the creative economy policies. What links the three popular authors, Howkins, Florida and Landry, is a sense of appeal on urban and national governments to “harness” and “nourish” creativity and creative people to ensure the ‘right’ management of creative economy, prosperity and global leadership as well as a sense of urgency when warning the reader from the possibility of misusing and stifling creative resources and signing up to a “wrong property contract” in terms of ownership of inventions and ideas (Howkins 2007, p. 213), weakening and dying of the creative class due to absence of the right “people climate” (Florida 2002, p. 13) or locking creative potential by obstacles generated by “bureaucratic mentalities”

(Landry 2000, p. 41). Landry charges the public officials for being accountable to electorates and therefore “slowing down the pace of response to problems which tends to be faster in private enterprise” (p. 45). In line with neoliberal logic, Landry suggests that bureaucratic procedures prevent the identification and exploitation of endogenous creative potential. In his view, municipal managers who are curtailed by rules are often unable to make full use of creative talent so there is a search for new forms of organisational working, including forms of entrepreneurship, segmenting organisations into task forces or setting up public-private partnerships to bypass restrictions and encourage inventiveness (p. 46).

2.1.4 Narrative IV. Cultural policy and economic rationale of cultural value

Although from the perspective of history of social science research focusing on the creative economy theme is relatively new, since it has already been more than two decades since the discourse of creative economy accelerated its presence in the public sphere, numerous comprehensive accounts exist and larger genealogies of the concept have been written, as evident from the three preceding sections and in the works of cultural policy scholars (among others Flew, Hesmondhalgh, McGuigan, Peck). Apart from being considered to be a mere system of transactions between creative products, set of knowledge-based economic activities or economic interactions within cultural and creative industries, creative economy can be also considered to serve as a label for a set of policy approaches, which some writers call the ‘creative economy script’ (Peck 2005; Dzudzek and Lindner 2015) or even a ‘creative economy doctrine’ (Schlesinger 2007). Works of cultural policy scholars, namely Peter Schlesinger (2016) and Justin O’Connor (2016), have been particularly helpful in providing a good critical review of these narratives and principles.

What have these two articles in common is a highly critical tone as well as an argument structured in a way that looks back and attempts to summarise, evaluate and present how and why creative economy made its way to the public sphere, how it got spread beyond the UK, what its omnipresence means for cultural policy and what would be the outline for an alternative approach in the cultural policy field. Both scholars indicate that we are reaching a point where creative economy as an approach in cultural policy is being re-thought, its imperfections spotted but at the same time it is still a dominating paradigm in cultural policy field. Both scholars come from the Anglophone academia, O’Connor (2016) has mentioned that we have

arrived to the “post creative economy context” (p. 16) and seeks for revisiting the neoliberal cultural policy paradigm of last 30 years, turning towards the “cultural”, rather than “creative” and towards “culturalisation of the economy”, rather than “economisation of culture”. This means trying to resist and challenge the process which has been described as

a new ‘cultural capitalism’ has thoroughly penetrated into the lifeworld and is so intertwined with our everyday individual and communal practices, that any appeal to some cultural value apart from the economic is now increasingly hard to sustain – especially at the level of government policy (O’Connor 2016).

A way of thinking that prioritises cultural, social and intrinsic value over the economic, rather than vice versa which is what I have identified above within the concepts of creative industries, creative class and creative city.

Schlesinger (2016) argues that the complex cultural challenges that the UK is facing at the moment cannot be resolved by what creative economy promised to generate and a countervailing trend is already evident in the UK, visible for instance through The Culture White Paper published in March 2016, which alongside economic and social value also acknowledged the intrinsic value of arts and culture, a rare occurrence in recent governmental policy documents. Nevertheless, according to both authors, creative economy is still a powerful discourse in the cultural policy field and it may have, in fact, according to O’Connor (2016, p. 17) sent the cultural policy into a state of crisis in a sense of establishing a wide-acknowledged belief of culture, as economically focused ‘creativity’, which is not an easy task to overturn and bring some ‘older’, for instance Raymond Williams’s (Williams 1985), concepts of actual ‘cultural’ as discussed below, rather than utilitarian economic value back onto the policy table.

As evident from Schlesinger’s work, it can be concluded that there is a certain ambivalence embodied in the term creative economy. Although according to his words we could stop talking about creative economy and nothing would happen, he refers to it as “orthodoxy”, “doctrine”, “resilient ideology”, “mobilizing slogan” or “a self-sustaining, self-referential framework of ideas” (Schlesinger 2016). However, somewhat counterintuitively in relation to the list of labels associated with domination, sometimes he presents it as “a policy object that can be managed to secure primarily economic and sometimes social outcomes so as to increase competitiveness” (Schlesinger 2016, p. 5, my emphasis). In line with this thought, creative economy is often linked to cultural policy and seen as a

specific direction in which institutional cultural policies can proceed. O'Connor (2016) identifies several policy practices related to creative economy. These are, for example, support or clearing the way for the creative innovation on its way from bottom-up, networks of entrepreneurs and SMEs, taking its form in trainings, enterprise support and building workspace and cultural (usually arts-based) facilities. Related to this there are also state-led growth strategies to create creative sectors, great investments into selected companies, protected access to the newly created domestic markets and IP legislation and powerful gate-keeping distribution networks as effective policy actors for long established industries with access to large markets. O'Connor also lists small scale initiatives in charge of developing basic skills of small-scale cultural producers, capacity and markets building for craft, communal and emerging professional activities to become self-sufficient and profitable, and finally, and often parallel to these models (sometimes initiating them), there is a broad field of area-based development strategies, using infrastructures of culture and creativity to try and reposition locations (quarters/cities/regions) more strongly on emerging creative and/or tourism markets.

These policy practices were implemented in the UK for instance by various types of semi-public agencies and bodies such as the Film Council in England or Cultural Enterprise Office in Scotland. Activities of such agencies were targeted at helping micro-businesses to adopt business models, methods of conduct and philosophies (Schlesinger 2016). In order to contextualise these policy practices as changes in cultural policy, we must first outline what cultural policy is and how it worked before what Schlesinger (2016) calls "the creative turn" by which he means the shift to the creative economy as a leading paradigm in cultural policies.

Throughout the reviewed literature varied accounts and understandings of the term 'cultural policy' have been identified. Defining cultural policy frequently involves the researchers' positioning in the discussion about the two key concepts implicit in cultural policy – what is 'culture' and what is 'policy'. Cultural policy in Bell and Oakley's (2015) account is to be understood as "a form of public policy which is a subject to the same political changes, financial challenges and global tensions as any other form of public policy" (p. 6). Given the inevitably interdisciplinary nature of the public policy study combining mostly political science, sociology and human geography, there are many possible ways to define and understand public policy. However, all reviewed definitions characterise public policy in relation

to the government (Cochran et al. 2015, Dye 2013, Peters 2012 amongst others).

Birkland (2015) acknowledges that policies are “ultimately made by governments, even if the ideas come from outside of government or through the interaction of government and nongovernmental actors”. In line with this understanding of public policy, some scholars take a rather utilitarian understanding of cultural policy which can be illustrated for example in texts of an American scholar Mark Schuster who understands state cultural policy as “a sum of the state’s activities with respect to the arts (including the for-profit cultural industries), the humanities, and the heritage”, which he sees as primary components of state cultural policy (Schuster 2003, p. 1). Another pragmatic definition of cultural policy as arts policy with broader array of activities was used by Mulcahy (2006) who included institutions such as “museums, the visual arts (painting, sculpture, and pottery), the performing arts (symphonic, chamber and choral music; jazz, modern dance, opera and musical theatre, and ‘serious’ theatre), historic preservation, and humanities programs (such as creative writing and poetry), libraries and archives, battlefield sites, zoos, botanical gardens, arboretums, aquariums, parks, as well as community celebrations, fairs, and festivals, folklore activities such as quilting, country music, folk dancing, crafts, perhaps certain varieties of circus performances, rodeos and marching bands” (Mulcahy 2006, p. 321). Similarly to any other area of public policy, cultural policy can be understood and defined according to its spatial scope – urban, national and international (Bell and Oakley 2015). Spatially defined public policies have different scales in terms of the depth and breadth of their agendas, but they share their key concern, which is what governments choose to put forward or neglect in terms of action.

According to Cunningham (2003), cultural policy “embraces that broad field of public processes involved in formulating, implementing and contesting a governmental intervention in, and support of, cultural activity” (p. 14). Here, as evident, cultural activity and what is understood under this term is the major element in distinction of what we mean by cultural policy. What is considered a cultural activity, however, depends strongly on the definition of the term ‘culture’. In the broadest sense it could cover all fields of public policy, which might have an impact on the forms of cultural identity within a particular space. However, Hesmondhalgh (2013, p. 166) notes that if ‘too much’ is included, the term ‘culture’ then starts to lose its usefulness. He believes that cultural policy as a term “has tended to be used for policy that

has an impact on the primarily symbolic domain". Further, Hesmondhalgh (2013) acknowledges that the narrower understanding of cultural policy is often used in the Anglophone world where cultural policy refers to the subsidy, regulation and management of 'the arts', which he defines as "those inventive, creative, non-scientific forms of knowledge activity and institution that have come to be deemed worthy of this elevated title – the visual arts, literature, music and dance, theatre and drama and so on" (p. 166).

Cultural policy can, however, have also a politically engaged meaning, which lies in shaping human values and identities based on the broadest socio-anthropological understanding of culture. Although the origins of the anthropological understanding of culture reach back to the 19th century, they are still in place today. Here the concept of culture is in close relation to the notion of civilisation and includes broad phenomena such as knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, custom and any other attributes of human beings as members of society (Tylor 1871, p. 1). Late modern understanding of culture is often anchored in Raymond Williams's definition, which includes the anthropological dimension - the way of life, general processes in intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development etc. but also includes notion of understanding culture in terms of "works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity (...) [such as] music, literature, painting and sculpture, theatre and film" (Williams 1985, p. 90) which is what cultural policy mainly focuses on when regarded as a specific scope of public policy. Cultural policy is therefore not only an apparatus to provide funding to cultural institutions, but also processes of shaping people's identities, beliefs, values and therefore, a powerful political tool. In some parts of the world, the way cultural policy translates carries a strong association with ideology and political programme. Czech Republic and the literal translation of the term as *kulturní politika*, which is associated with the communist ideological politics, is as an example.

Nevertheless, according to cultural policy scholars Bell and Oakley (2015), in the European, and North American as well as Canadian and Australian context, culture in cultural policy field is understood to be oriented towards the artistic activities rather than the broadest inclusion of ways of life, beliefs and value systems, because when regarded in the broad sense, defining culture as a concept is difficult due to its all-encompassing nature. Bell and Oakley (2015) note that understanding what forms of culture are involved in the concept of cultural policy are different from the meaning of the term 'culture' and argue that regardless of the broad or narrow definition of culture

“not all cultural activities are likely to be the subject of cultural policy in the same fashion” (p. 16). The notion of prioritising, inclusion / exclusion of certain cultural activities over others is connected to the policy agenda and the political programme which it is meant to serve. Creative economy discourse and its strong, perhaps even revolutionary reflection in cultural policy field is what Schlesinger (2016) calls “the creative turn” and what numerous authors connect to the ideology of neoliberalism and especially its rendering under the first New Labour government in the UK.

The reflection of creative economy discourse in cultural policy can be seen, for instance, in the emergence of activities that would be hardly involved in cultural policy agenda in the past, for instance profit-oriented SMEs in technology, digital innovations, advertising etc. would most likely not be considered to belong under the cultural policy domain before the ‘creative turn’. These activities are now, however, what drives the justification of public funding executed through cultural policy agendas thanks to their demonstrable economic impact expressed in figures representing economic growth and other economic prosperity indicators, such as the GDP, financial turnover or employment. The quantification of economic value, as well as other values such as social or cultural goes in line what New Public Management has introduced into the public policy practice (McLaughlin et al. 2002) which was reinforced during the New Labour government, when the key concepts building the creative economy discourse emerged, such as the creative industries. The intrinsic value of culture, however, is hardly quantifiable, especially in monetary terms, which is what makes evaluations of cultural activities or let alone calculation of return on investment a difficult, perhaps even impossible task.

The new paradigm based in quantification redefined the legitimacy and changed the public understanding of the value of cultural activities. According to O’Connor, “creative economy has not only reduced much of cultural value to a useful input into growth and innovation but has produced systematic confusion as to what the cultural / creative ‘sector’ actually does and how it does so” (O’Connor 2016). The NPM together with evidence based policy paradigm is often associated with neoliberal values and vocabulary which are in the realm of cultural policy connected to innovation and entrepreneurialism; organic creative activity beyond state intervention; the role of creative milieu, ‘buzz’ effects and clustering dynamics; and the promise of harnessing creativity for regional development, as observed by Gibson (2015, p. 477).

The goal of the preceding sections was to establish an understanding what is meant by creative economy, how it evolved, what are the key concepts related to the discourse and what are its effects in cultural policy. Since the aim of this thesis is to explore the dissemination of creative economy as discourse, the following section will look at existing literature regarding the discourse's spreading in different countries.

2.2 The transnational dissemination of creative economy discourse before 2017

The presence of the creative economy discourse has been extensive since the millennium. This section examines the literature about its spreading around the world during this period up until the year 2017, which is the end of the timeframe of this thesis' fieldwork. Numerous scholars have explored this issue on specific case studies using various methodologies in wide range of geographical areas, such as New Zealand (Prince 2009, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2015); China (Wang 2004; Bao and Toivonen 2015); Germany (Dzudzek and Lindner 2015); South Korea (Lee 2016); Australia (Luckman et al. 2009) and comparative accounts focusing at the US, Europe, Asia, Australasia, China and Global South by Cunningham (2009) and 5 Asian nations (Japan, China, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan) comprehended by Kong et al. (2006), among others. In order to articulate the main explanatory question of this research enquiry, I first reviewed what the findings of other scholars dealing with similar research questions were and how would they explain the creative economy discourse spreading to identify how can my work expand the existing knowledge in the field of cultural policy. As the following section will show, there are layers of creative economy that are easier transferred than others and the specific conditions of the environment to which the discourse is being diffused to matter by a great deal. This is also a supportive argument for selecting the Czech Republic as a case study, since its post-communist politics and development provide a set of conditions that bring new insights into the existing academic knowledge around the creative economy discourse dissemination as such.

Starting from the critical perspectives on the international dissemination of creative economy discourse, a lot of literature which uses more structural, globalist explanations, coming from post-Marxist thinkers can be found. Here the explanations of creative economy discourse dissemination are based on the discourse's rendition in neoliberal political agendas, which are promoting interurban competition, gentrification, middle-class consumption and place-

marketing (Peck 2005, p. 740, Gibson and Klocker 2005) and thus being easily transferrable and acceptable for most urban governments in the era of global capitalism. When critiquing on Florida's creative class thesis, Peck (2005) emphasises that the reason why policy actors around the globe are keen on adopting the creative strategy script is that it promotes 'soft' infrastructure such as investments in the arts and culture which are relatively easy to make, and aren't extremely expensive as opposed to more substantial, radical and structural solutions of social problems. Peck explains that the creativity strategies are moving around the globe not because they are revolutionary, but because they are "so modest" and because the call for creative empowerment which can be met by "relatively painless ways – by manipulating street level facades, while gently lubricating the gentrification processes" (p. 760). Peck argues that Florida's thesis goes in line with "entrenched constituencies" that have "little to fear from conspicuous urban consumption, key-worker attraction strategies, and gentrification-with-public-art." (p. 760).

Other critical scholars placed their analysis of the policy discourse transfer on the assumption of general global policy transformation under neoliberal paradigm. Gibson and Klocker (2005) wrote a critical analysis of statistical techniques to measure regional creativity in Australia and looked at conceptualisations of creativity within a major policy document produced by a consultancy firm on behalf of Australian Local Government Association. This report was intended to assist local governments in developing cultural economic planning guidelines. Gibson and Klocker (2005) conclude that the overall cultural discourse has been infused by neoliberal thinking (p. 94).

Peck further notes that

packaged creativity strategies were in a sense pre-constituted for a fast policy market and (...) legitimate new urban development models and messages, which travel with great speed through inter-local policy networks, facilitated by sprawling complex of conferences, web sites, consultants and advocates, policy intermediaries and centres of technocratic translation, the combined function of which is to establish new venues and lubricate new channels for rapid 'policy learning' (p. 768).

This view goes partially in line with Prince's study of creative industries policies and his argument about co-creation of policy as an assemblage by policy experts and their interests. In contrast to Peck, Prince doesn't see the frameworks having a pre-defined script and claims that while being

transferred, the creative industries policies are also translated, which changes their form and final layout. Prince (2009) nevertheless identified creative industries policies as transnational policies which are created thanks to transnational infrastructure of conferences, research institutes and networks of scholars and policy consultants (Prince 2009).

Regarding the spatial aspect of creative economy transfer, Schlesinger (2013) suggests that public policies operate on the national scale mainly and therefore the state level is the most significant analytical framework. However, the international bodies that enable international collaboration as well as processes of European integration do play an important role in what he calls “global cultural flows and transnational systems of governance” (p. 32). On an example of WIPO (The World Intellectual Property Organisation) and its “key meetings” Schlesinger (2013) demonstrated that ideas transmit via seminars, conferences, round-tables, expert meetings with a broad geographical spread. This is, according to Schlesinger how “a perspective is globalised in routine institutional practice” (p. 31).

In terms of the mechanism of the creative industries policy transfer itself, Prince uses the metaphor of a “fluid space” of distinctively fluid nature which enables policies to circulate on a global scale between events and experts (Prince 2012) and continuously perform what Prince calls “global assemblage of culture and creativity” (Prince 2014). Here, the prevalent issue of instrumentalisation and quantification of culture and creativity is presented as one of the pivotal reasons for the mobility of the creative industries policy. The technical nature of these policy ideas developed by London-based consultancies and transnational institutions such as UNESCO produced “technical, calculative measures of culture and creativity that translate a messy social world into a set of ordered, rationalised representations that can be compared to similarly produced representations from elsewhere” (p. 90). The fact that the techniques of these assemblages can be easily reproduced, enable comparison, grasp and easier understanding of culture and creativity, are according to Prince (2014) reasons for wide spread of the creativity-type policy. Under these assemblages culture and creativity gain new content – “an agency and manipulability that is able to be captured and used by various forces and authorities” (p. 100).

Prince (2012) refuses the critics’ claim that all cases of mobility within the fluid space should be understood in terms of neoliberal globalisation, however, he admits that power of technocratic handling of culture and

creativity is connected to the neoliberal policymaking which is difficult to counter, because after understanding the world in measurable values and economic indicators it becomes very difficult to imagine any other way of doing it. Inherent fluid nature of the creative economy policies means that they can be used to wide range of economic, social and cultural projects in different places and they can be used and mixed with endless concepts and discourses (p. 327). What is also evident from Prince's study, is the necessary condition of the fluid space and environment where creative economy concepts and discourse can be articulated. Conferences, round tables and various opportunities for knowledge exchange and experience sharing nurtured through international cooperation programmes of transnational institutions such as the EU, can be one such example.

Stuart Cunningham's work (2009) argues against the critical views that mark creative industries as 'Trojan horse' of neoliberal values and acknowledges that the policy discourse has "travelled so extensively and quickly as creative industries will inevitably assemble differing evidence bases, interests and explanatory schema" (p. 376). He promotes the 'Rorschach blot' metaphor which signifies flexibility and openness for different understandings, rationales and outcomes according to different contexts rather than a set script of practices and values. As a method he used a comparative account on the adoption of the creativity industries policy to different locations around the world. However, his "spatial analysis" draws on policy documents covering large areas and thus generating rather generic accounts of the 'explicit' policy frameworks and adopted rhetoric. According to Cunningham, signs of the appropriateness of the "Rorschach blot" are for instance regional variations, adaptation of the concept to local circumstances as well as definitional uncertainty and constant disputes about what counts as creative industries in different places.

Cunningham's (2009) metaphors of Trojan horse and Rorschach blot which he put into binary opposition have been cited widely in literature concerned about creative economy discourse and its transfer around the globe. One such example is work of Lee (2016) who on the case of South Korea claimed that instead of 'either-or' these are two sides of the same coin. She analyses the discourse's depoliticising and encompassing effects and their interplay on the discourse's intersection to the broader new economy. She analyses South Korean variants of creative industries discourse and investigates the convoluted politics of the discourse. Although she doesn't engage with the analysis of the process of the diffusion of the discourse to

South Korea, she links the creative industries discourse to the new economy and broader process of Korean economic transformation as possible explanation of the diffusion.

Although literature focusing on proliferation of the creative economy discourse to the Czech Republic is missing, literature on creative economy in the CEE countries reveals an amount of non-academic texts, reports and studies (for example Aspen 2016, IDU 2011, 2015a , 2015b) that aimed to somehow sum up or evaluate the existing status and situation of creative industries in the given territories and make quantitative accounts of creative economies (in the transactional understanding of the term) as well as showcase 'best practice' of implementation of related policies presented by think tanks and advocacy groups, usually in the national languages.

Narrowing down the geographical scope and looking into the history and the region within which the Czech Republic is situated, Tafel-Viia et al (2015) studied creative industries policy developments in three post-Soviet Baltic capitals, sociologists Englé Rindzevičiūtė et al. (2015) explored the transfer of creative industries as a policy idea in Lithuania and Croatian scholars Inga Tomić-Koludrović and Mirko Petrić (2005) evaluated the implementation of creative economy policy frameworks in Croatia.

As part of the grey literature, transnational initiatives create compilations of essays from authors representing different parts of the geopolitical region such as Visegrad (for instance a publication issued by Aspen Institute Prague 2016). Lacking critical account is what connects most of this type of literature alongside the omnipresent narrative of market-orientation and entrepreneurialism of artists, staged in a determinist view in a sense of advancement in international competition and professionalisation. Scholarly literature dealing with explanatory questions directed towards the process of the creative economy discourse in CEE is scarce, but present. Tafel-Viia et al (2015) deemed that

the concept of creative industries has become recognised as an important field for the cultural and economic vitality of (city) regions, providing significant economic resources especially through creating value, employment and [international] image (Tafel-Viia et al 2015, p. 47).

According to Rindzevičiūtė et al (2015) cultural organisations and cultural policy entrepreneurs played an active role in nurturing the introduction of the new policy idea. In this case, local actors wanted to challenge the post-Soviet landscape of cultural policy characterised by politicised and

centralised public funding and leadership of cultural institutions and bureaucratic procedures and introduced the idea of creative industries seeking a rearrangement the cultural policy field towards pluralisation of the activities under cultural policy (p. 3). In agreement with Tafel-Viia et al (2015), although local actors were active in the transfer, breaking the path was done through the “convergence of the global strategy promoting creative industries pursued by British Council, and the entrepreneurialism of several local actors anchored in non-state and arm`s length, internationally networked organisations such as Open Society Fund established and funded by American philanthropist George Soros” (p. 5).

Lithuania local cultural professionals were collaborating with foreign organisations to break the path for new policy discourse. Rindzevičiūtė et al (2015) however, doesn't offer a further analysis of the motivations that caused the local actors' behaviour. As mentioned in the previous chapter, active role of cultural professionals in introducing new policy ideas may have varying reasons, disappointment among cultural professionals with the working conditions in the cultural sector worked which followed their initial post-communist euphoria (see Hájek 1994, Čopić and Tomić 2000, Toepler 2000, Primorac 2006, Dellinger 2016) might be one possible scenario, in line with Rose's (1991) theory of lessons drawing in policy. In a view of Barbieri (2012) and other scholars, policy change, however, is caused by combinations of factors and is not a clear-cut rational process where preferences of policy actors are clearly defined and constant. For instance, perception that institutions are outdated and not capable of responding to social needs may lead cultural professionals to demand change and turn against the traditional cultural norms such as division between culture and commerce. My work therefore engages with questions regarding the motivations and reasons that made the interviewed individuals promote/refuse the creative economy discourse, which contributes to the overall explanatory ambition of the enquiry. From the above review of literature, it is clear that there are multiple layers that have to be explored in order to understand the global diffusion of creative economy discourse. The most important ones are the following: compatibility of the local space with the discourse's values and meanings; activities of local actors and how they relate to their present situation within the cultural policy field; mechanisms of the structural level, global governance, dynamics in transnational space; and social groups of scholars, experts and transnational networks of consultants.

2.3 Creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic before 2017

This section focuses on review of the creative economy discourse in the Czech literature. Here I aim to provide evidence that the discourse of creative economy had existed in the Czech Republic before 2017, in what forms and what is known about its development from the existing literature, which serves as a starting point for this thesis's methodological decisions.

According to Lehečková (2013) the development of the discourse of creative economy in the Czech Republic started as a part of wider process of a paradigm shift in the field of culture taking place throughout European countries as well as European Union institutions. She described the observation of the process of new emerging terminology in the field of cultural policy as follows: "the need to use various terminological variants of the concept of cultural and creative industries and the gradual development of the definition points towards a process of a certain change of the reality which is needed to be captured by words" (p. 58). The discourse has been developing over the course of several years and its "formal" start was according to Lehečková (2013) attributed to the year 2006 which is when the Brussels based consultancy KEA Public Affairs released an EU commissioned study titled *The Economy of Culture of Europe* which has been serving as a key material when defining and developing the Czech creative economy discourse (see for instance Cikánek 2009, Žáková 2011, Žáková and Kraus 2015, Adamcová 2014) and was also cited in most of the consequent governmental policy documents released in the following years (MKČR 2008, MKČR 2016). Governmental policy documents are an important resource to look at when evaluating the evidence for the existence of the discourse in the cultural policy field and therefore I have selected a sample of policy documents and analysed them in Chapter 4.

As suggested in the Introduction, the IDU played a key role in producing literature on the theme of creative economy and as will be shown in the analysis, it became the most prominent agent in diffusing the creative economy discourse. Most of the literature stemmed from two research projects focused on mapping of creative industries led by the IDU *Sociálně-ekonomický potenciál kulturního, resp. kreativního průmyslu v ČR (2007—2011)* [Socio-economic potential of the cultural and creative industry in the CR] and later the following project *Mapování kulturních a kreativních průmyslů v ČR (2011-2015)* [Mapping of the cultural and creative industries in the ČR]. The two research projects involved numerous dissemination

activities as well as public consultations and preparation of national cultural policy documents. Therefore, activities related to these projects as well as publications produced by it and major collaborators are the most important subjects and sources of data of this study.

2.3.1 Institute of Arts (IDU) and the creative industries literature

The subject of the first IDU research project focusing on creative economy (2007 – 2011) was a “theoretical as well as empirical analysis of opportunities to use the potential of cultural and creative industries as a tool of social and economic development in the CR” (MKČR 2009, p. 13). This points directly to the idea of instrumentalisation of culture – in other words, rather than intrinsically valuable, culture is seen as means of achieving results in other, potentially “more important”, areas of public policy and governmental interests. Another aim of this first project was an initiation of “more effective use of the structural funds of the EU in order to support projects in the cultural and creative industries” (MKČR 2009, p. 13). Here we see a direct connection between the concept of creative industries and the structural funds of the EU, which resembles the scenario in Lithuania as analysed by Rindzevičiūtė et al (2015) and mentioned earlier. This indication calls for a more profound examination of the connection between the institutions of the EU and their role in disseminating the creative economy.

Perhaps the most popular result of the first project of the Institute was a book by Martin Cikánek (2009), an emerging author and researcher educated in a cultural policy and management course in London in the early 2000s. His publication became the “handbook” of the creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic (Stejskalová 2012), as evident from numerous published and unpublished materials and university graduates’ theses on the topic. It was also launched at the occasion of the Fórum for Creative Europe conference as “unique and the first publication focusing on the concept” (Culturenet 2009).

In this book, Cikánek provides an overview of defining concepts of the creative industries, reviews relating concepts such as creative clusters, creative cities, creative class and reproduces ideas of David Throsby, David Hesmondhalgh, John Hartley, John Howkins and Richard Florida. He also provides an overview of definitions used by governments in the UK, Singapore, Australia and transnational institutions such as UNESCO and EU. At the end of the publication, Cikánek devotes a short section to the relation between non-commercial art supported from the public sources and commercial cultural production. In his view the relation is linear, where the

“absolutely non-commercial art” serves as a laboratory generating new ideas that can then be utilised by the commercially oriented actors. Cikánek here quotes in great extent a British consultant John Holden, a researcher from a London think-tank DEMOS, and his study *Publicly funded Culture and the Creative Industries* published by Arts Council England in 2007 in which he describes the relation as “sometimes simple, sometimes complex; and certainly one that is not yet adequately understood” and concludes that more research into the question is needed (Holden 2007, p. 3).

As a counterpart to Cikánek’s celebratory account a critical response by a theatre theoretician Julius Gajdoš emerged in a theatre journal *Disk* (2010) and manifested a typical case of a critical view of a someone oriented against neoliberal developments in the field of art and culture. The written polemic between Gajdoš (2010 and 2011) and Cikánek (2011) captured in a written form the opinions voiced by different members of the cultural policy field during various events and public discussions in the early periods of the creative economy discourse development, in the years 2009—2011. The exchange between the two authors presents amongst other points a vigorous discussion about terminology, which can be evaluated as complicated if the amount of space the two authors dedicated to its discussion can serve as an indication. The titles of the articles illustrate the major point of each author. Gajdoš (2010) titled his first text *Creative Industries: Development of Culture or a New Market Totality*; against it stands Cikánek’s reaction which carries the title *Creative industries: The Way out of the Country of Warehouses and Depos*. Whilst Gajdoš appeals on the reader to be rather careful and critical towards the concept of creative economy, Cikánek explicitly puts himself in a role of a long-term expert in the field of creative economy whose aim is to “help” culture and arts gain a better position within the political and economic agenda.

The exchange shows two oppositional arguments: one views the concept of creative industries as an opportunity to develop culture and arts through positioning them within profitable sectors, whilst the opposing argument sees it as a threat of a new market dictate, which also corresponds with the meta level of the polemical exchange—the rhetoric and language in which the value of culture and arts should be communicated and if the language of economy is an adequate approach.

Within the reviewed Czech literature, creative economy discourse lays out the narrative that culture and arts are meant to be seen as a resource with unlimited potential and which as an extractable commodity can generate

wealth if a country/city knows how to use it properly (see for instance Kloudová et al 2010). The narrative continues by outlining an idea that the recent economic crisis has caused exhaustion of all sources of profit in the Western world and therefore now it's the turn of culture and arts (Gajdoš 2010; Stejskalová 2012). In line with this narrative, avant-garde culture is presented as attractive for creative minds and therefore it is a powerful tool to generate a fertile environment which produces the creative class (Stejskalová 2012). It can be suggested that these narratives resemble those of Richard Florida, John Howkins or Charles Landry who conceptualised the independent, non-profit culture and arts as a resource for economic wealth.

Gajdoš sees the evidence of the “mining mindset” i.e. extracting resources in commercialisation of media and spontaneous cultural activities and warns about commoditisation of arts and culture and the loss of what he calls “enlightening spirit”. These risks are empowered by two arguments, first, he sees cultural sector in state of financial crisis because of weak cultural policy and institutional support which is putting it in a precarious and desperate position. And second, he points to the fact that the concept of creative industries has been created in a very culturally different environment, the UK as opposed to the German culture (under whose influence the culture in Central and Eastern Europe developed) which was historically rather a type of an “enlightening institution” (Gajdoš 2010, p. 14). Overall, he brings the same points that one can see in the critique elsewhere – risks connected to the economic parameters used in measurement of the cultural value, constrained creativity when seen as a commodity, loss of artistic freedom related to the market-driven production and so on. In addition, Gajdoš also points out the terminology which is according to his view a “copycat” appearing rather inadequate in the Czech environment.

Except for Gajdoš, however, not many critical published reactions have emerged throughout the years. According to Stejskalová (2012) Czech cultural managers were charmed by the concept which promised to finally put the cultural sector to the middle of the economic and political attention, but unfortunately without seeing through the risks and limitations related to the language of investments, innovation and economic growth. She further referred to the concept of creative industries as “newly emerging hegemonic concept in cultural policy” and attributed its wide and smooth acceptance to “a symptomatic behaviour of politicians and activists with only a superficial interest in culture” (Stejskalová 2012, p. 3). This literature has been useful

for me to better understand the argumentation structures of my interviewees that will be presented in the following chapters.

Although Cikánek (2009) admits the risks of the implementation of the creative economy approach, he doesn't see the problem in the concept itself. Rather he sees it in the peculiarities of the Czech cultural sector, misunderstandings and the concept's wrong application in practice. He advocates for what he calls recent understandings of creative economy and dismisses the early critiques regarding commodification of cultural products by Adorno and Horkheimer. He opposes Gajdoš's critique and presents the "correct and contemporary" interpretation of the concept of creative economy, which is according to his view aimed at promoting all three types of cultural value – immanent, social and economic to be equally supported through institutionalisation of creative ecology i.e. interrelations and processes in the area of cultural and art environment (Cikánek 2011, p. 154). These are visualised through a scheme of concentric circles first introduced by David Throsby (2001), having the non-commercial and experimental art in the core and spreading through the art with commercial potential to the solely commercial activities, mass and applied arts and industries such as fashion, architecture and design. In Cikánek's view, the cultural and creative industries are the only way out of the "country of warehouses and depots" which is a metaphor he used for heavy industry manufacturing and middle-man position of the Czech Republic in the production of industrial goods and their parts as opposed to being a leader in cutting edge design, creative and therefore more glamorous part of the production process (Cikánek 2011, p. 157). The narrative of a way out of the country of warehouses and depots has been an important persuasive strategy as evident from the analysis of interviews.

In the study of discourse, language is a key factor to analyse (Tannen 2018), which makes terminology a significant part of this study. One of the commissioned studies within the IDU's research projects between 2007—2015 was Lehečková's linguistic analysis of creative economy terminology and its meaning in the Czech context in 2013 arguing that the terminology is diverse, the agents of the discourse differ in opinions about what terms are the best to use whilst terms sometimes vary even within one single study. The use of "kulturní a kreativní průmysly", a literal translation of cultural and creative industries, evokes negative connotations with the expression "kreativní" [creative] in a sense of pseudo-creativity and creativity oriented towards profit making especially in the advertising industry (Lehečková

2013, p. 78). On the other hand Czech words “tvůrčí” and “tvořivý” which were occasionally used to replace the literal translation of “creative” resemble historical understanding of the relations between culture, art and society (lidová tvořivost – folk creations) and are more connected to the personal and individual aspects of human imagination whilst not fitting the new understanding of the creative industries that are meant to capture more general and impersonal concept (Lehečková 2013, p. 78).

Likewise, the translation of “industries” carries several difficulties. Sometimes used in both singular or plural, the word “industry” in connection to the artistic production creates undesirable resemblance of the steel or heavy industry, economic performance measures and profit making (Lehečková 2013). Notably, proving and adding to the newness of the terminology, as Lehečková (2013, p. 79) remarked, the plural form “průmysl” [industries] has not been used in the Czech language ever before (Lehečková 2013, p. 79). In some actors of the arts field the use of the economic language evokes fears of the economic rule becoming the governing principle in these primarily non-profit fields and subordinating the creative process to the utilisation or marketisation of its results (Lehečková 2013). Therefore sometimes “a sector” in its Czech translation as either “sektor” or “odvětví” (which has its etymological origin in the word “větev” [branch]) is used to replace the industrial connotations of “průmysl” [industry] and notably its unusual plural form (Lehečková 2013, p. 69). In my analysis I decided to revisit the terminology analysis and see if anything has changed five years after Lehečková’s study.

Except for an ongoing discussion about terminology, the cultural and creative industries debate facilitated by the IDU generated number of results. Among them were for instance attempts to assess the actual status quo of the relevant sectors and draw policy recommendations. A very first evaluative overview of the creative industries in the Czech Republic was released by the Institute in 2011 and captured the description of the following industries: architecture, design, advertising, film, music, publishing and print, performing arts, art market, television and broadcasting, videogames and cultural tourism (Žáková 2011).

In the introduction the director of the Institute, Eva Žáková, remarked that the inspiration to classify the cultural and creative industries in such way was the study Economy of Culture in Europe by KEA, mentioned above. She also expressed her interpretation of the major point of this study as being that of

“proving that culture is significantly important for fulfilling the objectives of the Lisbon Strategy from the year 2000, which based the competitiveness of Europe on the development of knowledge economy, investments into the information and communication technologies and support of innovation and research” (Žáková 2011, p. 5).

Žáková introduces the study by KEA as an important document, which proves how culture contributes to something larger and EU-wide, and notably, it helps achieve goals of one of its pivotal strategic documents. Understanding the document as giving a solid base for justification of public support of culture and arts (within the larger picture of creative economy) may be one of the explanations of the role of the KEA study in triggering the debate about creative economy in the CR.

However, not only KEA was an influential element in shaping the debate. Žáková also mentions the Creative Industries Mapping Document of the DCMS from 2001. She writes:

“for the first three areas [arts, cultural and creative industries] the research team finds the best definition included in the current version of the mapping document, which reports about the status of creative industries in Great Britain and which is frequently, although sometimes with small adjustments, used in political practice of other countries (e.g. Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania)”, (Žáková 2011, p. 5).

This indicates, that although the KEA study was a trigger and a guideline to the creative economy debate and research in the CR, the UK based definition of the key concepts has diffused to the debate as well and influenced how the creative industries were being defined at the early stages of their introduction to the new field. At the end of this study, Žáková (2011) expresses that she is glad that the Government’s research programme about national cultural identity (NAKI) has awarded the Institute another four-year grant for the following project (2011-2015), which will focus primarily on gaining “complete and detailed information of quantitative as well as qualitative character about the status of each branch of the cultural and creative industries in the country” (Žáková 2011, p. 6).

The following project then generated number of studies and publications focusing at mapping of creative industries by quantitative and qualitative analyses, international comparisons, a research about the Czech cultural identity and how Czech culture stands in the globalised world, a measuring economic impacts of cultural organisations – a research and evaluation of

so-called “economic multiplier effect” of cultural and art activities and the use of cultural heritage in the ČR (Institut Umění 2017). As part of this project, in May 2012, the Institute introduced a so-called “three sector table of CCI” which gives a guideline for how the cultural and creative industries are defined in the Czech Republic (Adamcová 2014) and which has also been included in the reports of Satellite Account of culture by Czech Statistical Office (ČSÚ and NIPOS 2018).

In 2015 the Institute published 2 volumes of the final report from the research project (Žáková and Bednář 2015 and Žáková 2015). In the first paragraph of her introductory chapter Žáková says that the concept of cultural and creative industries has got into public awareness and that is why it is necessary to summarise its basic meaning and impact which it has on the field of culture and cultural policy. She says that the concept is often understood only from the perspective of economic impact of the cultural and creative activities, products and services on the competitiveness of the economy and growth of employment and admits that the concept and classification of industries are predominantly used for the presentation, promotion and strategic support of economic impact of the market oriented and entrepreneurial sectors (Žáková and Kraus 2015, p. 10). She however continues and emphasises that this view is in fact very limited and doesn't capture the full picture and complexity of the interrelation of the systems in which the cultural and creative activities are realised. She is therefore noting that the Institute wants to focus on all activities regardless of their profit or non-profit orientation and that the “primary meaning of the CCIs lies in a new viewpoint, from which culture is seen in a 360° perspective” (Žáková and Kraus 2015, p. 10), by which she means the whole “ecosystem” of interrelated parts – public and private, non-profit and profit oriented, education and research oriented, formal and informal entities.

She devotes a significant part of her chapter to the idea of instrumentalisation of culture, which she understands as a necessary step forward in putting cultural sector on the political agenda of the EU and winning it better position throughout the society (Žáková and Kraus 2015, p. 11) and further mentions that it “was not easy to achieve this step in the UK and other developed European countries” and the Czech Republic is “still at the very early stage in this matter” (p.12). This indicates a deterministic view in which instrumental value of culture and its wider acceptance throughout society is seen as a sign of advanced stage of development, to which Czech Republic will hopefully also arrive. She also mentions the resistance towards

this understanding of culture both from the Czech politicians as well as artists and cultural actors who “do not want to be part of market economy and position themselves strongly against commercialisation” (p. 12). During the project, she admits, such resistant reactions were frequent and also shows understanding for them.

Therefore, she advocates for what she calls “enlightened approach to cultural policy” which understands and respects all different values of culture and “primarily the support of creation itself as a primary resource of immanent values of arts and culture”, (p. 13). Except for certain prejudice towards the Czech cultural policy and debate (when compared to the “UK and other developed countries”) we see also an attempt to advocate for somewhat holistic approach in which she sees the opportunity to apply the concept of CCI attentively and with benefits to the arts activities (by which the Institute, according to its mission, should be primarily concerned). On the other hand she also sees in the CCI approach an opportunity to overcome the current cultural policy system supporting solely “public and non-profit cultural activities without keeping the wider picture in mind” (p. 13), which suggests that possibly other activities, including those oriented at profit might also deserve public support. This indicates a certain openness to the market oriented and entrepreneurial sectors of CCI, which, however, are rather far from what the Institute’s mission articulates. Thanks to Žáková’s text I realised that understanding the motivations of interviewed subjects are key to get to the point of explaining why the creative economy discourse diffused in the CR.

The documents and publication of the IDU provide a rich material which provides a good overview of the development of the creative economy discourse over the years from 2007 till 2015, which is the period covered by the government funding for the cultural and creative industries-oriented grants. Therefore, as will be explained in the next chapter, I decided to interview several researchers and experts involved in IDU’s activities during these years to understand in depth their intentions and how they narrated and understood creative economy discourse.

The literature review above focused on international academic literature through which I understand the discourse of creative economy. Based on the reviewed literature I constructed my data selection as well as my interviews, as will be further explained in the following chapter.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter is structured in order to explain the empirical process, from the conception of the research enquiry ideas and practical decision-making to the collection of the data and its analysis. It demonstrates an engagement with the methodological principles through a combination of research literature focused on methods of research in social sciences. It also shows my approach to encountering various challenges and dilemmas and explains the steps taken to resolve them.

Before arriving to the final articulation of my major explanatory research question *Why and how has the creative economy discourse diffused in cultural policy in the Czech Republic?*, I reviewed a substantial amount of public policy literature, policy transfer and mobility were the point of departure for my enquiry. Several reviewed sources emphasised the need to deconstruct the social processes of policy networks, markets and power relations which play a key role in policy mobility and transfer (Prince 2015, Prince 2012, McCann and Ward 2013). I decided to take qualitative approach because it is associated with understanding meaning and exploration of complexities that can't be uncovered if more measurement-oriented approach with rigid structure is taken (Gillham 2010).

Understanding of the social processes in policymaking in the Czech Republic was the initial aim of my research and therefore qualitative approach was an early choice, rather than quantitative one which stresses generalisability, objectivity and building a large-scale picture (Creswell 2014).

As a young cultural organiser with a working experience in policymaking, I had access to people who were operating within the cultural policy field and were involved in creative economy discourse dissemination. Although I was studying in the UK I wanted to focus on the Czech Republic because on one hand the academic literature was missing, but I spoke the language could do a language-focused analysis that I believed would bring new insights and generate original contribution to the field of cultural policy. At the same time, as I lived in the UK, I could meet in person the experts who have been working in the CEE region and consulted the policy process or came as visiting lecturers and experts to educate the locals.

There were many studies focusing on similar questions within other national contexts using mostly case studies, which led me to deciding on doing a

country case study with interviews as the main vessel of gathering knowledge. When working on my literature review, I was simultaneously looking for methodologies of authors who explored how the concept of creative economy, creative industries, creative city creative class have been diffused and applied in various countries and policies. I first reviewed a number of studies that explored the presence of creative economy in New Zealand (Prince 2009, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2015); China (Wang 2004; Bao and Toivonen 2015); Germany (Dzudzek and Lindner 2015); South Korea (Lee 2016); Australia (Luckman et al. 2009) and comparative accounts focusing at the US, Europe, Asia, Australasia, China and Global South by Cunningham (2009) and 5 Asian nations (Japan, China, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan) comprehended by Kong et al. (2006). The research questions they dealt with would be then for instance: "is the concept of creative industries transferrable?", "what are the mechanisms of the transfer?", "how is the concept rendered in specific local context?". Since these authors focused on questions that were related to my enquiry, I found their methods worth evaluating and considering. The most inspiring for me were Peck (2005), Gibson and Klocker (2005), Lee (2016), Schlesinger (2007, 2013, 2016) and Cunningham (2009), who took critical and/or interpretivist approach critically questioning the politics of processes they were researching. I found these the most intellectually compelling and wanted to follow their path methods-wise.

In the process of clarifying methodology I also found relevant the work of Russel Prince on understanding the transfer of the creative industries as a policy concept from the UK to New Zealand. His methodological approach drew on Foucauldian genealogic theory and used the 'policy assemblage' method whilst building on post-structuralist methodologies (Prince 2009, p. 81), which brought an important insight for me in terms of understanding power and the moving forces behind the spreading of the creative industries concept. In his work, Prince (2009) draws on policy assemblage theory, transnational policy transfer and activities of epistemic communities and networks. I found the nature of his enquiry close to mine, because he focused on explanation of the transfer of the creative industries policy between two countries - the UK and New Zealand. Prince's assemblage approach reveals how different kinds of work, including the alignment of divergent political motivations, the translation of different ideas, and the invention of new concepts and programmes were necessary to incorporate the creative industries into the policy apparatus (Baker and McGuirk 2017).

Based on the reviewed literature, I decided to explore both the case study research design and adopt a post-structuralist theoretical framework as I found them yielding the most insightful results in terms of explaining complexities I was interested in.

3.1 Research Design: Case Study

Denscombe (2014) defines a case study as follows: “Case studies focus on one (or just a few) instances of a particular phenomenon with a view to providing an in-depth account of events, relationships, experiences or processes occurring in that particular instance. The aim is to illuminate the general by looking at the particular” (Denscombe 2014, p. 54). As Denscombe (2014) noted, case studies were originally used in relation to discovery of information and “describe things in detail, compare or provide an account that explores particular aspects of the situation” (p. 56). In general, case studies are used in explanatory purposes – to explain processes and relationships. In my thesis, the case study is used as an overall framing of the enquiry and the primary explanatory question about why has the creative economy discourse occurred in the Czech Republic’s cultural policy field, what processes caused it and what were the relationships between the agents that helped its occurrence.

Gillham (2010) emphasises multiple sources of evidence as a key characteristic of case study research to achieve a holistic view of the studied case (Denscombe 2014). Therefore, I decided to create multiple data sets – 12 policy documents, 31 interviews with Czech policy actors and 10 foreign experts to create more opportunities to view and understand the studied complexities. Based on my literature review, I purposely defined themes and searched for the meanings and relations between the themes when selecting specific data sources as well as when defining the type of analysis itself.

In Gillham`s (2010) view, a case study can explain meaning of processes that lead to certain outcomes, which is important for my thesis, because the major research question has an explanatory ambition and searches for an answer to a “why” question. Understanding meaning of processes that resulted into change i.e. the dissemination of cultural policy discourse, is my major research aim. Following Gillham (2010) I used the case study to explain meaning of changes that have occurred, namely changes in the cultural policy discourse, policy agendas and shifts in the discursive paradigm about cultural value, typical feature of the creative economy

discourse. Another characteristic feature of the case study approach is the emphasis that it puts on the context in terms of shaping human behaviour, its consequences and therefore it allows to view the evidence in its particular context whilst giving enough space to dedicate to its exploration and explanation. This approach has opened possibilities to understand the themes and individuals as interconnected rather than present separate cases as different perspectives.

In terms of selecting a case for a case study, basic criteria such as “a fairly self-contained entity with fairly distinct boundaries” were applied in order to make the subject of the study “a case” (Denscombe 2014). According to Mabry (2012) “the case may be selected because of the researcher’s interest in a particular instance or site or because of the case’s capacity to be informative about a theory, an issue, or a larger constellation of cases” (p. 216). Being a native speaker of the Czech language with previous experience and a network, I have decided to take the opportunity to convey a critical enquiry into the Czech Republic as a case.

I believe the Czech Republic might resonate with other CEE contexts as a country in which the concept of the creative economy migrated from other parts of the world and newly categorised art and culture as an industrial sector (Gajdoš 2010). Besides the critical interpretation of the structural conditions of the Czech cultural policy field, one of the aims of my research, was then to track the actors, agencies and institutions involved in forming and acting on creative economy discourse which can reveal the kind of knowledge that the policy discourse has been working with and which facilitated its formation in the Czech Republic.

There is no doubt that some of the key narratives of creative economy discourse were conceived first in the UK before travelling abroad. Analyses of neoliberalism, for example, often assume that the public policy developments of the US and UK were of greater significance in terms of international tractability than the experiences of countries from the CEE region (Harvey, 2005; Peck and Tickell, 2012, among others) and the Czech Republic’s position as part of the so-called Eastern Bloc was to be ‘a receiver’ in terms of policy discourse dissemination. The aim of my study, then, was to find how a discourse occurred across transnational space and the kinds of practices and processes that made its proliferation happen, which is why I decided to include interviews with foreign, mostly British or Britain based experts.

3.2 Research paradigm and approach

Before proceeding into details about the methods that I used in my empirical research, I aim to define a research paradigm that this study drives on, the general conditions of its approach and methods that characterise it. In my understanding a research paradigm are the fundamental basic assumptions that a researcher has about the nature of reality (ontology) and of knowledge (epistemology) that inform, intentionally or not, the research design and methodology (Kuhn 1996; Guba and Lincoln 2005).

Throughout my entire research I have been inspired by the work of Anna Upchurch (2016, p. 4), who wrote that “formal policy and legislative action were often the final steps in a long process of meetings, conversations and informal exchanges among alliances of individuals through their social interactions” (Upchurch 2016, p. 4). In her view, human beings, not documents carry ideas between each other, between social groups, and across national borders (ibid, p. 78). This led me to search for methods that complied with the theory of social constructivism which is based on subjective meanings of individuals’ experiences-meanings directed toward certain objects or things (Creswell 2017). Simultaneously, researchers such as Stone (2012), Peck and Theodore (2010), Evans (2009) and McCann and Ward (2013) were stressing the importance of context and structural conditions for spreading of policy ideas. Merging these perspectives together with the policy discourse studies of Fairclough 2013, Howarth et al (2000) and other discourse studies scholars, I decided to adopt post-structuralist research paradigm that provided a theoretical and methodological framework for understanding complexities that are interrelated and largely dependent on individuals as well as networks, social groups’ actions and overall structural conditions.

After running my pilot interviews, I realised that creative economy was not seen as a distinct cultural policy, but more as something like language, rhetoric, set of approaches and beliefs that made me re-think the way I was looking at it and sought methods that were less oriented towards policy transfer and more about discourse and its construction. I found out that there was a solid body of literature among scholars associated with the Essex school of discourse analysis, who understood policy discourse and ideas as part of the policymaking process (Fairclough 2013, Finlayson 2004, Howarth et al. 2000, Schmidt 2008, Wincott 2010, amongst many others) which seemed to be the closest to what I was studying. Therefore, I directed my research towards studying ideas and discourse that precedes and shapes

cultural policies, rather than the policies themselves. According to David and Sutton (2011), “constructivism refers to the view that social order is constructed within the linguistic structures of discourse and that these structures shape individual actions” (p. 81). Exposing the constructive powers behind the linguistic structures of discourse, which shape individual actions is where I see the explanatory potential and thus a possibility to find an answer to my major research question, concerned with the explanation of why has creative economy discourse occurred in the Czech cultural policy field. This means in fact using a suitable type of social theory concerned with power and discourse and combining it with a practical application of a relevant method. One such theory is Foucault’s thought on discourse and power, which is immensely useful for informing the articulation of findings, however, for the construction of a plan for the analysis, I found useful methodological guidance in the argumentation analysis approach developed by Fairclough (2018), in combination with Teun Van Dijk’s methodological advice on identifying ideological features of a discourse.

Ernesto Laclau, following Foucault’s thought, wrote that the notion of ‘discourse’ developed in some of the contemporary approaches to political analysis, has its distant roots in what can be called the transcendental turn in modern philosophy – i.e. a type of analysis primarily addressed not to facts but to their conditions of possibility. Michel Foucault defines discourses as “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention” (Foucault 1977). In this sense, creative economy discourse practices systematically form public’s understanding of creativity, culture and arts and their social role and public value. According to Wodak (2008), what is equally important is to remind ourselves, what is not supposed to mean discourse in Foucault’s work:

specifically, it is neither defined thematically nor by a strict system of concepts, and that it is not an object but rather a set of relationships existing between discursive events. These stipulations open the door to a dedicated functional approach, enabling the cultural critic to identify both static and dynamic relationships between the discursive events and to address the causes and consequences of historical change (p. 5).

This way, the creative economy discourse can be analysed as “an ensemble of cognitive schemes, conceptual articulations, rhetorical strategies, pictures and images, symbolic actions (rituals) and structures (architectures),

enunciative modalities, and narrative flows and rhythms” (Torfing 2005, p. 14). An example of this in terms of the creative economy discourse has been articulated by O’Connor, who listed the values embodied in what he calls the creative economy imagery perfectly:

- *“moving away from an emphasis on art and heritage to more contemporary cultural activities;*
- *focusing more on SMEs and start-ups rather than big corporations and institutions;*
- *linking culture to new digital technologies of production and communication;*
- *encouraging us to see audiences as active participants rather than passive recipients;*
- *opening a bridge between culture, art and science;*
- *re-orienting policy to the economic dimensions of culture;*
- *positioning culture as an essential part of a wider creativity in society;*
- *positioning culture therefore as crucial to the ‘next stage’ in economic evolution to a knowledge-intensive, creative economy and society.”*
(O’Connor 2016, p. 5)

What has been significant when reading through the collected data, as well as the analysis itself was the specific understanding of the key concept of discourse theory – the concept of power. The basic principle in Foucault’s theory of power is that it is not presented as a top-down mechanism or something that can be held and implied by the oppressor to the oppressed, but rather as a major force in all relations in the society, something that is mutual and is dispersed throughout the society, rather than held by specific institutions such as the State or government. Power is therefore analysed as “something which circulates, or as something which only functions in the form of a chain... Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation... Individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application” (Foucault 1980, p. 98). Therefore, my thinking about revealing the powers behind the dissemination of the creative economy discourse are not focusing only on the governmental institutions and their actions, which might seem to be imagined as the major vehicles for changing policy directions or spinning the discourse of creative economy. Instead, I look for wider array of players within the imagined cultural policy field (and beyond) to assess the wider picture of power relations constituting the creative

economy discourse, such as independent consultants, cultural managers, public broadcasters and journalists and so on.

In Foucault's work, study of power is not reduced on State, but rather extended beyond the State's limits, according to him, "the State for all the omnipotence of its apparatuses, is far from being able to occupy the whole field of actual power relations" (Foucault 1980, p. 122). In my study, power is also seen as exercised on transnational level, supra-national actors are involved in public policy process by explicit (EU legislation, regulation etc.) as well as implicit (informal social networks, policy discourse, agenda setting) means. The interface of power within state and supranational actors then stretches the consideration of power beyond the state boundaries. Therefore, in my study I paid attention to the supra-national factors and incentives coming from the EU or international networks as specifically articulated by the interviewees.

Finally, in order to structure my research, I decided to follow Glynos and Howarth's logics of critical explanation (Glynos and Howarth, 2007), because of its design to engage critically and empirically with policy discourses and understanding power within them. In line with their approach, I used the post-structuralist ontological framework, but adopted analytical methods that were compatible with it – such as the thematic analysis and analysis of argumentation as will be explained further in this thesis. In search for a methodological guidance, Glynos and Howarth (2007) outline five connected steps, that helped me to structure the analytical process. The five connected steps of logics of critical explanation are *Problematization*, *Retroduction*, *Logics*, *Articulation* and *Critique* and will be further explained in the Analysis part of this chapter. Before moving to the analysis, I first explain the methods applied on data selection, which is what the next two sections focus on.

3.3 Insider researcher positionality

In qualitative research, much attention is paid to subjectivity and its role in interpretation of data. My positionality determined by my cultural identity as a Czech person, and profession of a cultural worker has played an important role in my research. On one hand it allowed me to bring valuable knowledge of the field I was studying since I had working relationships with some of the interviewees that made it easier to approach them and understand contextual information such as knowledge of cultural policy and practice of cultural policymaking in the country, experience with dealing with state

institutions and public funding system. On the other hand, this might have caused certain bias such as the risk of influencing my interviewees responses in a way that they would be speaking more about the things they assumed I know about or anything else they might think is of my interest.

In order to minimise the pitfalls of insider researcher positionality in the analysis, I dedicated substantial attention to the practice of reflexivity – the process of examining the researcher's own feelings, reactions, and motives and how these influence their understanding of the research material. The main mission of reflexivity is primarily to reject the idea that the scientist is a mere observer or non-participating figure in relation to the object of study. Hereby I acknowledge that to achieve accurate analysis of data I aimed to look at the data from the circumstances and position of my interviewees representing different stakeholder groups to understand best the meaning of their answers. Although I identify as an independent cultural worker and organiser in the non-profit art sector and personally see economisation of non-profit artistic activity as an undesired outcome of creative economy discourse, I have done my best to achieve nuanced judgements and always double check that I have enough information to understand the positions of my interviewees and present them with enough contextualisation even when they seemed to stand behind different approaches and values than I would personally identify with. I have been asking many additional questions during the interviews in order to accurately interpret and understand their views, motivations and actions if they seemed to be different from mine. Following a predefined scheme for critical evaluation as outlined above was also setting a certain framework for me to follow and avoid falling into the trap of applying too much of professional and personal bias into the analysis.

3.4 Research Data – Policy Documents

Denscombe (2014) suggests that study of documents “can reveal things that are not immediately apparent, things that can be learned from deeper readings of documents and going beyond straightforward collection of facts from documents” (p. 226). In my study, the process of deciding on which documents should be subjected to the analysis and preparing a plan for the analysis were overlapping. As Bryman and Burgess (2002) noted, the process of qualitative research can hardly be labelled as linear, and it seldom involves the use of a straightforward set of procedures. According to Bryman and Burgess (2002), “the researcher has to move backwards and forwards between different sequences in the research process. For example,

in designing a project, consideration needs to be given to the end-point and the concepts and theories that will be used in data analysis” (Bryman and Burgess 2002, p. 3). Therefore, the discourse oriented approach I took in my study was not only manifested in the analysis, but it also navigated the decision concerning the selection of particular textual materials to work on. Holloway and Todres (2003) wrote that specific approaches have distinctive features including the kind of data being gathered for certain types of analyses, as a vital part of overall consistency and which they link directly to the overall credibility of a research study. In my case, methodological guidance on selection of documents stemmed from discourse analysis (Fairclough 2010, Jäger and Maier 2009) as well as interpretive policy analysis (Yanow 2000).

In the process of deciding which documents should be selected, the major guiding principle was the aim to generate data that would make the structures of discourse of creative economy more transparent and open for explanatory analysis (Jäger and Maier, 2009). According to Yanow, “the ‘data’ of interpretive analysis are the words, symbolic objects, and acts of policy-relevant actors along with policy texts, plus the meanings these artifacts have for them” (2000, p. 2). This means, for instance policy documents, advocacy papers, research reports ministerial speeches and so on. However, news articles, speeches of participants at conferences and seminars are also relevant (Prince 2009).

A direct link to my research question lies in Fairclough’s (2010) advice on gathering data for explaining emergence and constitution and recontextualisation of discourses. He explains his approach on a case of emerging discourses of knowledge-based economy and information society in Romania, which he considers to be what he calls ‘nodal’ discourses, which I find similar to my case, because they subsumed and articulated in a particular way a number of other discourses: technical discourses (e.g., discourses of ICT – information and communications technology), the discourse of ‘intellectual property’, discourses of governance and government (e.g., ‘e-government’), discourses of ‘social exclusion’ and ‘social inclusion’, which I observed were highly similar tropes that I observed in the Czech context and creative economy discourse. I found therefore Fairclough’s (2010) guidance on data gathering relevant. According to Fairclough (2010) the constitution and emergence of discourse requires

a genealogical approach which locates these discourses within the field of prior discourses and entails collection of historical series of

texts and selection of key texts within these series, analysis of the constitution of these discourses through articulation of elements within the field of prior discourses, and specification of the relations of articulation between the diverse discourses which are drawn together within these nodal discourses (p. 508).

Therefore, in my study I pay attention to cultural policy documents and reports that appeared before the supposed introduction of the discourse of creative economy. This proved to be a straight forward task since I was able to access all major national cultural policy documents issued by the Ministry of Culture from the 1989 onwards. Due to a limited capacity for analysing data quantity I selected the national policy documents that did not specialise on specific field within culture and arts, but focused on culture and arts in general in a five-year strategic perspective. The full list of selected policy documents can be found in Appendix A.

During the selection of policy documents I was also considering practical issues such as length, accessibility (online, offline, distribution etc.) and the geographical scope concerned and thus the scope of people for whom it is relevant. The criteria, which I employed when selecting the small number of documents for the analysis were the following: frequency, representativity, (proto)typicality, intertextual or interdiscursive scope/influence, salience, uniqueness and redundancy. Alongside the national cultural policy documents I decided to select 5 city-based policy documents (Brno, Prague, Zlín, Olomouc and Plzeň) as I wanted to study the emerging hegemony, dissemination and recontextualisation (Fairclough 2010) of the creative economy discourse and see relations within the key policy texts of cultural policies of cities as well as the national cultural policy documents.

Stevenson (2016) suggests that data for an interpretive, discourse-oriented analysis “must be generated in the field, whereby the field is understood not as a particular organisation, group of agents, or geographical location but rather the discourse of cultural policy at all its various levels, locations and manifestations” (p. 13). According to Yanow (2000), interpretive analysis often begins with “newspaper (and other media) coverage and extending to transcripts of committee hearings, various reports, legislation, or agency documents (depending on the policy issue and stage)”. Following this advice, I first searched for media releases around the topic of creative economy. These were assessed through the search engines of the Czech Press Office (ČTK) and the search engine of the major culture-oriented radio affiliated with Český Rozhlas (Czech Radio), Radio Wave. Although I did not

analyse the media releases in depth, the reading helped me to identify which cities to focus on when selecting policy documents. I decided to look at five cities that seemed to be the most frequented in the media in relation to creative economy, three of them had an existing cultural policy document – Prague, Brno, Plzeň. I decided to add two city strategic plans – Olomouc and Zlín, since at the time of writing these cities did not have existing a cultural policy documents or any strategic documents focusing on culture or creative industries but at the same time there was a lot written reflecting strong, emerging creative economy discourse in the media releases I reviewed.

3.5 Research Data - Interviews

Denscombe (2014) defines interviews as “a method of data collection that uses people’s answers to researchers’ questions as their source of data” (p. 184). He further notes that the interviews are appropriate data collection method when the access to the interviewees is secured and when the researcher wants to explore complex and subtle issues such as opinions, feelings, emotions and experiences – where the researcher focuses on complicated matters that call for a detailed understanding of how things work, how factors are inter-connected or how systems operate (p. 185). Given the fact that my study is a search for explanation based on social relations and hegemonic struggles between different discourse formations that are reliant on human actions and motivations that have led to them, I selected the interviews to provide the insight into such type of study. Another reason for interviews as a source of data is an opportunity of a researcher to obtain privileged information, when the opportunity arises to speak with key players in the field who can give particularly valuable insights based on their experience or position (Denscombe 2014). Thanks to my existing professional relations in the Czech cultural policy field, I was able to easily reach out to individuals, who helped to spin the studied discourse of creative economy but also people who were critical and did not consider themselves part of the discourse.

Based on my literature review I decided to explore the approach of cultural professionals and organisations of different kind as well as the activity of foreign institutions and consultants. I did five rounds of interviews (the full list is in Appendix B), three of them and a small pilot study were conducted in the Czech Republic and one round was done in the UK. The pilot study consisted of 3 interviews, which I have included in the data set. The first

three interviewees were people whom I personally knew from before, colleagues engaged in creative economy advocacy and cultural policy specialists.

For the pilot study and the first round, I used a purposeful sampling method, which is also called 'theoretical sampling', often used in the grounded theory research methods (Glasser and Strauss, 1967). Purposeful sampling is a technique widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich cases for the most effective use of limited resources (Patton, 2002). This involves identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Therefore, some of the purposive interviewees were selected because of their role in IDU research projects, writing for their project reports or being invited to IDU's events.

The following four rounds were a combination of purposive sampling and recommendations from previous interviews. It was a process of continual sampling, collection and analysis of data to inform the next stage of the sample design, until 'theoretical saturation' was achieved i.e. no new ideas or theories emerge. I found the iterative nature of the theoretical sample design important as it gave me the opportunity to review the data collected so far, change the characteristics of the sample design and react accordingly to how the enquiry developed, which is assumed to help developing a robust theory.

In the purposeful non-random sample the number of people interviewed is less important than the criteria used to select them and the characteristics of individuals are used as the basis of selection, most often chosen to reflect the diversity and breadth of the sample population (Mason 2002).

Essentially, it involves choosing respondents that have characteristics that help to develop an emerging theory (Seale 1998). Theoretical sampling 'focuses efforts on theoretically useful cases – i.e. those that replicate or extend theory by filling conceptual categories' (Huberman and Miles, 2002).

As mentioned above, the interviewees were selected thanks to their involvement in the discourse spreading or their important role in the Czech cultural policy field when the creative economy discourse gained popularity. In total, 41 one-on-one, semi-structured interviews were conducted in Czech and English language. I decided to opt for semi structured interviews since I did not want to take a 'one-size-fits-all' structured approach. Following

Mason (2002), I wanted to give maximum opportunity for the construction of contextual knowledge by focusing on relevant specifics in each interview.

3.5.1 Czech Interviewees – November 2016 – May 2017

31 of Interviews were conducted with Czech interviewees, cultural professionals who were involved in the activity of organisations related to the discourse of creative economy in the Czech Republic, such as the IDU as well as heads of independent organisations and representatives of unions and professional organisations in culture and arts. The remaining 10 were with foreign experts, mostly British or Britain based, who were active in disseminating the concept of creative economy and creative industries in the Czech Republic or other CEE countries. The interview process took 7 months, between January and July in 2017 with 3 pilot interviews in November 2016.

The interviewees were selected according to their professional background in cultural policy, role in major cultural policy institutions, working for European, American or British institutions based in the Czech Republic, having an important role in public sharing of international knowledge and new ideas about cultural policy or were known for maintaining a specialist opinion/knowledge about the research topic. I classified them as actors situated in research and advocacy institutions including public sector researchers, think- tanks, consultancies and academia. The nature of these engagements ranged from policy-oriented position papers to scholarly academic research incorporating the concepts included in what I understand as the creative economy discourse. Some of these embraced the discourse as useful for a range of reasons, some rejected and criticised it, some didn't even acknowledge its real existence or having significance in practice, and others synthesised it with other public policy discourses. The result is a body of knowledge about the Czech cultural policy field that has a complex and multi-faceted understanding of creative economy discourse and its role in Czech society in general.

Majority of the interviewees were between 40 – 50 years old, mostly professionals, who have worked in the cultural sector for many years, some of them have even been involved in cultural policy since the year 1989, the fall of the communist regime and beginning of new era in the history of the country and history of cultural policy likewise. I have, however, also interviewed several members of the “younger generation” of cultural managers, those who had gained international experience during their studies abroad in former Western countries, mostly with experience or

university education and internships from the UK and the United States. The interviewees' international engagement and experience was one of the attributes that I evaluated as important when selecting them, since the transnational space of policy makers' networks has been emphasised in the literature as influential or even essential for the creative economy discourse transfer.

One of the attributes that I was looking for was also the Czech interviewees' connection/collaboration with the transnational institutions that were identified throughout the literature as influential in disseminating the creative economy discourse. The foreign institutions which were influential in most CEE countries cited throughout the reviewed literature were the Open Society Institutes, EU's institutions and projects and the British Council. Open Society Institutes funded by American philanthropist George Soros's foundation opened in the early nineties in seventeen CEE countries (Varbanova 2007, Ratzenböck 2012), educated large number of cultural managers and funded knowledge exchanges with 'successful' US-based experts in the 1990s. Therefore, a person who has been one of the founding members and the long-term director of the Open Society Institute branch in Prague was interviewed in the first round. She was also an influential professional in preparation phases of various cultural policy documents, a frequent chair of panel discussions and networking events related to cultural policy, and a long-term collaborator of the IDU.

Another fact that was interesting for me was the interviewee's connection to the institutions of the EU, its so-called Open Method of Coordination (OMC), the European Capital of Culture or the EU's arm's length organisation, the Creative Europe info desk office. The OMC groups and their activities were cited in the literature (Schlesinger 2016), but also mentioned by many of the interviewees in the early stages of the process. The OMC's activities consist of working groups, that gather participants, mostly policy makers, from different EU countries and through discussions, workshops and team work create policy recommendations and themes to put on the agenda. One of these groups directly focused on the concept of creative industries, the reports from this group were also translated to the Czech language and disseminated.

Another important attribute, which I targeted was the interviewees' active engagement in founding or managing local initiatives, which disseminated the discourse of creative economy or related concepts, such as Creative Zlín, Creative Olomouc, creative industries incubators or similar, mostly

urban and locally oriented initiatives. Some of which were also collaborating with the IDU on its creative industries mapping project. The representatives of those were usually younger generation of professionals with international experience.

In order to assess range of views I have also included those professionals, who were not directly involved in disseminating the discourse of creative economy as consultants or policy makers actively promoting the discourse. These were active as ambassadors of specialised art sectors, for instance Heads of professional and advocacy associations, representing theatres, visual arts and literature. As representatives of different professional art associations, they would be invited to various public hearings regarding new cultural policy agendas, asked to write feedback reports during preparation phases of new cultural policy documents, invited to “speak for the field” at cultural policy conferences etc. I decided to involve a few of them, because I expected to gather data, which would allow me to assess what was their attitude to the emerging discourse of creative economy and ask questions about their understanding of it, whilst they did not have any direct role in active promotion of the discourse. I was assuming to gain at least a few critical accounts on the creative economy discourse and its presence in the cultural policy field to represent other-than positive view.

The profile of the interviewees was as follows:

Pilot study – November 2016 – 3 interviews

- Two cultural policy consultants and colleagues (interviewed separately), specialists in public cultural policy, who at the time worked for the city authority of the city of Prague, the Institute of Planning and Development, and who at the time were leaders of the planning phase of the Prague cultural strategy for the upcoming 5 years
- A former principal investigator of the IDU research project, author of the first book ever published in the Czech Republic about creative industries, who at the time was a managing director of one of the major Czech orchestras

The pilot study brought me to a realisation that most interviewees will likely have no knowledge of theoretical literature or publishing and that their understanding of the creative economy discourse comes from the empirical experience. Therefore, I have dropped questions regarding specific theories, concepts, authors and literature and decided to start with a simple question -

where does their knowledge of the concept of creative economy come from and then probe if possible. The pilot study also made me realise that it will be better to regard creative economy as discourse, rather than a specific cultural policy.

The first round of interviews focused mainly on public officers, directors of the IDU and researchers who have been involved in the creative industries research projects. I either knew them personally or they were public figures whom I have seen participating in conferences, panel discussions and I knew they were involved in the creative economy discourse. After the first round of interviews, I realised that the strong voices of people who have been involved in cultural policy for years were the most insightful ones, although they were not directly involved in disseminating the discourse of creative economy, they had noticed its existence and spreading in the cultural policy field and could see it in long time span. I also decided to interview more people in the cities outside Prague, since I got the impression that the attitude and reasons why would the policy makers and cultural managers support the idea of creative economy might be different from those in Prague and I wanted to learn more about how they developed their interest in the discourse and what it meant for them. Last, but not least I also had a list of 'influencers' that the interviewees in the first round mentioned and decided to interview all of them in the next two field trips.

3.5.2 Foreign interviewees – June and July, 2017

The non-Czech participants in my research were selected in order to represent the view of those, who played active role in disseminating the discourse of creative economy or had experience that could provide an insight into why were institutions or individuals doing so and what the experience or activity meant for them. British Council and UK-based policy consultants, who according to several authors introduced the concept of creative industries and creative economy and perpetuated its promotion (Tomic-Koludrović and Petrić 2005, Primorac 2006, Tafel-Viia et al 2015, Schlesinger 2016) were included in my study and selected according to their involvement in policy consulting or lecturing in the Czech Republic, but also other countries in the CEE region. The connection of these professionals to the policy makers and cultural managers in the Czech Republic was the most important criterion, however, I also approached those experts, whose publications or studies were circulated in the country or quoted by Czech authors.

As part of the IDU research projects, numerous dissemination events were organised, and foreign consultants invited as speakers or advisers to meet Czech policy makers. The most important event was the Forum for Creative Europe ministerial conference, that happened in 2009, but around that time there were also many other smaller events, which brought foreign experts to speak and consult topics under the creative economy discourse. Another example of such event was for instance a seminar co-organised by the IDU and the British Council targeted at cultural managers which featured “major experts on cultural policy, cultural and creative industries and value of culture in the regions” (MKČR 2009, p. 13). Amongst the speakers who took part were British cultural policy consultants John Howkins (author of the publication *Creative Economy: how people make money from ideas*), Colin Mercer and Rod Fisher, who chaired the event. Another co-organised event with British Council’s involvement was a conference titled *Kreativní města Praha 2008* [Creative Cities Prague 2008] with the aim to “disseminate the understanding of impact of creativity, entrepreneurship and innovations on improvement of life in cities through the regional network of creative city initiators, which actively contribute to economic, social and cultural prosperity of European cities” (MKČR 2009, p. 13).

British influence into disseminating the concepts is also easily traceable in the published literature, where vast majority of published studies as well as academic dissertations concerned with the topic of creative economy quote the definitions and experts with a UK origin. Drawing on these events as well as literature and studies mentioned by the Czech interviewees, I interviewed 10 foreign academics and consultants, including the authors of the internationally influential books on the concept of creative economy and creative city, researchers who published studies within DEMOS, the BOP policy consultancy group, a former British Council director in the Czech Republic, cultural policy consultants who worked for the European Commission and its projects such as the European Capital of Culture etc.

As mentioned in the literature review, particularly by Schlesinger (2016) and Prince (2011), experts associated with London-based think tanks were major players in the epistemic communities, which promoted the discourse of creative economy outside England. One such think tank was DEMOS, which became an “active exporter of cultural policy prescriptions worldwide” (Stevenson et al. 2010) and which amongst other topics, in the first decade of 2000s published and distributed texts on creative industries, cultural value, creative entrepreneurship etc. by authors, who have formed the

narratives on which the creative economy discourse stands, such as creative city, creative class, creative industries. This type of grey literature was accessible free of charge and the think tank also allowed the readers to share and distribute them for free, without written consent, which may also be interpreted as an incentive to do so. Since DEMOS published studies, which were then cited in Czech publications and their authors invited to participate in cultural policy events, I included these authors in my interview sample.

Another appropriate resource was the BOP consulting group, defining itself as “an international consultancy specialising in culture and the creative economy” (BOP, 2019) and which collaborates with academics and experts in the field of cultural policy. Members of this and other consultancies, such as West Bridge Consulting, Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy were interviewed for my study as well. There was also a handful of people, whom I have contacted repeatedly, but did not receive a response. Amongst them was Philippe Kern, the founder and managing director of KEA European Affairs and a few other foreign consultants, who have been mentioned and even recommended by Czech interviewees, such as one of the former British Council directors in Slovakia, who refused to take part because “it was too long ago” and didn’t think his view would be helpful. However, a good amount of data was received from the other interviewees and therefore I decided not to continue contacting additional people.

3.5.3 Interview style

Most interviews took around 90 minutes and were set in a convenient place for the interviewee, mostly cafés, but I also visited several interviewees in their offices or homes. All interviewees have received a brief list of 4 - 5 topics that I wanted to interview them about. I created two generic templates – one for the Czechs and one for the foreigners, but depending on whom I was supposed to talk to, I adjusted the topics to make more clear how do the topic relate to their professional experience (for instance if I would interview a public officer, the wording and focus of the questions would be slightly different from what I would send to a theatre director).

During the interview itself I had my own printed topic guide in front of me, but since the interviews were designed as semi-structured, I was intentionally not overly strict in following the sequence of the topics and rather paid more attention to where the interviewee’s answers were taking me and steered the interview in a way that at the end, all topics would be covered if the interviewee had anything to say about them. After the first three pilot

interviews I decided to add at the end of the interview a series of questions that later allowed me to assess the selection criteria, such the interviewee's professional career, age category, international experience and allowed comparisons and ability to evaluate the robustness of the sample and gained data. I decided to add this questionnaire in order to have a better idea of who the interviewed subjects were from their own point of view, rather than drawing on information I already had from sources I could find online.

I took hand written notes throughout the interviews, and after each one I wrote one-page descriptive report about details of the interview setting, my impressions, thoughts, lessons learned for the next interviews and I retyped my hand written notes to the report to preserve them for analysis in the future. All documents, such as the interviewees' personal details, consent form, and my report were filed in an encrypted folder in the university cloud drive, following the ethical policy guidelines.

3.5.4 Interview content

The topics explored in my interviews were constructed according to the main as well as the supporting research questions. To explain the creative economy discourse transfer, I therefore arranged the topics in a way that at a certain point it would bring my interviewees directly to the question why do they think the creative economy discourse had appeared in the Czech cultural policy discourse, but also to gain data about the following, supporting questions: 1) "what is being disseminated", 2) "structural and institutional origins of the discourse spreading" and 3) "range of agents involved in the discourse proliferation". According to Carspecken (2012) "what makes an approach critical are not the methods employed but rather the theory of knowledge and society used in designing a study and interpreting results" (p. 5) and therefore, critical and poststructuralist theory has been applied in the design as well as analysis of the interviews.

Step 1

As the opening topic for the interview I used the interviewees' first encounter with the idea of creative economy, creative industries and other related concepts. This would usually lead naturally to explanation of what do the interviewees mean by these terms, if the interviewee saw them in positive or rather critical terms, if they had an impact on the interviewee, anyone else or the Czech cultural policy as a field.

This part is then discussed and compared to the analysis of documents, which serve as advanced stage of dissemination of a discourse. The answer

to the question what is being diffused is then achieved through a discussion, which reveals what the interviews understood by creative economy and related terms, and how they used them. Foucault's genealogical approach is applied in the analysis and interpretation to unfold the unwritten rules and structural background, which generated specific rhetoric and statements forming the creative economy discourse. Foucault's approach brings the idea of exclusion as an important notion in understanding his concept of discourse. In 'The Order of Discourse' (Foucault 1981), discourse is not only a set of statements that have some coherence, it is rather a set of practices which try to keep the statements in circulation whilst other practices aim to isolate them from others and keep those out of circulation (Mills 2003). Therefore, the analysis of this part of the interviews pays attention to this exclusion/inclusion related aspect of the interviewees' responses and among other things, it looks at significant absences in people's speech, for example when foreign interviewees were glorifying creative economy success in Britain without acknowledging its wealth gained through its colonial history.

Step 2

The following step was targeting the structural conditions as well as individual agency within the epistemic communities and agenda setting in the policymaking process and therefore generating data for the second and third supporting questions. Although I understand social structure as global, in line with the networks theory by Borja and Castells (1997), most human experience is local, both in territorial and cultural terms. Therefore, in the context of and explanatory case study, exploring the micro-level, specific people and their connections to others is essential – alongside interpreting the structural and institutional conditions. Therefore, I was asking the interviewees to describe in their own words the process when, why and how were themes like creative economy and creative industries introduced in the Czech Republic and if possible, name specific organisations or people who helped to establish the debate. This question then usually led to describing the interviewee's experience or collaboration with foreign or national experts and organisations. Thanks to the Czech literature review I knew that probably the most influential agent in the creative economy discourse transfer was the IDU, so I specifically asked questions that would reveal the interviewee's familiarity and understanding of the activity and potential impact of the Institute. This topic was followed by the interviewee's views about public support of the discourse and ideas related to it and their

presence in actual policies in the Czech Republic and public institution's involvement in supporting the discourse itself.

This theme in most cases brought the interviewee to comment on their experience with and potential involvement in EU projects, its programmes and transnational institutions' active or passive role in the discourse transfer. What Ellison (2017) calls the "structural origins and institutional origins" of policy transfer is also depicted by other authors who have written about policy and discourse spreading. Diane Stone emphasises the necessity to shift the attention from nation-state level institutions, agents and policies to the transnational dimensions of policymaking as she talks about "new forms of authority [that] are emerging through global and regional policy processes and coexist alongside nation state policy processes" (2008, p. 19). I probed this topic as much as possible, since drawing on the literature review I had assumed that the transnational space and sometimes mentioned 'global governance' has been marked by other researchers as influential factor of the creative economy discourse transfer and I wanted to test if this hypothesis was also valid in my case.

Structural as well as institutional origins of the discourse transfer are a transnational matter, therefore the analysis of this part of the interview required closer exploration of the notion of global governance. In consistency with the Foucauldian discourse theory, post-Marxist interpretative understandings of the evidence in both interviews and documents analysed have been engaged. The interpretation of the mechanisms and relationships that drive the structural and institutional origins of the discourse dissemination is determined by my understanding of the nature of power in the society connected to the collected data and their analysis. Building on Foucault, the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe views power as closely related to the concept of hegemony (Jorgensen and Philips 2002). Therefore, the primary explanatory theories used in this study are the theory of cultural hegemony and the theory of neoliberal governmentality. Cultural hegemony is in fact often mentioned in relation to the cultural products of Anglo-American countries. Creative economy discourse is by its origin a cultural product of the Anglo-American world, therefore a theory of cultural hegemony is suggested to be engaged in the analysis of the structural and institutional origins of the creative economy discourse dissemination.

Step 3

In the last step, if appropriate I elaborated on the structural and institutional origins of the creative economy discourse spreading and explored the 'bigger picture' of the cultural policy field and context by asking the interviewees about their understanding of the development of cultural policy in the Czech Republic in a long run. I asked about their overall impression of the cultural policy development in the country since 1989 and the major changes that happened in the attitude of public institutions and national as well as local government.

3.6 Analysis

The major theoretical framework followed throughout the analysis is the post-structuralist discourse analysis (PDA). This aims to "critically explain why and how a particular policy has been formulated, accepted, and implemented, rather than others" (Howarth and Griggs 2012, p. 309). In parallel, PDA outlined by Howarth and Griggs (2012) focuses "both on the constitutive character of rhetoric (and language more generally) [...] and on the instrumental use of particular figures (such as metaphors that are condensed in particular signifiers, phrases and images) in constructing coalitions and hegemonic projects". My analysis follows this approach. However, similarly to the multitude of critical discourse studies (CDS), PDA is a research approach, rather than a technique or a method and therefore it requires clarification of the actual analytical methods it uses in its engagement with the analysed texts.

Collecting a large amount of data, I decided to combine two types of analyses in two-phase process. First, I applied thematic analysis on both the selected policy documents and interviews and second, I added a method used in PDA – the analysis of arguments in the interviews to keep the amount of analysed data manageable. The reason for that was that I wanted to see how the creative economy discourse was reflected in the policy documents, but at the same time wanted to explain why the interviewed subjects argued in favour of the discourse and how they constructed their arguments. I believed it is possible to map and understand the policy documents through thematic analysis as it was an established method in cultural policy studies, but on the other hand, I felt that I needed another tool that helped me understand the power relations behind the arguments and beliefs, how the interviewed subjects made sense of the creative economy discourse and how they related to each other in terms of social relations, political positioning and ideological beliefs.

According to Fairclough (2008)

on the one hand, any analysis of texts which aims to be significant in social scientific terms has to connect with theoretical questions about discourse (e.g. the socially 'constructive' effects of discourse). On the other hand, no real understanding of the social effects of discourse is possible without looking closely at what happens when people talk or write (Fairclough 2008, p. 3).

Exploring possibilities within textually oriented analyses in discourse studies, I came across various approaches such as the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), an approach developed by Fairclough, mostly relying on Systemic Functional Linguistics, a linguistic theory and associated analytical methods.

The CDA is according to Fairclough (2008) 'oscillating' between a focus on specific texts and a focus on the orders of discourse, where the order of discourse represents the "relatively durable social structuring of language which is itself one element of the relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices". In my research, the text analysis is not seen as linguistic analysis in the sense of Systemic Functional Linguistics method, but as a textually oriented analysis, focusing on framing and metaphors within arguments, frequency of used words and terminology, collocations (vocabulary contexts in which words frequently appear throughout a text) and structures of arguments. Although I have been inspired by the CDA and influenced by its premises such as close readings of text and deconstructing meaning within them, I finally decided not to follow the Systemic Functional Linguistics, because it is not suitable for large quantities of data due to its detailed focus on linguistic elements.

Throughout the thesis, I applied five connected steps of PDA as outlined by Glynos and Howarth (2007) that helped me to structure the analytical process:

1. Problematisation
2. Retroduction
3. Logics
4. Articulation
5. Critique

Problematisation constructs the object of study as a problem and therefore justifies the research enquiry into a particular policy, practice or regime. This step has been achieved through the analytical review of literature, which reflects critical perspectives of cultural policy scholars, such as McGuigan (2009), Peck (2005), O'Connor (2016), Schlesinger (2016) and others and presents their critique of the policy practices and changes driven by the creative economy discourse (Glynos and Howarth 2007).

Retroduction is Howarth's (2010) way of constructing tentative hypothesis to account for a problematised object of study. This step is achieved through to-and-fro engagement with empirical data (Glynos and Howarth 2007) and seeking to render the explored problem more intelligible. This step was achieved through the thematic analysis, organisation and structuring of my data (policy documents and interview transcripts). Thematic analysis is used here as a descriptive approach and "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 79). I found useful a process outline by Nowel et al. (2017), although their original design seemed to be based on team work, which in my case was not possible, as I worked on my own. Since the process of retroduction took several phases of analysing the data, I hereby describe them in detail, before moving to the next stage:

Phase 1: Familiarizing myself with my data

This stage involved reading through the collected documents and interview transcripts and thinking about potential themes / codes as well as theoretical thoughts drawn from my analytical theory framework. This part also involved organizing the data into an Excel spread sheet in which I maintained details about authors, years and places of publishing the documents, translated Czech titles into English so they could be used consistently throughout my writing. I also wrote reflective notes in designated part of the spreadsheet. Eventually I uploaded the policy documents into the NVivo programme that helped me keep track of the codes.

Phase 2: Generating initial codes

This is a phase when I started generating codes for the documents and interviews. Coding has been described by Charmaz (1983) as 'simply the process of categorizing and sorting data' (p. 111), while 'codes' are described as serving to 'summarise, synthesise, and sort many observations made out of the data' (p. 112). According to Bryman and Burgess (2002) coding represents a key step in the process and as such, provides the link

between data and the conceptualisation. At first, I did what Strauss (1987) calls 'open coding', or 'initial coding'. In the grounded theory, in which coding and thematic analysis is a frequently used method (Charmaz 1983, Glaser 1978), the process is essentially aiming to break down, examine, compare, conceptualise, and categorise data' (Strauss and Corbin 1990:61). Coding here represents the gradual building up of categories out of the data (Bryman and Burgess 2002).

Phase 3: Searching for and reviewing themes

Searching and reviewing themes in NVivo was done in accordance with Bazeley (2013) and using codes as labels for passages of data based on my understanding of the content of the passage. Beyond making sense of different sections of the text material I added coding sections that contained metaphors and argumentation – when the interviewees justified or narrated why they were supporting the creative economy discourse or when they argued against it. These parts were then analysed further in the argumentation analysis (more details below). I built the themes based on my notes about encountered concepts and noting why were certain codes important to consider. Following Nowel (2017) I developed a habit of drawing diagrams to make sense of theme connections, comparisons, hierarchies of concepts and themes and adopted a practice of critically questioning my own relation to the data by reading through the documents again and evaluating so far made decisions.

Phase 5: Defining and naming themes

I used writing and note taking as a tool following Patton (2002) for whom carefully executed qualitative description is foundational to further analysis. I named my themes after describing them – writing is a way of clarifying my own thoughts, therefore, the names of different themes as presented in the following chapter were found in the process of description. In words of Corbin & Strauss (2008, p. 54), even at the highest levels of abstract science, there could be no scientific hypotheses and theoretical or laboratory activity without prior or accompanying descriptions. Though description is clearly not theory, description is basic to theorizing, which worked well in my process.

Phase 6: Producing a tentative hypothesis (retroduction)

According to Glynos and Howarth (2018) retroduction offers a particular form of explanation within the context of poststructuralist discourse analysis while the stage of logics articulation focuses more on the means of teasing out the

content of explanations. Throughout my process, I focused on describing of the content and context of the analysed data in sufficient details paired with theory and existing research to show that the explanations are sufficiently backed up by evidence.

Logics of critical explanation are the “content of explanation” and one of the most complex parts of the analysis oriented towards “capturing the rules that govern regimes or practices, as well as the conditions and objects that make such rules possible” (Howarth et al. 2016, p. 100). This phase was achieved through the pairing of the thematic analysis in retroductive process, the analysis of metaphors and framing and argumentation analysis in order to answer the supporting research questions³ and uncover the following:

- a. social logics that characterise a practice of creative economy; the social logics of epistemic communities, politicians, policy officers, cultural managers and other relevant actors in the field of cultural policy
- b. political logics of equivalence and difference that account for emergence of the practices of creative economy and its contestation and transformation in the new context.
- c. fantasmatic logics that account for the way particular practices of creative economy ‘grip’ subjects, such as the arts, creative work or those who work in the sectors understood under the concept of creative industries. These are the constructs and narratives of what is actually being transferred and recontextualised in the new environment

Just as there are different definitions of discourse, there are also different approaches towards its analysis. All of them are, however, concerned with the power relations that constitute the discourse itself, power relations are also the key interest of study in the policy transfer literature (for example Prince 2015, Ellison 2017). Van Dijk (1997) stated the major difference in approaches to discourse analysis is whether the analysis is focused on close analysis of text or not. Fairclough (2008) uses the term “textually oriented discourse analysis” to distinguish this kind of linguistically elaborate analysis from other variations, which are mostly influenced by Foucault’s thought and focus on the so-called ‘order of discourse’ to decode how is a particular discourse constructed and what are the powers behind its construction.

³ Supporting research questions are outlined in the Introduction to this thesis

After consulting both critical discourse studies and PDA literature (Flowerdew and Richardson 2018, Howarth and Griggs 2012), I have decided to pair the thematic analysis with both analysis of metaphor and framing and the argumentation analysis. According to Fairclough (2013), argumentation analysis is not only consistent with but also necessary for Gramscian approaches to political and policy analysis, such as the PDA. Howarth and Griggs (2012) mention the rhetorical argumentative analysis as a recommended technique, but accept other techniques deployed in critical discourse studies approaches as consistent with PDA and post-structuralist theory, such as the analysis of metaphor to be used in interpretation of specific linguistic figures.

3.6.1 Argumentation analysis

Analysis of argumentation according to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) focuses on argumentation for or against particular ways of acting, i.e. argumentation that can ground decision. I followed their approach, aiming at posing critical questions which lead into and contribute to analysis of relations of power and domination manifested in particular bodies of texts. I decided to adopt this approach since it “shows how particular beliefs and concerns shape practical reasoning and, contingently, decisions and actions on matters of social and political importance” (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012). I further focused on posing critical questions about how contexts of action, values and goals are represented in the premises of arguments which can feed into critique of ideology (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012).

As mentioned above, in my coding process I coded parts of interviews that contained argumentation around creative economy discourse and further deconstructed arguments that were speaking in favour of actions that constitute the discourse of creative economy, such as dispersion of discursive elements by using specific terminology or advocating for its use, as well as performing actions that constitute the discourse, such as research, promoting particular policy approaches and so on.

According to Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004), “argumentation is a verbal, social, and rational activity aimed at convincing a reasonable critic of the acceptability of a standpoint by putting forward a constellation of propositions justifying or refuting the proposition expressed in the standpoint” (p. 1). Exploring why specific groups of policy actors thought that the discourse of creative economy is benefiting the area of their interest or why did they support particular discursive elements, such as narratives or

metaphors, provided nodes on which I articulated the logics of the discourse's constitution in the Czech cultural policy.

Applying argumentation theory and analyse the reasoning and justification voiced by the interviewed policy actors, as Kienportner (2018) states we need to create typologies of argument schemes. These must provide explicit versions of argument structure, verbal indicators which allow the identification of argument schemes, and lists of critical questions designed for the critical evaluation of the argument schemes themselves (p. 232). As I have selected the argumentation analysis framework designed by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) as the major guidance, I have applied their argument structure and questions to break down the arguments.

According to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) "an argument is a set of statements (explicit or implicit), one of which is the conclusion (claim) while the others are premises. The conventional view is that the premises give reasons in support of the conclusion" (p. 36). The authors introduce a practical reasoning scheme that I found useful to follow in analysing the arguments, in order to hold onto a consistent structure:

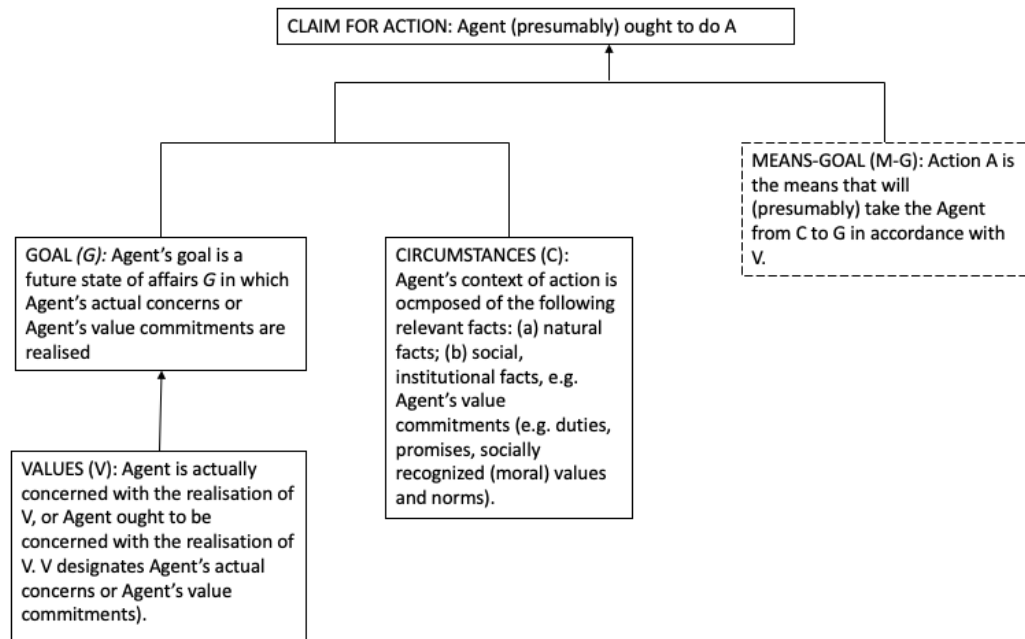
Goal (G): A future state of affairs, in which the Agent's actual concerns of Agent's value commitments are realised.

Values (V): Agent is actually concerned with the realisation of V, or agent ought to be concerned with the realisation of V (V designates Agent's actual concerns or Agent's value commitments)

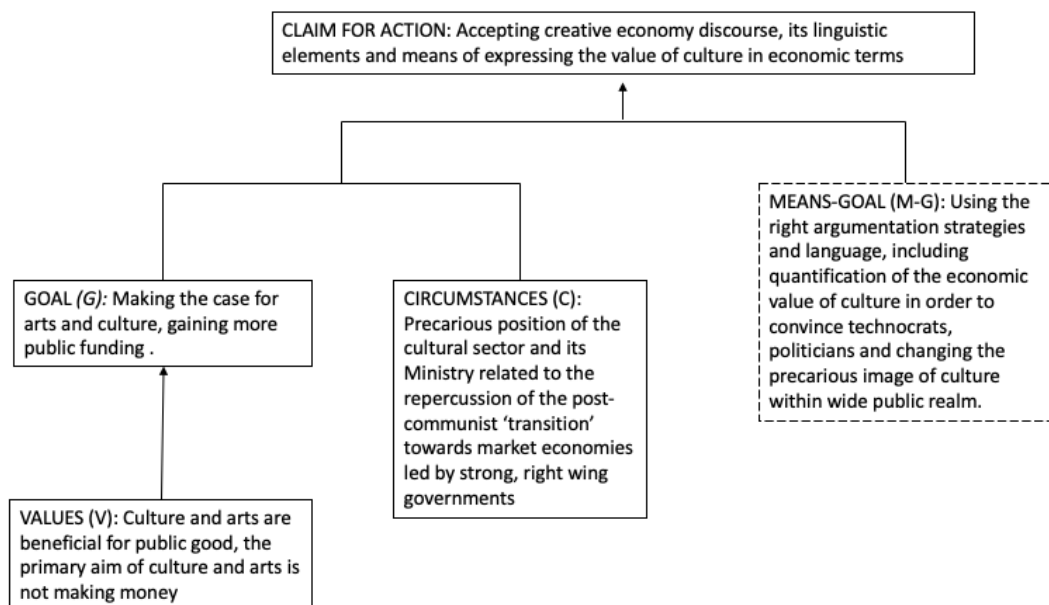
Circumstances (C): Agent's context of action is composed of the following relevant facts: a) natural facts; b) social, institutional facts, e.g. Agent's value commitments (e.g. duties, promises, socially recongised (moral) values and norms)

Means-goal (M-G): Action A is the means that will (presumably) take the Agent from C to G in accordance with V.

The following diagram shows the structure of a practical argument according to Fairclough (2012)



For illustration I present a structure of one of the most prevalent arguments throughout the analysis, the argument that creative economy as discourse is benefiting the arts by helping them to become stronger in the policy agenda setting for public funding:



I have structured my understanding of arguments and logics according to the goal premises, which represent the future state of affairs in which the participant's concerns or value commitments would be realised. This explains what the participants wanted to achieve when they deployed

favourable arguments related to the creative economy discourse. I present all four major argument structures in Appendix C.

3.6.1.1 Framing and definitions within arguments

As part of the analysis of arguments, I paid attention to the way interviewed subjects narrated or framed their understandings or justifications within the creative economy discourse. According to Fairclough

framing is said to involve the selective emphasis of a particular perspective or angle on an issue, generating the highly vexing phenomenon of “framing effects”, where “(often small) changes in the presentation of an issue or an event produce (sometimes large) changes of opinion (2018, p. 249).

Therefore, understanding how the interviewees used the language tools to frame or communicate meaning in their arguments was an important focus in my analysis. Regardless of its firm position within research conventions, the act of ‘defining’ is rather inconsistent with the post-structuralist approach to discourse. Discourse, according to post-structuralist theories, is indefinite, contingent and relational, it is both constituted and constitutive. Laclau and Mouffe (1985) relate their idea of discourse to Wittgenstein’s concept of language-game, which according to Wittgenstein marks “the whole, consisting of language and the activities into which it is woven” (Wittgenstein 1983, p. 8). An example of a language-game goes as follows “A is building with building-stones: there are blocks, pillars, slabs, and beams. B has to pass the stones, and that in the order in which A needs them. For this purpose they use a language consisting of the words ‘block’, ‘pillar’, ‘slab’, ‘beam’. A calls them out; B brings the stone which he has learnt to bring at such and such a call” (Wittgenstein 1983, p. 6). Although, according to Wittgenstein, words gain their meaning only by being used as part of a language-game and therefore defining them outside discourse would not make much sense, Laclau and Mouffe (1985) are concerned with the actual material properties of those terms or linguistic objects, that are part of Wittgenstein’s language-game (Laclau and Mouffe 1985, p. 14). They continue that “what constitutes a differential position and therefore a relational identity with certain linguistic elements, is not the idea of building-stone or slab, but the building-stone or the slab as such”, which means that “the linguistic and non-linguistic elements are not merely juxtaposed, but constitute a differential and structured system of positions – that is, a discourse. The differential positions include, therefore, a dispersion of very diverse material elements” (Laclau and Mouffe 1985).

This means, that in order to understand the discourse of creative economy, I decided to analyse the differential and structured system of positions constituted by the linguistic and non-linguistic elements, but also, explore the “material properties” of the elements themselves. Exploring the material properties of discursive elements is, in my understanding, comparable to a practice of defining, but it maintains a standpoint that it is impossible to fix the sense of the elements in any ultimate literality.

Argumentation analysis according to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) pays particular attention to what the authors call “persuasive definitions”. Persuasive definitions as well as evaluative terms in various argument premises can provide “a clearer understanding of what is going on in the agent’s speech”. According to this approach, rhetorically motivated representations (including metaphors or particular ways of ‘framing’) are not regarded as isolated features of the text, but as “having an argumentative function of steering the argument towards a certain conclusion and precluding other conclusion from being arrived at” (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012, p. 116). Ways of describing (including ‘framing’) the situation, of explaining its causes, or of narrating a sequence of events are, according to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) usually “contributing premises to an argument for action, whose conclusion will be supported by certain ways of describing, narrating or explain, and not others” (p. 30). Since descriptive accounts were frequent throughout the interviews, the presented analysis focuses precisely on these elements in order to outline the premises on which the arguments favouring the creative economy discourse were built.

Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) distinguish between theoretical or epistemic reasoning and practical reasoning. The difference between theoretical and practical reasoning is not one of content (scientific vs. mundane; knowing that vs. knowing how) or context (academic vs. lay), but one having to do with (a) purpose – arriving at true (or at least rationally acceptable) belief or deciding on the right course of action, and (b) the nature of the conclusion: a descriptive or normative conclusion. Both types of reasoning occurred throughout my interviews, framing and metaphor occurred mainly in the theoretical arguments, when the discursive subjects were providing a descriptive conclusion, telling me what the situation was. These epistemic/theoretical arguments are, however, “usually supporting the conclusion of a more general practical argument, and are embedded in arguments about what should be done” (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012, p.

30). I have therefore devoted a substantial attention to exploring how were the interviewees framing the discursive elements in order to explain why were they in favour of the discourse that could potentially provide explanation of why has the discourse diffused into the policy sphere.

3.6.1.2 Critical evaluation of the arguments

In their analytical framework for analysing arguments, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) emphasise the need to evaluate arguments and in order to do so one has to subject the arguments to a set of critical questions. Such questions generate rigorous social critique based on evaluating whether the arguments presented are sound or at least good. A sound argument, according to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) is “a valid argument with true premises, but it is not always easy to tell which premises are true and which are not.” (p. 52). A good argument is defined in terms of three criteria: premise acceptability, relevance and sufficiency (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012). Except for sufficiency, validity and acceptability of the argument premises and an overall critical evaluation of the argument, unlike other major argumentation approaches such as Walton (2006) and Audi (2006). This approach, as Fairclough (2018) declares “integrates the rhetorical perspective into the dialectical one” and “to take a dialectical perspective on argumentation is to view a process of critical questioning as crucial in assessing the reasonableness of a (practical, epistemic or evaluative) standpoint. For example, a proposal is found unreasonable if critical questioning uncovers critical objections against it, such as unacceptable potential consequences or negative consequences of the favoured action in relation to the goal and value premises. The presented critical questioning looks at how are consequences represented rhetorically by the interviewed speakers, who related critically. As Fairclough (2018) declares, consequences can be made to look more or less (un)acceptable by being rhetorically presented in a particular way (the same being true for any other premise or conclusion) and therefore it is necessary to evaluate particular ways of ‘framing’ a ‘problem’ or a proposal’s alleged consequences and whether or not these are rationally acceptable. Some consequences might be unintended, because the agents might have good reasons for promoting a claim for action, but they still have to be critically examined.

Seeking a methodological guidance in argumentation analysis literature, I also pursued the critical evaluation of what Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) call “a circumstantial premise”. Circumstantial premises are related to the internal and external reasons for action. Whilst the internal reasons

represent the actor's own psychological motives having to do with what they want, in case of the external reason, it works as an external constraint, in the sense that "there is a reason why I ought to do something" (p. 42) or simply, the situation in which the interviewees found themselves, for example an extremely precarious working conditions, made them argue in a certain way.

Practically, to critically evaluate the arguments, I asked the following questions, as defined by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012)

1. Challenging the rational acceptability ('truth') of the premises:

- Is it true, that, in principle, doing action (A) can lead to goal (G)?
- Is it true that the interviewee in is circumstances C as stated or presupposed?
- Is it true that the interviewee actually has the stated / presupposed motives (goal underlying normative sources)?

2. Challenging the reasonableness of the conclusion

- Are the intended consequences of doing A acceptable?
- Are the foreseeable unintended consequences (i.e. risks) of doing A acceptable? [If not, is there a plan B, mitigation or insurance strategy in place that can make it reasonable to undertake A]?

3. Challenging the inference

- Among reasonable alternatives is A comparatively better in the context?

The critical evaluation of arguments linked together the plurality of logics, the so-called "synthesis of many determinations" is manifested in the last two steps of PDA as outlined above, the Articulation and Critique (Howarth et al. 2016). This is where an account is made for the problematised phenomenon, the creative economy, and where a comprehensive answer to the major research question is provided. According to Howarth et al. (2016), the researcher acquires and enacts the capacity to "connect a concept to an object or 'apply' a logic to a series of social processes, within a contingent and contestable theoretical framework" (p. 101). The articulation and critique is presented in the Conclusion of this thesis and exposes the contingency of processes and relations in the field of Czech cultural policy and discusses alternatives, it also highlights the ideological closures incorporated in the fantasmatic narratives of recontextualised creative economy.

Chapter 4

Retroduction: Sources and Framing

The literature review suggested that there has been dissemination of the discourse of the creative economy internationally. This chapter presents and discusses evidence that this creative economy discourse exists in the Czech Republic, through thematic analysis of interviews and selected Czech policy documents on a national and city level. It aims to answer two of the research sub-questions:

Q1 How do the policy actors frame the creative economy discourse?

Q2 How does the discourse exist within cultural policy documents in the Czech Republic?

This chapter also represents Glynos & Howarth's (2007) second phase of post-structuralist discourse analysis (PDA), the Retroduction phase. Retroduction renders the studied problem as more intelligible by identifying themes and provides basis for preliminary hypotheses which are presented in the conclusions of this chapter. Themes, which emerge from the policy documents analysis are elaborated in the following chapters through the analysis of the interviews. Retroduction is a form of logical inference which starts with an observation or set of observations and then seeks to find the simplest and most likely explanation for the observations. These explanations are based on the presence of language that provides justification for conceptual articulations within rhetoric strategies and narrative flows.

A primary concern in this thesis is evidence of intertextuality between the original sources and policy documents and repercussions of discursive elements from key texts on creative economy in the analysed policy documents and interviews to trace which and whose ideas have diffused into the Czech context. However, because ideas intermingle through discursive events and get replicated, altered, applied and constructed through conceptual assemblage, it is not always possible to find the primary sources of information.

For instance, some of the earlier key creative economy discourse texts that have been introduced in the literature review⁴, contain the discursive structures and narratives that determine the creative economy as discourse in the cultural policy field. Although these texts and their discursive elements have been subjected to critique from cultural policy scholars, such as Eleonora Belfiore (2009, 2018), Paola Merli (2001), Jamie Peck (2010), Gibson and Klocker (2005), Phillip Schlesinger (2016); Sara Selwood (2010), they have been further replicated and carried on within other influential texts, published in the following years. Such influential text would be for instance a study created by a Belgian consultancy KEA (2006) titled *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, which was replicated and quoted extensively in various minor alternations throughout the analysed policy documents and interviews. The text of the study draws heavily on key creative economy discourse reports, studies and theories published previously, but operates as a self-standing and an influential publication, given the amount of references in both policy documents and interviews I have analysed.

Because of the global assemblage of creative economy (Prince 2009) it is impossible to say exactly, where which idea came from, but, as will be shown in the following analysis, some justifications, definitions or ideas have a distinctive wording or use specific terminology and can be therefore assigned to the primary source. In order to evaluate which of the elements of creative economy discourse have been diffused, I have grouped the statements, narrative flows, symbolic actions and conceptual articulations of creative economy discourse, as they emerged from the analysed policy documents and interviews into the sub-sections of this chapter.

4.1 The cultural and creative industries (CCI) in policy documents

Analysing policy documents and interviews, I considered presence of the constitutive concepts, such as the CCI as evidence of creative economy discourse. The concept of CCI has been circulating in the international field

⁴ For instance *The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain* by John Myerscough (1988), *the Creative Britain* (1998), written by the former UK Secretary of State for Culture Chris Smith, *the Mapping Document* by DCMS, Media and Sport (2001), *The Rise of Creative Class* by Richard Florida.

of cultural policy for the past 20 years and has been modified, rearticulated and recontextualised in the process of “policy assemblage” (Prince 2009) and therefore I found it important to look at the way CCI were defined in a different context – the Czech Republic. Exploring definitions and wording closely showed how the policy documents grasped the concept in the explored case of the Czech Republic and revealed that the major source of the definition was the Mapping Document of the DCMS (2001) in the UK. Another focus of my analysis was exploring how the authorities articulated the support of the CCI, because it revealed argumentative justifications which provided the basis for preliminary hypotheses of the rationale behind creative economy discourse.

4.1.1 Defining the CCI

Definitions of CCI are a significant way to find out whether the concept of CCI has been newly crafted, modified or adopted from other countries or institutions. This is an important indicator of where the creative economy discourse in the Czech cultural policy has diffused from. The following table shows an overview of how the analysed policy documents handled the definitions of CCI and what were their sources.

Table 1 - Overview of CCI definition in analysed policy documents

Institution	Year	Title of the document	Definition of CCIs
Ministry of Culture	1999	Blueprint of Cultural Policy in the CR - Strategy for efficient State Support of Culture	The concept of CCI is not mentioned in the document.
Ministry of Culture	2001	Cultural Policy	The concept of CCI is not mentioned in the document.
Ministry of Culture	2006	Blueprint for More Efficient Support of the Arts in 2007 - 2013	Absence of the definition, but the concept is mentioned in terms of its growing influence and a need for support.
City of Plzeň	2009	Blueprint for the development of culture for the years 2009 - 2019	Absence of the definition, but the concept is mentioned in terms of its

			growing influence and a need for support.
City of Zlín, University of Tomáš Baťa	2012	Strategic plan for development of the city of Zlín until the year 2020	Part of the definition is matching the wording as in the IDU's translation of DCMS definition.
Ministry of Culture	2013	Blueprint of a more effective operation of the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic in relation to abroad for the years 2013 - 2018	Absence of the definition, but the concept is mentioned in terms of its growing influence and a need for support.
Ministry of Culture	2015	Integrated Strategy of Support of Culture Until the Year 2020	The wording is identical to the IDU's translation of DCMS definition.
Ministry of Culture	2015	Blueprint of Support of the Arts in the Czech Republic for the years 2015 - 2020	CCI are defined in a form of a diagram of concentric circles, directly quoted from an IDU publication.
Ministry of Culture	2015	National Cultural Policy of the Czech Republic 2015 - 2020	The wording is identical to the IDU's translation of DCMS definition.
City of Olomouc, Department of policy and development	2017	Strategic Plan of the City of Olomouc	There is a similarity in wording to the IDU's translation of DCMS definition, but rephrased.
City of Prague	2017	Blueprint for Cultural Policy of the Capital City of Prague 2017 - 2021	Absence of the definition, but the concept is mentioned in terms of its growing influence and a need for support.
City of Brno, Department of Culture	2018	Strategic plan for culture and creative industries of the city of Brno	The CCI are defined as a list of sectors included in the concept. IDU is mentioned as an authority in this regard.

The first time the policy documents ever connected culture with industry was in the very first post-communist cultural policy documents from 1999 and 2001 that mention the term “cultural industry” with a reference to the UNESCO Stockholm conference titled *Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development* hosted by the government of Sweden in Stockholm in 1998. Except for mentioning this term once, these documents, however, do not present any other rhetoric that renders culture in industrial terms, neither does the expression “creative industries” appear. The real introduction of the concept of CCI, occurred in the arts policy document from 2006 titled *Blueprint for More Efficient Support of the Arts in 2007 – 2013* (MKČR 2006), which mentions CCI at several occasions. The following nation-wide cultural policy documents and five selected city cultural policy documents mention and operate with the concept within their goals and suggested actions. The concept of CCI is mentioned in three basic connotations: first, in terms of needing support; second, in terms of the authorities verbally acknowledging the CCI’s growing importance; and third, when they express the need to investigate the CCI’s potential by research and mapping.

Four of these documents, however, do not explicitly say what the CCI are, neither do they refer to a source, where a definition could be found. The absence of definitions in a situation when the concept was not formally used by these authorities before and was therefore relatively new at the time, is interesting, particularly because it entails an implicit assumption that everyone knows what the concept of CCI means. The absence of conceptual clarification renders the CCI ambiguous and this potentially creates possibilities for theoretically endless potential for interpretation and flexible moulding of the concept’s meaning, depending on the context and convenience of the user. Such vagueness could have been intentional to avoid confronting the question of what and who is involved, which has been a subject of debates at the time.

Policy documents from 2012 onwards that included a definition of CCI were referring to a definition that appeared in one of the early publications by the Institute of Arts (IDU) on the topic of CCI titled *Creative Industries in the Czech Republic*. This electronic publication was published in 2011 as the final report from the IDU’s Mapping Project *Socio-economic Potential of the Cultural and Creative Industries* (2007-2011) funded by the Ministry of

Culture. The definition used by the IDU was translated quotation from the DCMS Mapping document from 2001, articulated as follows:

Creative industries are those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property (DCMS 2001).

The definition was translated and presented in the IDU publication (2011) with a remark, justifying the use of the UK definition, as:

the team has used the definition from the updated version of the Mapping Document evaluating the creative industries in the Great Britain, which is frequently used, sometimes with minor adjustments, in political practice also in other countries (e.g. Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia) (IDU, 2011, p. 5).

Through close examination and comparison of the wording in definitions used in the analysed policy documents, my analysis revealed that the definitions are identical or in some cases appear with minor adjustments and that they all match the definition by the DCMS as translated in the IDU's report (2011). Appendix D presents a table of extracted definitions of CCIs from the analysed policy documents alongside the original DCMS translation found in the Institute of Arts document for closer examination and comparison of the wording in the original Czech language as well as in English translation.

The detailed analysis of definitions reveals two important things. First, the policy documents either did not define the CCIs at all or they used a definition by the DCMS, which diffused either in its full translation as referenced in IDU (2011) or with very small adjustments, still maintaining the major features such as individual creativity, talent and skill, potential for wealth creation, and exploitation of intellectual property. The DCMS definition diffused via IDU into four public policy documents, two of them were issued by the Czech Ministry of Culture and two by local city councils. These findings can be therefore regarded as evidence of the diffusion of the British government's conceptualisation of the CCI, rather than any other institutions that have appropriated the concept of CCI, but redefined it, such as the EU (for instance in its *Green Paper Unlocking the Potential of Cultural and Creative Industries* (2010).

Second, the IDU, which has used the DCMS Mapping Document as a source for its translated definition and included it in its publication *Creative*

Industries in the Czech Republic (2011) has proved its influence on the content of some of the analysed policy documents and a significant role in articulating one of the major concepts of creative economy discourse, the CCI, in several Czech national and city-based cultural policy documents.

The IDU's influence on the public institutions' definition of the CCI is also evident from the arts policy document *Blueprint of Support of the Arts in the Czech Republic for the years 2015 - 2020* (MKČR 2015c), which uses the Institute's visualisation of the con-centric circle diagram modelling the 'layers' of relations between the arts, cultural and creative industries. This diagram was enunciated by the Australian economist David Throsby (2001, p. 112 – 113), whilst several preceding conceptualisations among the UK literature existed before such as in the work of Garnham (1990, 2001) and an unpublished report for the British Council by Gorham & Partners (1987), as Throsby declares (2008). Throsby created a new interpretation of the model, which, as he declares, was subsequently appropriated and developed in other places, for example in the influential study *Economy of Culture in Europe*, prepared for the European Commission (KEA European Affairs, 2006, pp. 53–57) and in the UK (The Work Foundation, 2007), where the concentric circles idea is used as a basis for classifying the creative industries in Europe and the UK respectively. It was the Work Foundation diagram that appeared in the first publication in Czech (Cikánek 2009) and was later replicated in reports published by the IDU and also several ministerial cultural policy documents.



Diagram 1 Visualisation of cultural and creative industries by Work Foundation (2008)

Obrázek č. 1: Tradiční umění a kulturní a kreativní průmysly



Zdroj: Institut umění – Divadelní ústav, 2015.

Diagram 2 Visualisation of cultural and creative industries in the cultural policy documents of the Ministry of Culture (2015)

According to an IDU's (2015) publication in which this diagram appears and which became appropriated by the Ministry of Culture, the authors believed that the UK was a pioneer of the creative industries concept in Europe as the following quote demonstrates:

the cultural and creative industries were first defined by a working group of the DCMS established by the prime minister Tony Blair⁵ in 1997 and the results of the mapping were published in their mapping documents in 1998 and 2001 (DCMS 1998, 2001). This is how the Great Britain became the pioneer of the creative industries concept in Europe (IDU 2015).

This idea, regardless of its validity or accuracy, was maintained by the authors of the text, the Director of the IDU, Eva Žáková and Marcel Kraus, R&D Program Designer of the Technological Agency of the Czech Republic. The belief that the UK was on the forefront of the new creative economy discourse suggests that this could be the reason why they decided to use the definition as well as a visualisation of the CCI from the UK based resources. In the later stages of the IDU's research activities in the field of

⁵ Creative Industries Task Force

CCI, the diagram was slightly graphically altered, but maintained the major content features and logics.

In response to the research question that asks what elements of the creative economy discourse have been diffused into the policy documents, several conclusions can be driven. First, the concept of the CCI appears in policy documents from 2006 starting with the document titled *Blueprint for More Efficient Support of the Arts in 2007 – 2013* prepared by the cultural policy consultant Marta Smolíková in collaboration with the IDU and working groups consisting of representatives of the cultural sector. Smolíková and her co-workers was among my interviewees and therefore their perspective is reflected in my analysis in the next chapters. Second, the first document in which CCI were explicitly defined was the *Strategic plan for development of the city of Zlín until the year 2020* (2012). People, who were involved in Zlín creative economy discourse were also among my interviewees and therefore, their perspectives are elaborated further. Third, since the definition used in the policy documents came from Britain, I also interviewed a number of foreign consultants based in Britain to understand better their views on creative economy discourse spreading. Fourth, although the definition was absent in several documents, the authorities operated with the CCI term and articulated a need to support them or carry research activities. The following section will analyse how the interviewees encountered the discourse and what terminology they used.

4.1.2 Interviews: Sources of Knowledge, Terminology and Framing

The analysis of policy documents proposed that the Arts Institute (IDU) was the main source of the dissemination of the discourse of creative economy in the Czech Republic. It has been also revealed that the Czech cultural policy documents repeatedly used the DCMS definition of the cultural and creative industries (CCI) as translated in several reports of the IDU. A hypothesis has been drawn that the creative economy discourse was imported from the UK. The detailed view into the circumstances in which the participants encountered the discursive elements presented in this section shows that this hypothesis was partially correct but that wider political and social circumstances facilitated the discourse spreading as a multidirectional and relational process, rather than a mere transfer of a policy idea. The interviews offered a complex view of the participants' first encounters with the discourse and a range of different experiences is presented here.

The interviews confirmed that the IDU played a major role. Since the IDU was the first Czech public institution carrying out research in the area of creative economy, many of the interviewed participants initially came across the discourse via the IDU's events and publications. A Prague based Theatre Director, a chair of the Association of Professional Theatres, who had been involved in cultural policy since the early 1990s described her encounter with the discourse as follows:

I'd say, some 7, 8 years ago, when it was the first time they talked about it there [IDU], and well, I felt like I was sitting ... (LAUGHS) as if they were talking in Azerbaijani, I felt like I had no clue what to imagine under that. And then we started translating it into the 'language of humans'. Basically, so that one could understand what it is based on, what can be enveloped into it, what is possible, how can it be fitted onto other things. [...] Eva [one of the two Directors of the IDU] presented it there, because she had some experience from elsewhere. So, I'd say that she tried, because it was this kind of a meeting, where there were representatives of the film industry, theatre, classical music, non-classical music, visual art... And in fact, she tried to explain it to those people, that such a thing exists, that we would have to get used to it and learn it somehow (Interview 21).

Unlike in the UK, where a debate about 'cultural industries' existed since the 1980s, which then in the late 1990s shifted into creative industries and creative economy approach (Garnham 2005, Gross 2019), in the Czech Republic the language of creative economy was unprecedented, although some of the participants mentioned that they somehow intuitively sensed that there is economic value in certain cultural activities. The quote demonstrates that the IDU worked as an access point for many cultural and arts professionals and that the new concepts were "explained" to them by the IDU's leading figures as something to be "learned" and "fitted" onto their agendas. The quote also shows that terminology was to be translated collectively into the "language of humans", which shows that a certain effort had to be put into recontextualising and finding a common ground for the discourse within the Czech cultural field.

The first printed publications of the IDU, replicated the Anglo-Saxon approaches, namely the DCMS, Work Foundation's concentric circle diagram, John Howkins's creative economy concept, Richard Florida's creative class and a few other tropes that were part of the discursive space of creative economy. The IDU's Mapping projects and their leading

personalities were mentioned by majority interviewees as highly influential. A creative industries organiser from Zlín said that the mapping was “tremendously important” and that it was a “first step that started all following activities, so and absolutely fundamental thing” (Interview 9). Even an interviewed public officer from the Ministry of Culture mentioned that she used the Mapping reports as “a bible” and something to “rely on” (Interview 26).

The leading figures of the initial creative industries debate were the Directors of the IDU and several associated researchers and policy consultants. One of the two Directors of the IDU encountered the discourse of creative economy for the first time in 2005, “by coincidence”, when the UK was presiding the EU, because she was also the Director of the National Office of the Programme Culture of the European Commission and, as she declared,

at that time working meetings of all those countries that took part of the Program were organised in the country that held the presidency. So, I came across this during an informal meeting of the National Offices in the UK. [...] Those meetings were not only about the Programme Culture itself, but also about some context, tools of support for culture and various other themes. We had a colleague in Manchester and there he introduced us to a lot of people, who worked in the field of support of those cultural and creative industries, mainly in relation to drawing on the European Structural Funds back then in the Great Britain (Interview 6).

The concept of CCI originated in the UK and around the year 2005 it was a powerful cultural policy strategy. The circumstances in which she was introduced to it was an opportunity to learn how the UK colleagues used the EU structural funds in order to support the CCI. Since the Czech Republic joined the EU a year before, in 2004, using the EU structural funds in the field of culture was not yet a common practice at the time. Although at first, she found the rhetoric of creative economy “dangerous”, because of potential economisation of culture and arts, the major interest of this particular person, who a few years later became the Principal Investigator in the IDU’s Mapping Project was based on an opportunity to potentially create more funding opportunities for the Czech cultural sector. As evident in the existing literature on cultural policy transfer, the process of introducing the creative economy discourse into the newly joined EU countries appeared at the time when these countries gained access to the EU structural funds

(Rindzeviciute et al 2015) and the presented scenario is therefore a wider transnational pattern.

In the initial stages of the creative economy discourse proliferation, the role of the European Commission's funding programmes that enabled Czech researchers and policy makers to travel was an essential path breaker. However, the existence of what O'Connor (2016) called the "ramshackle epistemic community around culture and economy" was a key element in this process. Because it worked transnationally, knowledge was accessible not only in the UK, but, as O'Connor (2016, p. 3) declares, this group's "not-quite-reorganised field of expertise benefited enormously from the UK government's 'creative industries' brand and, in turn, this transnational epistemic community was partly responsible for the unexpected (by the UK government at least) success of this policy across the globe". The transnational transfer of the UK knowledge, assisted by the European Commission's exchange funding is demonstrated in the following quote by another major figure, Interviewee 1, who facilitated the creative economy discourse in the Czech context. Interview 1 was a lead figure in the IDU's Mapping Project and the author of the first monograph on the theme of creative industries in the Czech Republic. He declared that he first encountered the discourse during his studies in Helsinki, where he went via the Socrates exchange programme of the European Commission:

I studied in Helsinki, and the person, who led the programme there studied at City University in London, a [cultural policy] course that I later also enrolled into. And he was inviting the City professors there, they used to fly there as visiting professors, it was quite a nice series of lectures, and then in fact at the end of Socrates we flew to London and we also went to Edinburgh, where they set up a network of universities that specialise in arts management (Interview 1).

This way of the discourse's proliferation also corresponds with the work of Prince (2010, 2013), who maintained that the rise of creative industries as a policy idea was a result of the strategic activities of cultural operators, policymakers, and especially consultants. Interview 1 declared that after he returned to the Czech Republic from studying abroad, he published an article on the theme of creative industries, based on which he was invited to collaborate with the IDU and started working on his monograph *Creative Industries: The Opportunity for New Economy* (2009). He further mentioned the *Blueprint for More Efficient Support of the Arts in 2007 – 2013*, the first cultural policy document in which the term "cultural and creative industries"

first appeared as “really having influenced a lot” in terms of the spreading of the discourse of creative economy, which confirms the analysis from previous section, where the document seemed to be the first one mentioning the creative economy terminology.

The preparation phase of this document was led by Marta Smolíková, who was a Programme Manager in the Open Society Foundation in Prague between the years 1993 and 2003. Thanks to her top-level position at a prestigious American foundation, Smolíková had a wide network and reputation throughout the cultural sector. Around the year 2003 she founded ProCulture.cz, a platform for cultural policy and worked as a policy consultant and a close collaborator with the IDU. Her influential position in the Czech cultural policy field can be testified by the fact that she used to be regularly sent to international conferences and gatherings on behalf of the Ministry of Culture, alongside the Director of the Ministry’s Department for the Arts, Pavla Petrová (who later became one of the two directors at the IDU), as Smolíková declared in the interview. Smolíková first encountered the theme of creative economy in Cork, around the year 2000, “when the city was preparing its programme for the European Capital of Culture [in 2005]”, which again, confirms the proposition that many of the participants’ first encounters with the creative economy discourse happened through the opportunities enabled by the European Commission’s programmes.

Smolíková mentioned two texts that were influential in her cultural policy approaches and she referred to them as the “first things that one was then directed by”. These were the report *Measuring the economic and social impact of the arts: a review* (2002) by a research officer of the Arts Council England Michelle Reeves and Francois Matarasso’s study *Use or Ornament: The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts* (1997), published by the British policy consultancy Comedia. Both studies were reports on the instrumental value of culture and the arts. As will be further elaborated below, use value of culture and arts was a focal element in framing the creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic.

According to the Interviewee 1, who mentioned the *Blueprint for More Efficient Support of the Arts in 2007 – 2013* as influential in disseminating the creative economy discourse, the document was

still showing the old-school thinking but it was already reflecting the more modern or rather contemporary trends, for instance the Anglo-Saxon ones, because until then the major influence here was the German cultural policy, the more traditional one (Interview 1).

In my view it can be confirmed that the series of consultations with the sector through which this document was created between the period between 2004 and 2007 was the time when the creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic started its formation. It was in 2009 when these three key figures, working at the IDU created the programme of the Fórum for Creative Europe, mentioned in the Introduction, where the majority of the public officers and professionals encountered the discourse for the first time, as one of the two IDU Directors confirmed.

She further declared that the speakers, who were invited to speak at the Fórum were

the key figures, who were inspiring for us at the beginning, be it Richard Florida, whom we got there, Rod Fisher, Howkins... each of them had their own theory. David Throsby was one of those, who defined it world-wide, so I think we drew on the ideas in his theory (Interview 5).

Based on its large, curated, three-day programme, the Fórum was a model gathering of O'Connor's (2016) "transnational policy community of cultural (and later creative) industries and cultural (and later creative) cities experts". Since several interviewees declared that the Fórum was a major event with significant repercussions, I return to it in a greater detail in a separate part, focusing closely at the social logics of the discourse expansion and exploring the language related to foreign experts.

Although the IDU was perceived as having a major role in disseminating the discourse, it would be mistaken to conclude that the IDU was the only access point to the creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic. Among my interviewees there were several individuals, whose introduction to the discourse was independent from the IDU's activity. These were cultural managers, policy consultants and public officers, who took part in various EU funded university exchange programmes, such as Erasmus and Socrates and studied abroad, specifically in the UK and Germany. Others were preparing grant applications and projects funded by the European Commission, such as university research grants, the European Capital of Culture programme, the INTERREG fund for cross border regional cooperation (a project titled Cross Innovation, led by the Birmingham University) and the EU's structural fund for regional development (a project titled CreaClust, focused on trans-local cross-border collaboration). Two interviewees encountered the discourse via their professional or personal interest in international networks, such as the IETM (formerly called Informal

European Theatre Meeting International and in 2005 renamed to Network for Contemporary Performing Arts) and the CAE – Culture Action Europe, formerly called EFAH (European Forum for Arts and Heritage).

In two cases, my interviewees said that they have found out about the theme from their colleagues, who worked or studied in the UK, where they probably encountered the discourse. A few of them couldn't remember, but vaguely guessed that it was "somewhere in Brussels, where all those fashionable themes are passing through", as a public officer from the Prague City Department of Culture commented (Interview 11). In conclusion, I agree with Peter Schlesinger (2016), who wrote that the EU provides an "illuminating case study of diffusion" of the creative economy discourse.

This introductory section revealed that the circumstances in which the interviewees encountered the creative economy discourse varied, but were almost in all cases linked to the opportunities that emerged after the country got access to the European Commission's exchange programmes, structural funds and funding programmes for culture. This brief insight into the context in which the interviewees encountered the creative economy discourse reveals partially the broader structural circumstances, which assisted the discourse proliferation, such as the trans-national governance of the European Union by providing funding opportunities for international collaborations and knowledge exchange. However, the circumstances in which the interviewees encountered the creative economy discourse need a deeper analysis to gain sufficient insight into the values and goals of those, who favoured the creative economy discourse as well as circumstances and internalised ideological underpinnings. I aim to achieve this depth by analysing the argumentation provided by the interviewees, presented in the following chapter through logics of critical explanation.

Since the main task of critical post-structuralist policy analysis has been to find out how and why certain policies or policy discourses have been adopted, this section refers to the question of how. Particularly, it illustrates how were key discursive elements deployed throughout the discursive formation and how were they used relationally by different subjects. The analysis showed that terminology differed in relation to discursive subjects and their goals and values and is therefore overall inconsistent. There were instances in which one speaker used a variety of terms, particularly with the key concept of the discourse – the cultural and creative industries. In 2013 Lehečková analysed the development of terminology within the creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic looking at a range of texts and

authors that existed around the theme at the time. Lehečková arrived to a conclusion that the discourse agents differed in their attitudes towards particular terminological variants and that using the term “cultural and creative industries” translated as “kulturní a kreativní průmysly” evoked at some participants of the discourse a fear of the space of culture and arts being taken over by economic interests and subordinating the process of creation to the economisation of cultural artefacts. My analysis of data collected in 2017 confirms Lehečková’s (2013) conclusion.

Seemingly small nuances in the translation of the word “industries” caused major semiotic difference and fuelled incessant contestations between the discourse agents. As the following excerpts will show, the two versions of the translation of the term CCI discussed by the interviewees revolved around its more ‘industrial’ version *průmysly* or a broader term *odvětví*, which I further refer to as “sectors” to distinguish from “industries”. The following quote by a participant representing the Government’s Technological Agency illustrates the semiotic difference between the terms *průmysly* (industries) and *odvětví* (sectors):

There is no consensus on whether to use the cultural and creative industries or the cultural and creative sectors. [...] Those who use the term ‘industries’ say that it will help the new CCIs enter the environment that has so far been rather dedicated to the heavy industry, because of the word ‘industry’, so no one can say that they’re not industries when they’re referred to as such, right? But those who say ‘sectors’ emphasise the non-market additional effect, the added value of those culturally creative industries, in a sense that it affects the quality of life in communities and cities. And it doesn’t necessarily have to be marketised (Interview 20).

According to Lehečková’s (2013) analysis, the expression “odvětví” has a broader definition, it means ‘field of activity, scope’ and it is possible to find connections of the word with fields that have, according to Lehečková, “nothing to do with industry” (2013, p. 72). As evident in the testimony of the quoted interviewee, the use of the two translation variants differed according to the interests, goals and values of the discourse agents. Those, who preferred their field of activity to be linked with the more industrial and business-oriented domains used the term “industries”. On the other hand, people, who were interested in emphasizing, that their field does not have to be market-oriented, but benefits the society, which the Interviewee 20 called

an 'added value' (a frequent but inconsistent conceptual imaginary as per analysis in the following section), preferred the term "sectors".

It can be further illustrated by a quote of an artistic director, who has been participating on the cultural policy debate in the Czech Republic for over 25 years. She explained that the use of the discourse was particularly relevant for her when she was the Artistic Director of the candidature for European Capital of Culture of Plzeň 2015:

Much more than the concept of creative industries I tried to integrate the concept of creative sector into the terminology used by the Ministry [of Culture]. It just feels clearer and closer to what I'm doing. If someone wants to categorise what I do in [my venue] as creative industries, then I'm getting a 'rash' [laughs]. It's just too broad a concept for me. And there I really see much more of the videogames, the design... and all those actual industries that really do business, right? So, for me, clearer terminology is 'creative sector' as such. And so, I integrated it as such into the terminology of Pilsen 2015 (Interview 23).

She uses the metaphor of "getting a rash", which in Czech language is semiotically identical with being allergic to something and therefore not being in favour of the referred phenomenon. She used the word "clearer" (čistší) twice in relation to the terminology, which I interpret as signifying that it was meaningful for her that there was a clear division between the business-oriented activities and those that she was doing, that being non-profit performing arts, specifically the marginal genre of contemporary dance. According to Interviewee 23, there seemed to be a problem in understanding the creative economy discourse terminology, precisely because of the merging of the two "worlds", the world of "economy" and the world of "culture". She referred to the terminology and the use of creative economy language as "not entirely natural for the Czech environment" and admitted that that explaining it is very difficult, she added that for a lot of people in the Pilsen region, she was "completely incomprehensible", because the term 'creative economy' "doesn't work for anyone, this phrase doesn't work well together, right? Well, I either think economically or I come from the cultural sector... Those people have it divided like this, the two worlds" (Interview 23).

The view of an Artistic Director corresponds to many others from the cultural policy field. One of the main investigators in the IDU CCI Mapping Projects, who commented on the terminology as follows:

I think it should have been translated as a creative sectors [odvětví] and that's it. These are simply not industries. I don't think it's helpful. It is not suitable, because it is simply not acceptable for everyone. Basically, 'industry' is a bad word for many people in the culture field, with which they do not want to have anything to do with (Interview 28).

She believed that using the right terminology was important to eliminate “negative reactions” which have appeared. This relates to the research of Justin O'Connor, who in his early studies described his own experience with the creative economy discourse policy implementations outside the Anglo-Saxon context (O'Connor 2000, 2005, 2004). O'Connor acknowledges that the terminology itself brought “fresh problems” and that “whereas the UK can use ‘industry’ almost interchangeably with ‘economic sector’, elsewhere it evokes factory production” (O'Connor, 2004, p. 41). My analysis confirms O'Connor's experience and, as has been demonstrated in the previous sections, terms such as “creative industries”, “creative economy” became imported neologisms that had to be translated and explained.

Remarkably, the Ministry of Culture did not seem to be strictly articulating its terminology according to this imaginary boundary. As I have already mentioned above, at the time I did my fieldwork, the Ministry officers, whom I interviewed expressed that the definition and terminology related to the concept of CCI was in the process of change. The Ministry of Culture seemed to be abandoning the terminology officially promoted by the IDU and the term “sectors” favoured by the cultural professionals and shifting towards the conceptualisation drafted by the officers and advisors associated with the Government Office, who favoured the term “industries”. The following quote illustrates the then situation with terminology from the point of view of the Ministry officers:

In a broader sense, [to use ‘industries’] makes a bit more sense than to use ‘sector’, a term under which none of the real, let's say, holders of money and all other potential subsidies does not imagine anything. Take the Ministry of Industry and Trade, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport... for them the word ‘sector’ is so vague that they simply... for them it simply has no weight at all unlike the word ‘industries’. [...] But certainly, a lot of those areas that we today call ‘cultural industries’ - that is - including galleries and of course, museums and performing arts, they tend to object against it because they do not want to be like industry. But the

word 'sector' simply did not work for us. So, in my opinion, now it's about this: yes, don't be 'an industry', but then don't expect to get significant support from the public funds, because simply the word 'sector' is illegible for the public administration (Interview 27).

In the presented excerpt, the use of the terminology was meant to be used instrumentally and seen as strategically necessary to use the term “industries” in order to convince the “real holders of money and other potential subsidies”. The Ministry Officer made a contradictory claim about the unintelligible broadness that she associated with the term ‘sector’, unlike the Artistic Director (Interviewee 23, quoted above), for whom the term ‘sector’ was clearer. What the Artistic Director understood as being “clearer”, this Interviewee labelled as “meaning nothing” to the funding bodies, such as various other Ministries. She rhetorically presented the non-profit fields with a choice to be labelled as “sectors”, but then they shouldn’t expect to receive “significant support” or to be named “industries” and appear more intelligible for the funding bodies. This dichotomy of either-or represents a political struggle, which has been setting the scene for the acceptance of the creative economy discourse and making the situation seem as if there was a no alternative to the adoption of language that did not make sense to the actual cultural practitioners but appealed to the funding bodies.

Unlike some other participants, who deliberately decided to maintain certain terminological fluidity, Interviewee 27 seemed to be in favour of consistent use of terminology. The following quote by a policy consultant, who facilitated CCI mapping exercises in several Czech cities, demonstrates what linguists Eemeren and Houtlosser (van Eemeren 2010) termed “strategic manoeuvring”:

I use it instrumentally. Where it is necessary not to say the word 'industries', I do not say it. And where it's necessary to say it, that's what I say. I simply did not adopt that sort of division, whether 'industries' are to be translated as 'industries' [průmysly] or as sectors [odvětví]. It really depends on the situation, what kind of community are you talking to, so that we manage to understand the actual meaning, right? So, I simply always use their vocabulary (Interview 16).

Similar to several other interviewees, she used terminology flexibly and seemed to be in favour of using language instrumentally, in order to convince the audience. According to van Eemeren (2010), strategic manoeuvring represents “the continual efforts made in all moves that are carried out in argumentative discourse to keep the balance between

reasonableness and effectiveness” (van Eemeren 2010: 40). More specifically, strategic manoeuvring tries to combine reasonableness and effectiveness by a suitable selection of arguments (“topical potential”), by an adaptation to the expectations of the audience (“audience demand”) and by selecting the most persuasive verbal expressions (“presentational devices”) (van Eemeren 2010, p. 93). I believe that although the use of terminology is not identical to a selection of arguments with topical potential, manoeuvring the language in a way that would resonate with the audience and using persuasive verbal expressions was a key dynamic in the framing of the creative economy discourse in the Czech cultural policy field.

The approach of Interviewee 16 shows an appeal on a flexible use of the creative economy terminology without the need to be consistent, as the instrumental use of different words can help to strategically navigate the audience’s understanding of the discursive meanings. Throughout the interviews, certain level of ambiguity seemed to be frustrating for some and desired by others. On one hand, the relationality of the concepts seemed to be propelling their adaptability, on the other hand, as one of the pioneering discourse participants declared, the terminology was also used as “completely meaningless buzzwords - something was happening elsewhere and immediately it was labelled ‘creative industries’” (Interview 1). One of the art practitioners I interviewed raised a concern about the fact that because artists use them in one way whilst politicians use it in another was a symptom of the time we live in and an overall mismatch between the for-profit and non-profit.

As has been shown, the most frequently used were the terminological units “cultural and creative industries” or “cultural and creative sectors” depending on the speaker’s preference. Throughout this chapter I use the term interchangeably, relative to the interview excerpts. I shall clarify that for many interviewees, the term “cultural and creative industries” (CCI) was a term signifying a rhetoric strategy, a technical term to name the actual industries, a new policy approach as well as a moment in time, in which this new approach was introduced in the field. Based on my analysis, I understand the inconsistency of the terminology symptomatic to the relational quality of the key discursive elements. Meaning everything and nothing at the same time and being fully dependent on the dispersion within the discourse and use by discursive subjects will be further elaborated in the following analysis, which introduces the concentric circle diagram and its semantic prosodies.

4.1.2.1 The concentric circle metaphor

According to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), re-describing or reframing reality in a rhetorically convenient way is part of a strategy of action and is often the subject of research in cognitive semantics. As has been demonstrated in the previous section, the 'reality' of the creative economy discourse was being reframed and re-described in a number of ways in its fluid terminology and pragmatic argumentation. Although the primary aim of my thesis is not solely semantic analysis of the discourse of creative economy, illustrating and understanding the semantic aspect of various ways of framing used by the discourse agents is still necessary for articulating the logics of critical explanation. Metaphors and frames, as noted by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), "determine how people see or conceive reality, therefore – how they conceptualise their goals, their circumstances and consequently, how they act" (p. 94). This section demonstrates that different ways of framing the creative economic discourse corresponded with different arguments deployed by the interviewed participants.

Metaphor, according to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) is what they call a "persuasive definition" and it should be seen as a "part of argumentation by definition or by analogy, as a premise of the form 'a = b', purporting to describe some aspect of reality or a future state of affairs" (p. 171). Furthermore, persuasive definitions used as premises stand themselves in need of justification and it is, according to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) often the case that the equivalence that metaphors propose is deliberately ignored, but it should be critically examined although these equivalences are often "presented as objective, neutral descriptions of what the world is like" (p. 172). This relates to Gramsci's concept of common sense and notions of internalised ideology, essential explanatory access points on which I comment in detail in the next chapter.

The most prevalent metaphor throughout the interviews was one that I found both in the policy documents and IDU's publications, as well as the interviews. It is a metaphor of a "core" and "layers", visualised as a concentric circle diagram first published by David Throsby (2001) and later adopted through various research reports, including the British Work Foundation (2008) and demonstrated above. The concentric circles diagram became a key discursive element, a key visual metaphor through which many of the interviewed participants made sense of the creative economy discourse and as has been shown in the previous section, it has been

adopted by reports published by the IDU and later also in governmental cultural policy documents. Yet, given its relationality, differences in its interpretation occurred throughout my data. Many interviewees referred to this diagram when asked to explain how they understand the term “creative economy”, or “cultural and creative industries”, since it was clear, quite early in the fieldwork process, that the latter term was the one used most frequently. Although the concentric metaphor has been regularly dispersed, the meaning of its core and especially its relation to the outer layers were framed differently by different discursive subjects, existing in parallel throughout the discursive formation.

The “core” metaphor was used by people, who wanted to use the discourse of creative economy to make the case for the arts and understood it as something sublime and as an “autonomous zone” as Interviewee 13 called it. In their understanding, “creation”, “art”, “fundamental creativity” were seen as “the most important” inspirational source. This way of seeing the core corresponds with Heidegger’s notion of the “origins”, articulated as something that is “born for the first and the last time” and contrasting with a notion of the “beginning”, which is understood as “a cause of an effect, i.e. belonging to and being created by causality” (Hogenova 2013). This was a view shared among those of the interviewed arts and culture professionals, who were in favour of the creative economy discourse for its rhetoric power, but also those, who completely refused to be somehow associated with the concept of CCI or creative economy. Rather than economizing creativity, they understood it as intrinsically valuable, sublime, out of the realm of commodification, protected from the market forces so that everyone can draw from this ‘spring’ of creativity. In this way, the metaphor helped them to visualise their field of activity as a focal area, conditional to the economic success of other associated ‘creative’ industries.

The metaphor, however, served also those people, who maintained an extractive relation to art and culture. Interviewee 20, a representative of the Technological Agency of the Czech Republic, represented a view, in which “we have a new discourse of the cultural and creative industries here, at the same time we are making culture and creativity visible as strategic raw materials”. Although he used the core metaphor, he understood the “core” instrumentally, symbolising a “raw material” and a value for money in the industries conceptually placed in the layers of the concentric diagram, a logic that I associate with those, who were primarily interested in the “added value” or use value of arts in profit oriented creative industries. Although he

considered the discourse of creative economy visualised in the concentric metaphor to be “new”, he interpreted it through a language of extractivism associated with traditional industrial models of processing natural resources and raw matter. He continued that the discourse enables “making the role of culture visible in terms of broadening the scope and possible exploitation of cultural assets and creativity for other activities, perhaps even more economic ones that one wouldn’t have thought of until now” (Interview 20).

In my understanding, the flexibility and relationality of the conceptual metaphor of the artistic creativity as a “core” and its possible interpretations in both instrumentalist and sublime way constituted its discursive strength and hegemonic power, because it accommodated interpretations that were quite far from each other as well as served the argumentation needs of people following different, perhaps even politically opposing views. For instance, some of the interviewees maintaining the extractivist understanding of creativity, explicitly declared that art is not intrinsically valuable and that it was “not only the aesthetic and artistic value, but also the economic value, which is why we are interested in cultural and creative industries” (Interview 18). In conclusion, plurality of arguments and claims of action seemed to exist in the same language-game, operating with the discursive elements of relationally created meaning. However, the relationality of the key discursive elements also seemed to have brought consequences that were in conflict with some of the discursive subjects’ values and goals. In the following section I aim to present how the notion of “added value”, an essential term used by the participants in framing discursive elements, such as CCI, was understood differently by different subjects within the creative economy language-game.

4.1.2.2 Added Value

Throughout the fieldwork, it became evident that the term “added value” happened to be a frequent expression linked to the participants’ framing of key discursive elements. The semantic inconsistency of this term was that it was used both in its economic sense, as the difference between the price of a finished product/service and the cost of the inputs involved in making it, as well as in the sense that Interviewee 2 described as “some kind of specific benefit that is often in the public interest” such as “inventiveness, innovation, some kind of social responsibility, creativity” that can have “a great impact on education, and so on” (Interview 2). It is of course necessary to examine the underlying ideologies in this common sensical belief and I will dedicate

substantial attention to this in the next chapter. The two major semantic inconsistencies can be viewed in the following two quotes:

The added value is eventually about the price of the product. Take a product, for instance, a glass that you sell for 53 CZK, it is completely something else if it is a beautifully designed glass that you sell for 620 CZK and this is where the high added value is (Interview 18).

[...] but those who say 'sectors' emphasise the non-market additional effect, the added value of those culturally creative industries, in a sense that it affects the quality of life in communities and cities. And it doesn't necessarily have to be marketised (Interview 20).

The term “added value” was mainly used by policy consultants and public administration officers, some of whom understood the term “added value” in the economic terms and others in terms of public good, where the CCI were believed to have positive impacts in various areas of public life. Only two arts professionals mentioned it, each of them once, and in significantly different context than the policy consultants and public administrators. An Artistic Director in performing arts mentioned the term when commenting on terminology within the creative industries discourse and a remarkable circulation of buzzwords. She said that words like “multiplier” or “European added value” are circulating alongside other terms in various cultural policy texts, but no one actually knows what they mean (Interview 23). Another representative of the arts sector, a Director of a Centre for Contemporary Art described the relation between the “added value” and “creative industries” as follows:

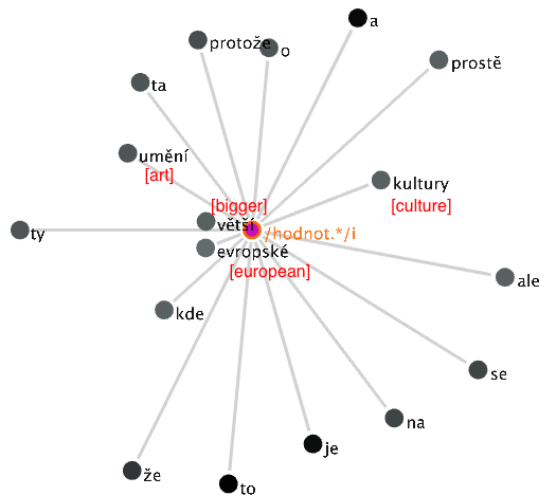
I understand 'creative industries' as the moment when the 'multiplier effects' entered the debate, as I said, where art is losing in the struggle and the principle of economy begins to enter, and so on. So, this is what is new for me, the new added value, which is when it is admitted that the struggle is lost and in order to do something, to do that 'nonsense' that you do, you basically need to have a set of these tools to talk about what you do. So, for me this is what 'creative industries' means (Interview 22).

The quote demonstrates that the notion of added value entering the cultural policy debate is equalled with the creative economy discursive element creative industries. In the last decades, debates about value have prevailed in the cultural policy studies and attempts have been made to create

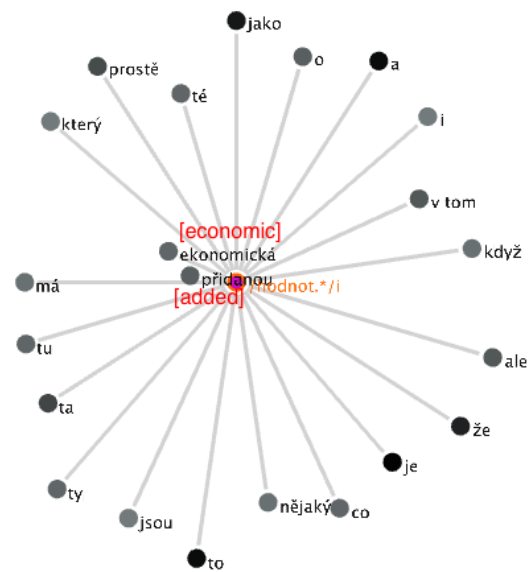
differential understandings of cultural value (Holden 2006, Crossick and Kaczynska 2016) and get beyond the dichotomies, such as the instrumental-intrinsic. As suggested by the word “added”, and as evident throughout my interviews, the notion of going beyond the intrinsic-instrumental dichotomy is what characterises the creative economy discourse. In this sense, there is not a shift from intrinsic value to the instrumental, but rather a shift from pluralist approach respecting the dichotomy to a somewhat ‘holistic’ understanding of value. The concentric circle diagram enabled the pluralist concept of value as well as the holistic one. In the following chapter I will explain the political logics of this proposal, which aims to transcend different understandings of value and which is in my view, one of the major drivers of the creative economy discourse’s dissemination worldwide and in line with the Third Way politics paradigm.

In analysing the differing understandings of value that were closely related to the framing of creative economy discourse, I looked closely at the language and situations in which the term was used. Subtirelu and Baker (2018) refer to the use of collocations to define “semantic prosody”, which in words of Louw (1993) means “a consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates” (p.157). In the diagrams below we see that the semantic aura of “value” seems to be different for those, who work in the arts and culture sector than it seems to be for public administration officers and policy consultants, because expressions that collocate the term in the speech of policy consultants or public officers do not seem to appear near it in the speech of those, who represent the arts sector. The arts professionals mostly used the expression “value” in relation to the “art”, “culture”, “European” and “bigger”. In comparison, subjects in the other two groups, did not use either of these words. In their speech, the word “value” was mostly surrounded by the expressions “added” and “economic”.

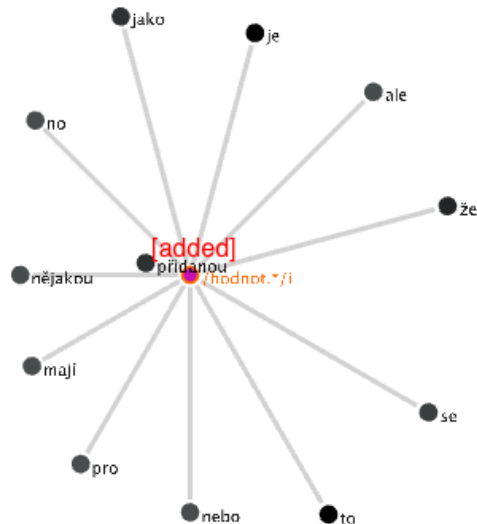
- 1) Culture and Arts (MI, Statistical Value 3, Coll Frequency 5)



2) Policy Consultants



3) Public Officers



As the collocation analysis visualised through the diagrams suggests, the way value was understood differed in different groups of interviewees. As I am using the presented diagrams as starting point for a discussion, or as an analysis triangulation, a closer analysis is presented in the next chapter, where the value related politics are discussed in greater detail depending on how were the different groups of subjects narrating their justifications of creative economy discourse as well as how they understood value within it.

Alongside the new highly flexible model for understanding value of arts and culture within a larger sector of creative economy, it was remarkable that many interviewees framed the discourse as a “new approach”. I dedicated close attention to this idea to explore what was appealing about the novelty.

4.1.2.3 A New Approach

Throughout my analysis, several participants framed the notion of creative economy as a “moment”. The concept of a moment is a temporal one, it represents a point in time or a brief period of time. I believe that what scholars called “a creative turn” (Schlesinger 2016, O’Connor 2016) is related to the notion of “moment” detected throughout my interviews. Such framing can mean multiple things, for instance a moment of change, or that the discourse ‘had its moment’, meaning that it prevailed in the cultural policy debate for a period of time. The discursive elements of creative economy were an active part of the institutional cultural policy vocabulary in the Czech Republic at the time of writing and therefore, the notion of moment can be regarded rather a moment of change.

The premise that language is constitutive as well as constituting the reality is one of the basic principles of discourse studies and therefore, I regard the

time when conceptual vocabulary of the creative economy discourse as a moment of change. A closer analysis of what this moment meant for the interviewed participants is presented in this section and provides a basis for critical explanation. The following selection of excerpts shows how was the word “moment” used in framing the concept of creative industries and/or creative economy:

What has actually opened by the moment of cultural industries - of course, the spiritual investment is one level of the development of the society - but the second level are the indirect economic positive impacts. [...] I think there is an important moment, on one hand there are direct effects of that concept in terms of methodology, in terms of terminology, in terms of understanding the environment. [...] But then there are the indirect influences, and that is somewhat opening the discourse. It's bigger, it is a kind of possibility of a new perspective at certain established, in our heads established modules or basically established concepts (Interview 19).

As the quote demonstrates, the moment was considered to be important, because it introduced a novel approach, a new worldview, in which a change of established ways of thinking was made possible and which also offered a new language. For many interviewees, the “moment of CCI” offered a new way of articulating and seeing their area of interest, one that was contrasting with what was considered to be a traditional, old-fashioned one, where for-profit activities and the non-profit were “always detached” and therefore it was seen as “an important moment for the field” (interview 6) according to some pioneers of the discourse (for instance Interview 1). For a cultural manager, who has been participating in creating cultural policies in the country since the 1990s the “moment of creative industries” allowed him to see his field “from another perspective, in a new context, and that is the context of interconnection”. By the interconnection he meant “other sectors of the creative and cultural industries that did not belong there until then” (Interview 19).

Seeing arts and culture in the “context of interconnection”, as one of the main meanings of the concept of CCI, Interviewee 20, representing the Technological Agency of the CR illustrated the change as follows:

In short, it forces us to look at economies and, let's say, socio-economic life in a new way, with new eyes, a new perspective. For example, by stopping to think in terms of bordered pillars, or let's say, in terms of departmental and political responsibilities, but we start thinking

in layers, horizontally, cross-sectionally. Because the concept of creativity, which thanks to this entered the economy and finance, is a cross-sectional concept (Interview 20).

Some other interviewees framed the interconnection as a way to better understand the labour market. Interviewee 29, who at the time worked on a new strategy for culture and CCI in the city of Brno referred to the interconnection as a “completely clear”, because

“people, who graduate in visual arts might end up in the video game industry, because they know how to make animations and design”. He also declared that “it is this reason why I see it important to understand the sector including the creative industries. In the perspective of making policies, it is good to see things wider, not just literature, theatre, music but see the interrelations” (Interview 29).

Overall, the expression “interconnection” and its morphological variants appeared 99 times throughout the Czech interviewees in 19 out of 31 texts and seemed to particularly frequent in one of the IDU Director’s speech (16 occurrences) and a Ministry of Culture Officer’s speech (10 occurrences), who both seemed to be in favour of interconnecting individual fields under the context and searching for a consensus among them. The notion of interconnection seemed to be a novel way of thinking about the field of cultural policy and, in some of the interviewees’ testimonies, it seemed to be the most important characteristic of the concept.

As has been demonstrated in the previous sections, the logic of interconnection was manifested in new understandings of value, new structure of the cultural field, new metaphors, such as the concentric circles and so on. Many of my participants demonstrated a positive view of the notion of interconnection and it seemed to be part of the idea that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. In my understanding, the interconnective rationale is one of the key constructs that propel the discourse’s hegemonic power based in neoliberal Third Way politics. Since this assumption seemed to have become a powerful constitutive element through which the creative economy discourse has been framed, it has to be critically examined in the following chapter as part of the discourse’s political and fantasmatic logics. It was rather rare to hear critical perspectives regarding the notion of interconnection, except for one person, who mentioned that there is a generation of officials and art practitioners who are connecting with what he

called “crypto-capitalist dialect” and are not aware that there “could potentially be something fundamentally wrong about it” (Interview 13). He continued by saying that the times are set towards economic logic which “need a certain vocabulary, apparatus that deals with issues formally, but people often don’t see what is behind it” (Interview 13).

Since it has been framed as a moment by several of my interviewees, I believe that analysing creative economy discourse’s temporality, offers an illuminating access point to its ideological underpinnings as well as its social logics. The notion of novelty, a key feature of how it was framed, used as an argumentative premise, or even marketed as such, is a political one, which antagonises whatever is labelled as ‘old’ or ‘traditional’ for hindering progress and innovation as part of its rhetoric strategy. The notion of interconnection, novelty and what is happening on the West, seemed to be, according to several participants a driving force of the creative economy’s diffusion, as the following quote demonstrates:

One hand there are some trends and copying something that's going on in the West, right? And also, I think it's maybe precisely because, from the point of view of cultural policy, local or national, that these really are 'joined vessels' (Interview 29).

The idea that the Czech Republic was somehow behind other Western countries in general was a prevalent belief throughout the interviews, based on historical determinism and a linear concept of temporality. The combination of the discourse’s Anglo-Saxon origin, its appeal to the interconnected understanding of value and innovation, as well as its novelty, proved to be a mixture that many of my interviewees found attractive. The novelty of the discourse itself seemed to be for some participants a major attraction, given the circumstances in which they found themselves, such as a recent return from studying or working abroad. Except for the most frequent time-related collocate “new”, the creative economy discursive elements were collocated by terms such as “trendy”, “sexy”, “fashionable” and I understood that people picked up the theme, because they liked the challenge of dealing with something new or were simply attracted to novel things. At the same time, the new discourse offered an opportunity to develop their careers as pioneers, ambassadors, innovators, educators, as demonstrated in two exemplary quotes:

I am a supporter of constant change for the better. As soon as I see a horizon, I know I have to make a step to look further. So, I'm such a type, who does not set a position in stone, but I'm basically moving on. And this seemed like a good opportunity. What's more, it was a new thing, well, a fashionable thing... for which it's needed to be its arbitrator, its ambassador. Probably fight a little bit for a general understanding of this matter, as it is probably not understood in the same way in all circles and sectors (Interview 20).

Another interviewee described a similar her personal attraction to the novelty of the discourse:

When I came back to the Czech Republic, it was probably, first of all, a coincidence, I'd say that at the time these things were on the agenda in the Czech Republic. And secondly, it was basically something completely new and I enjoyed working on the visibility of the topic. It seemed to me that it was important, because I was generally interested in the topic of lobbying [in cultural policy process] and education [in cultural sector]... it seemed important to me and I actually saw a great potential in it, in fact, as the Czech government should have taken it into account. I liked the activity that had been going on at IDU already for 3 years and at the same time I was attracted to the fact that everyone was kind of ignoring it at that moment, even the professionals didn't want to hear that they were part of a bigger whole. Basically nobody... in 2012 ... 4 years ago nobody really cared (Interview 7).

In order to critically explain the logics of the creative economy discourse dissemination, one has to explore in greater detail its social practices and motivations of those, who have been facilitating its spreading and actively participating in it. A part of these motivations and values will be explored in the Social Logics, together with a closer analysis of the social practices within the Czech cultural policy field and the activity of the creative economy epistemic community.

The fact that “nobody really cared” or understood what the discourse was gave the quoted participants an opportunity to develop or promote something new. The notion of newness and driving change, has been prevalent in creative economy ambassadors’ motivations as well as in the heart of the concept itself, in terms of its presumed innovativeness and creativity, as discussed above. In Heideggerian notions of time, the explanation of why people today only want what is “in”, what is “modern” and what is not “worn”, lies in a concept of time based on a succession in which

the future prevails over the past. It is this way of conceptualising time that makes everything that is modern immediately become old and obsolete, which relates to the “unspoken belief that everything old is outdated and hinders progress” (Hogenova 2013). Since post-structuralist analysis aims to expose the ideological strings in what is considered common sense, the framing of the creative economy discourse in terms of its novelty as a favourable premise, certainly deserves attention.

The interviews showed an illuminating case of how multi-layered and complex the understanding of a novel discourse is. This novel approach, however has been likewise reflected in the analysed policy documents. Before moving to the next part of this chapter, I will demonstrate how the discourse existed within the policy documents, beyond the mere definitions as introduced above. One such ways of existence has been an articulated need for support within these documents and will be shown in the next section.

4.1.3 Recognition and Support of Cultural and Creative Industries in Public Policy Documents

The previous section focused on analyzing how the selected policy documents defined one of the key concepts of the creative economy discourse, the CCI and how it was framed by the interviewed subjects. This section will engage with the public authorities’ recognition of need to support the CCI. This includes articulation of aims and justifications, which is the type of evidence that can be found in the policy documents issued after 2006.

As outlined in the methodology it is necessary to note, that this is an analysis of policy documents as texts, rather than evaluation of the implementation of the declared policies. Therefore, this section is not focusing on the actions that took place, but rather at the language that declared that such actions are needed. The content of the policy documents mirrors the visions and wishes of those, who created them, i.e. a mixture of politicians, public officials, invited experts and professionals from the cultural sector.

According to the post-structuralist discourse analysis (Torfinn 2014), alongside conceptual articulations, such as the CCI, discourse consists of rhetorical strategies, enunciative modalities and narrative flows and rhythms. According to O’Connor (2016), alongside “re-orienting policy to the economic dimensions of culture”, focusing more on SMEs and start-ups rather than big corporations and institutions is one of the manifestations of creative

economy concept in public policies. Similarly, I understand “linking culture to new digital technologies of production and communication” (O’Connor 2016) in cultural policy documents as a manifestation of creative economy discourse and also, what Garnham (2005) called the “shift from the cultural to the creative industries”. Therefore, when analyzing the support of CCI within documents that deal specifically with cultural policy, I not only focused on the explicit language that mentions the concept itself, but I also considered support of business-oriented entrepreneurial activities of SMEs and technological innovation oriented start-ups as evidence of creative economy rhetoric.

Although some of the analysed policy documents do not define the concept of CCI, they frequently mention its growing importance and the need to carry research activities and map its potential. Prince (2010) argued that creative industries have been conceptualised in the UK and the DCMS produced a “three-legged stool of definition, industrial constitution and mapping practice” which has according to Prince been reproduced “faithfully, and sometimes slavishly, elsewhere” (p. 126). British Mapping Document served as a template for other countries (Higgs and Cunningham 2008) and provided means of understanding the concept of CCI and well as the justification for emerging initiatives aiming at mapping exercises. The need for research and mapping appeared in the Czech cultural policy documents since the year 2006 and although specific ways of support were not yet outlined, the fact that it needed to be mapped and researched can be considered as form of public policy attention that was declared and dedicated to the CCI at the early stages of the creative economy discourse diffusion.

The idea of mapping first appeared in 2006 *Blueprint for more efficient support of the arts in 2007 - 2013*, where one of the foreseen actions was to “map the potential of cultural industry in the CR in relation to art, with the aim to find options and ways how to increase productivity, export and competitiveness of the cultural industry.” (MKČR 2006) As the quote suggests, the purpose of mapping of the potential of cultural industry was to find out how the cultural industry can improve its productivity, competitiveness and export. Although the quote suggests mapping, it does not use the term “creative”, but rather “cultural industry”, which together with the absence of definition in this document suggests that the terminology was not yet formally established and the terms were used interchangeably. The mapping would therefore also include finding a definition for the sector. In the following year, the Ministry of Culture granted the IDU funding for its first

research project titled *Socio-Economic Potential of the Cultural and Creative Industries in the CR (2007–2011)*. The aim of the project was defined as “creating a theoretical and empirical analysis of possibilities of exploiting the potential of cultural and creative industries for social and economic development in the Czech Republic” (IDU 2011). Between these years the IDU organised many activities and discursive events to promote the concept of CCI and significant

Within the analysis of discourse diffusion and recontextualisation, it is important to observe how the reasoning in the early mapping of CCI changed. In the document from 2006, the purpose of mapping was to see how the sector itself can become more productive and competitive. Regardless of the economistic language, the idea was to help the cultural sector itself. However, when the Ministry granted resources to the Mapping project, the justification was to “exploit the potential” for “social and economic development” and therefore no longer to help strengthen the sector itself, but rather, to achieve impact elsewhere in other public policy areas. This is an example of a subtle change in wording, but one that indicates significant shift in the discourse of early creative economy through the CCI mapping. This revelation suggests that it was around the years 2006 and 2007, when the discourse of creative economy was establishing itself.

Since the mapping practice has already been realised in the UK, at the beginning of the project, in 2007 a seminar dedicated to the definitions, classification, mapping and statistics was held in Prague and featured the “leading experts from Great Britain, John Howkins, Colin Mercer and Rod Fisher” (IDU 2011). Nevertheless, the final report from the first Mapping Project of the IDU says, that the major inspiration was the “cultural policy of the EU” and “particularly the report *Economy of Culture in Europe*” created for the European Commission by the consultancy KEA in 2006. The following quote is taken from final report from the Mapping Project and it shows that KEA’s report was regarded as a research study that justified itself as the main inspirational source for IDU. It demonstrates a rhetorical strategy that already existed in the DCMS Mapping documents and was then applied by the IDU itself in the following activities related to CCI:

the study by KEA titled Economy of Culture, proved that the CCI on the EU level significantly contribute not only to the social, but also the economic growth and employment, that they grow faster than any other economic industries and that are significantly influenced and also

themselves influence the development of financial and communication technologies (IDU 2011).

Alongside the DCMS definition of the CCI, KEA's rhetorical strategy became the principal rationale of the creative economy discourse since it diffused into the Czech cultural policy field. The final report of the Mapping Project by the IDU reveals that the project aimed, among other objectives, to "raise awareness of the expert cultural public about the concept of cultural and creative industries and themes related to the concept" (IDU 2011). It means that IDU did not only realise the actual mapping of the CCI with the aim to exploit their potential to have an impact on social and economic development, but also to raise public awareness and establish a discourse by promoting its conceptual articulations, narratives and rhetoric strategies. Publishing and discursive events were an important part of the project. Among the outcomes was the release of the first publication about CCI by Martin Cikánek (2009), mentioned above. According to the IDU, the publication reviewed the "history of the phenomenon of CCI since the second World War until the present time, defined the terminology and positioning of the CCI within the cultural policies and national economic strategies of matured countries around the world" (IDU 2011).

The book's content is a literature review of authors such as David Throsby, John Holden, John Howkins, John Hartley, Richard Florida, David Hesmondhalgh, John Myerscough, Francois Matarasso, among others. It became the first printed publication about CCI in Czech and was promoted by the IDU as one of the major outcomes of their Mapping Project. Thanks to its uniqueness as a printed resource in the Czech language, the book played an influential role in the early stages of the discourse proliferation. At that time the conceptual articulations, rhetorical strategies and narratives of creative economy were new and together with the theories by the authors mentioned above it was referenced in majority of the following texts on the theme that were published after the year 2009. These authors were promoted in the Czech cultural policy field also at the Forum for Creative Europe, whose programme Cikánek co-created and where his book was launched.

Another outcome of the first IDU's Mapping Project was the publication titled *Creative Industries in the Czech Republic* (2011), from which originates the translation and justification of the DCMS definition of CCI quoted in the policy documents, as mentioned in the previous section of this chapter. The publication includes 11 chapters each of them providing an overview of the

status quo of each of the CCI sectors at the time of writing (Architecture, Design, Advertising, Film, Music, Books and publishing, Performing arts, Art market, TV and Broadcasting, Videogames, Cultural Tourism).

Simultaneously, the final report of the IDU declares that the chapters were based on the profiles of the CCI sectors viewed “from the EU perspective and published in the commissioned study The Economy of Culture in Europe created by KEA, whose Czech translations were incorporated in the individual chapters” (IDU 2011). This quote suggests that the IDU translated parts of the study by KEA (2009) and weaved the content into its own publication. This act is justified on the basis of the EU authority, which rhetorically served as a guarantee of certain standards of quality and reliability.

Here we see two important things in our enquiry, first, the Institute worked with the DCMS’ definition of the CCIs whilst at the same time used the KEA study as a template for presenting its own CCI sector profiles. It explicitly shows that translated text from both the DCMS mapping document and the KEA study were used in IDU’s publication. This leads to a conclusion that both the documents of the DCMS and KEA were influential and instrumental in the early stages of creative economy discourse diffusion. The IDU’s Mapping Project provided a framework for the creative economy conceptual articulations, rhetoric strategies and narrative flows to inhabit the cultural policy debate as well as the policy documents. In 2009 a new cultural policy document recognised mapping of the CCI as action point no. 1 within the policy’s key objectives articulated as “exploitation of the impacts of art and cultural heritage with associated creativity for raising competitiveness of other sectors and activities” (MKČR 2009). The ministry further stated that in order to achieve this objective it will run “a programme for mapping and analysis of the needs of the arts, cultural and creative industries in the CR and transfer of international knowledge.” The document further continues that

cultural and creative sectors can gain knowledge from the countries with more efficient use of cultural potential. Therefore, it is necessary to map the current status and analyse major problems of the cultural industry and creative work. Simultaneously the Ministry will prepare a review of the best practices and solutions from other countries or regions together with a plan of their application in the Czech Republic (MKČR 2009).

This action point confirmed further support to the mapping activities that were at the time already carried by the IDU as well as legitimised problem-solving by appropriating ideas from other countries. During the time frame covered by this document (2009 – 2014), IDU was granted funding for extending the Mapping Project, this time for the years 2011 – 2015. In the document Integrated Strategy of Support of Culture Until the Year 2020 (MKČR 2015b) the Ministry presented the aim of the mapping activity of 2011 – 2015 as

identify the structure of expertise in each region and the best conditions for development of the CCI (its creative ecosystem) and the leading organisations and individuals working in the CCI as potential partners in developing structures and projects. The Mapping itself contributes to the refining of the statistical data (through quantitative and qualitative analysis), but it also helps in raising awareness about the field of CCIs, connects initiatives, which take part in it, and becomes the case of best practice for creating common strategies and subsequent activities.

This practice was seen, according to the Ministry, as the first step to

take advantage of the experience from abroad and the practice of the Ministry of Industry and Trade and other initiatives (such as innovation centres and regional development agencies) with initiation and coordination of incubators and clusters in terms of top-down support as well as other ways of support of SMEs for similar practice in CCIs.

Here we see that the Ministry used IDU's Mapping Project as a tool to understand the situation and needs of the CCI sectors and to generate evidence that would justify specific policy steps in the regions in partnership with the Ministry. Such policy measures, as mentioned in the quotes were for instance incubators and clusters. The knowledge was meant to be sourced from the practice of innovation centres and the Ministry of Industry and Trade (MPO) and apply their methods on the CCI. This shows the authorities' intention to transfer knowledge and methods from sectors that are primarily industrial and profit oriented to the sector of CCI. The CCI includes diverse activities and types of entities that include firms that are profit oriented. But still, large part of the CCI is created by non-profit cultural organisations, state art institutions, artists and creative workers, whose working process is significantly different from those whose purpose is generating profit. None of the cultural policy documents addressed this

problematic aspect of applying industrial logic on culture and art and the transgressive outcomes it might generate.

The latest analysed cultural policy document (MKČR 2015a) articulated the expected outputs of the Mapping Project as “creation of methodologies and recommendations” that will lead to “better organisation and more effective public funding of art and culture, both at the national and regional levels”. In relation to the research questions, this shows that the practice of mapping of the CCI was justified on the basis of gaining knowledge that would support the Ministry on strategic level and make the public funding more efficient. This shows how the creative economy discourse facilitated by the IDU’s projects of mapping diffused into the core of the cultural policy, which is the state’s strategy in public funding for culture and arts, which were the primary scope of the Ministry of Culture’s agenda. What it also led to, at least rhetorically, was what Gray (2002) would call “policy attachment” by envisioning that the outputs of the Mapping Projects will lead to

more profound exploitation of social and economic potential of CCIs in the Czech Republic with possible impacts on the whole society (links to export policy, cultural tourism, reflection and strengthening of Czech national identity in the context of modern European identity, etc.) (MKČR 2015a).

This excerpt shows that the authorities associated the Mapping Project with illustrating the CCI’s social and economic potential that could have crucial impacts on other policy sectors. The Integrated Strategy (MKČR 2015b) also labelled the Mapping Project as a way to increase the public knowledge about performing arts’ “positive impact” such as (employability, social cohesion, development of creativity and mediating cultural values, drug use prevention etc.) which, according to the document, could raise the chances for their private funding and sponsoring.

In my interpretation, the authorities regarded the mapping activity as an instrument to prove and demonstrate the usefulness of the CCI and their potential impact on other policy areas of great urgencies. According to Gray (2008), the reasons for pursuing such a strategy are normally where these other sectors have more resources (particularly financial ones) available to them than are to be found in the cultural sector (as with, for example, social inclusion or employability), or where the other policy sectors have greater political significance associated with them (as, for example, with education or health). In the quote above, the areas which the Ministry seemed to link the CCI’s potential with are trade (export, tourism), social policy

(employability and social cohesion) and international relations/foreign policy (national identity). The reasons for such policy attachment were as noted by Gray (2007) to make the case for arts and culture. However, since language is a constitutive substance of discursive practices, changing the justifications of public funding would inevitably also shape the social reality and the way culture and arts are understood in society.

Between the years 2006 and 2015 (the IDU's Mapping Projects lasted from 2007 – 2015), the analysed cultural policy documents showed a significant development in terms of frequency of the terminology of the creative economy discourse and repeated referencing of the Mapping Projects. Chronologically, the justification of mapping of the CCI started with evaluation of the status quo of the CCI in order to support them as a sector, then moved to exploitation of their potential in order to impact policy areas and finally ended in generating knowledge that should be applied in restructuring public funding for culture and arts towards increased efficiency. Increasing efficiency has been one of the key features of neoliberalisation in public policy, a process that has proliferated to the post 1989 CEE countries with various degrees of implementation. The rhetoric of things not being efficient and needing change, however, has been widespread in the analysed policy documents and interviews.

Throughout this section, the justifications for the mapping and research of CCI as well as desired outcomes articulated by the Ministry have been introduced. The significant role of the IDU in the spreading of the creative economy discourse has been confirmed through the illustration of the discursive outputs and outcomes of its Mapping Projects. Through the Mapping Projects the IDU facilitated the public debate about conceptual articulations, produced printed texts as resources to raise awareness and established rhetoric strategies for justification of further support of the concept of CCI. This section also demonstrated that discursive elements such as conceptual articulations and rhetoric strategies mirrored those of foreign experts, DCMS and KEA by appropriating translated ideas and integrating them in the Czech policy documents and research reports. In this sense the Mapping Projects succeeded in their aim to promote the concept of CCI.

Although the Mapping Projects led by IDU did not continue after 2015, the theme has gained its significance in agendas of various other public institutions, such as the Technological Agency and the MPO. In 2018 the Ministry of Culture established a team that started working on a new

strategic document for support of the CCI in collaboration with the MPO. Creating a specific strategic support document for the CCI could be understood as evidence of increasing attention from the public administration. However, it does not necessarily guarantee allocation of financial resources or developing support structures in practice. A clarified agenda with an inter-departmental working group can be understood as a new milestone in terms of the governmental attention to the CCI, but writing reports could also be an excuse for inaction. The documents claimed supporting the sector is needed and the following section will unfold the inter-departmental collaboration between the MPO and the Ministry of Culture and overall the emergence of merging agendas of these two governmental bodies.

4.1.3.1 Support of the CCI through an inter-departmental collaboration with the Ministry of Industry and Trade (MPO)

This section focuses on the support of the CCI through the Ministry of Culture's collaboration with MPO. The merging of agendas between the two Ministries is one of the outcomes of the support the Ministry of Culture granted to research and mapping of CCI in 2015. It is also, one of the symptoms of the creative economy discourse diffusion into the Czech cultural policy.

In 2019 two Ministers, the Minister of Culture Lubomír Zaorálek and the Minister of Industry and Trade Karel Havlíček signed the first document of collaboration between the two ministries titled Memorandum of Collaboration in the area of Cultural and Creative Industries. It is the first written document that grants an inter-ministerial intention to collaborate on the CCI agenda. The collaboration between the two Ministries in the area of CCI has been preceded by several years of the IDU's mapping activity, as introduced in the previous section. These years could be regarded as an initial phase of the creative economy discourse proliferation in which conceptual articulations, rhetoric strategies and narrative flows have been introduced to the cultural policy makers and were then integrated in cultural policy documents. Since the cultural policy document National Cultural Policy of the Czech Republic 2009 - 2014 issued in 2009, the need for collaboration and joint agendas between the two Ministries was frequently mentioned in the policy texts as an important step towards support of the CCI. It took, however, another ten years for it to be formally enacted in a memorandum – an officially signed document, which again does not mean that concrete actions will be taken, but at least gives written evidence of the intention of the two ministers to

work together. The fact that such collaboration was not suggested in the documents before 2009 points to a shift, which, I argue, is a consequence of the diffusion of the discourse of creative economy thanks to the mapping and publishing activities of the IDU and creating public awareness via discursive events.

This shift can be illustrated through the change in rhetoric in relation to entrepreneurial activities as part of the language used in the analysed policy documents. The way the early policy documents articulated the support for entrepreneurship and business activities was framed more clearly than how it is in the latest documents issued in 2015. For instance, the early policy documents declared an overall support primarily to non-profit activities as the following quote that appeared in the policy documents from both 1999 and 2001 demonstrates:

the Government considers that it is necessary at all levels of public administration to regularly open selective grant programs to help realise valuable projects of charities and projects of non-profit entities of a non-business nature (MKČR 1999 and 2001).

Although explicit language mentioning support of creative industries throughout the two documents (1999 and 2001) is absent, it would be incorrect to argue that the early policy documents did not support entrepreneurial activity. However, the distinction between the non-profit and profit oriented entities that the Ministry was willing to support was clear and justification was different. In 2001 the document provides an elongated statement, which demonstrates the Ministry's acknowledgement of the type of business that should be supported:

entrepreneurial activities in culture, especially through tax credits and contributions, [...] traditionally included in or closely related to culture, such as cultural tourism or building business in the repair and maintenance of heritage sites. [...] Some specific business projects are programmatically led by an effort to convey to the public very valuable works or artistic achievements, even at the cost of anticipated risks and losses. As an example, we can mention a number of publishing activities, e.g. publishing of some professional periodicals or non-periodical publications. These business projects deserve support under grant programs (MKČR 2001).

According to this statement, it seemed that the entrepreneurial activities that were entitled to the Ministry of Culture's support were those related to

publishing, justified on the principle of market failure, but also some others, based on the principle of return on investment (refurbishment of heritage sites and activities supporting cultural tourism). As evident in the previous quotes, in the earlier policy documents, there was a clear distinction between the non-profit and business activities, which seems to become increasingly blurry with the spreading of creative economy and specifically the concept of CCI, as the following quote from 2015 illustrates:

“Artistic activities (services, works, performances) are inseparable part of the cultural and creative industries concept, which overcomes the existing perception of separating non-profit and marketable cultural activities and allows a comprehensive view of the cultural field regardless of the type and way of financing the entities, which perform the cultural activities” (MKČR 2015b, p. 9).

Absence of the conceptual articulations of the creative economy discourse such as CCI in the early documents demonstrates difference from the situation in 2015 as shown in this quote. The statement also illustrates the blurring of the boundaries between profit and non-profit cultural activities, which is presented as a certain advantage of the CCI concept, rather than a problem. Blurring of the boundaries between market oriented and non-profit entities inherent in the concept of CCI is also evident in the Ministry of Culture’s increased collaboration with the MPO.

As argued above, since the National Cultural Policy document issued in 2009 the frequency of mentioning the collaboration with MPO has increased. It demonstrates that there has been much greater overlap between the agendas of the two Ministries than there was ten years before, when the 1999 policy document declared that one of the main goals of the state cultural policy is to “inhibit negative influences of commercialisation of culture” (MKČR1999). Before 2009, the MPO was mentioned only twice in the preceding documents. First in the cultural policy from 2001 in relation to a suggestion for the staff members of the Ministry of Culture to discuss the preparation of new legal adjustments related to intellectual property law with the representatives of MPO. For the second time, collaboration with MPO was mentioned in the 2006 arts policy document in order to prepare “coordination and transparent preparation and implementation of the presentation of Czech art at representative international projects such as biennials, major international festivals, fairs, etc.” (MKČR 2006). In short, the intellectual property rights and the international “export” of Czech art were the only shared interests before 2009.

In contrast, the national cultural policy document from 2009, shows the intention to collaborate with the MPO on many more projects/occasions, as the following action points show:

1.1. Program of mapping and analysis of needs of the arts, cultural and creative industries in the Czech Republic and transfer of international experience

1.9 Strengthening the role of culture in international relations policy and promoting economic interests abroad

1.11. Improving access to the domestic market for cultural goods and services from abroad

2.3. Creating mechanisms of market support for contemporary fine arts

4.4. Proposal for a new law on cinematography

The above-mentioned points present the areas that have been introduced by the discourse of creative economy and defined as those, where the two ministries, one concerned with culture and the other with industry and trade, started sharing interest. In the past, certain sectors such as the software industry, advertising or fashion design grouped under the label CCI were not in the scope of the Ministry of Culture, but rather the MPO. With the introduction of the CCI into the cultural policy debate, these rather industrial areas were needed to be addressed and therefore the two ministries established means to collaborate.

Likewise, promoting economic interests of the country through culture has not been seen in the previous cultural policy documents and neither were statements about improving the access to the domestic market for cultural goods and services from abroad. This particular point is elaborated and justified on the basis of the country's commitments to "international contracts". There is, however, no clarification of which are these contracts and what kind of goods is the document bringing to the Czech market.

Another case, in which creative economy and its rhetoric can be revealed is the "new law on cinematography". A year after the document was released, in 2010, the film industry achieved creation of its own policy document titled *Blueprint for the support of development of Czech cinematography and film industry 2011-2016*. The justifications for the creation of the document were based on the outdated legal base, as mentioned in the national cultural

policy (MKČR 2010) in terms of need to be redone in collaboration with MPO. The aims of the film policy were to set a new funding framework and “to strengthen and preserve the values of Czech film culture, develop the Czech film industry and make it competitive internationally, given its considerable potential in the areas of access to culture, economic development and job creation” (MKČR 2010).

Strengthening and preservation of the values of Czech film were always part of the cultural policies, for instance in the documents from 1999 and 2001 one could see the aims to protect the film heritage and develop appropriate frameworks for its preservation and distribution. However, the aspirations towards competitiveness of the industry and considerable potential in terms of economic development or job creation seemed not to be recognised previously. Mentioning considerable potential in terms of economic development and job creation relates to the industrial perspective that the Ministry applied on the film sector and therefore justify that film industry belongs also at the agenda of the MPO. By rhetorical strategies that industrialised sectors previously considered to be culture or arts, grouping them as CCI being an example of such strategy, the Ministry of Culture managed to attach them to the concerns of the MPO.

The Blueprint of Support of the Arts in the Czech Republic for the years 2015 – 2020 set a goal to create a new Strategy of Support for Cultural and Creative Industries that would succeed it after its timeframe expires. The new Strategy of Support for CCI was suggested to be created in collaboration with MPO, the Chamber of Commerce, the Office of the Government and Ministry for Local Development. This shows, how a whole range of new agents entered the process of creation of cultural policies. According to the information in the Czech media, the major objective of the upcoming document focused solely on the CCI is to achieve “increasing competitiveness of the Czech economy through CCI” (Hečková, Kreativní Česko 2019). At the time of writing, this document had not been published, but according to recent declarations from the then Minister of Culture Lubomír Zaorálek, who had proclaimed the CCI as a “new perspective in understanding culture”, which he fully supported (Czech Radio, 2020), the orientation towards the interests of the MPO, rather than those of cultural sector, was evident:

*The creative industry is a possible way to avoid having an army of unemployed people upset by robotisation in a few years' time.
Creative people with their ideas subvert stereotypes and discover*

new, more efficient solutions. They increase productivity and standard of living (MKČR 2019).

The words of the Minister that highlight productivity, standards of living and employment in the time of accelerating technological innovation are themes that agendas of other departments have to deal with. MPO responsible for industrial research, engineering and technology development, support of SMEs, business investment and overall National Industry Policy is certainly one of them. In the press release about the newly signed Memorandum of Collaboration, the Ministries declared the following areas of interest:

collaboration on the development of CCI with the emphasis on the knowledge economy, transfer of know-how and technology, cooperation with creative enterprises on research, development and innovation, development of infrastructure for the development of CCI, increasing the demand for CCI products and services, support of CCI exports and also in providing strategic support and funding of CCI.

Furthermore, the Minister of Culture Zaorálek also made a remark that

a successful example of how to use talent, creativity and cultural heritage and link them with the latest technologies is, for example, the computer games industry, which fully exploits the potential of the Czech art tradition (MPO 2019).

In such and other similar declarations by the authorities, a clear turn to the areas of technology, innovation and related entrepreneurship in the ICT sector is evident. This tendency is what Garnham (2005) observed to be the major element of creative industries policy, one that according to him was caused by the aspiration of the cultural policy makers to share the unquestioned prestige and economic importance that is attached to innovation, information workers and the impact of information and communication technologies.

Schlesinger (2016), who argued that “creative industries thinking became a blueprint to be applied and modified” wrote that the main thing that various applications of it in different countries have in common was the aim to increase competitiveness and secure primarily economic and sometimes social outcomes. My analysis of Czech policy documents supports this thesis. The national cultural policies issued after 2009 demonstrate a change towards the instrumental use of arts and culture, oriented at competitiveness of other sectors and policy areas. In that way, the cultural policy is complying with what Gray argued is the commodification and instrumentality of cultural

policy (2005) and labelled it as a distinctive feature of neo-liberal development in which cultural policy ceases to be specifically about culture at all. The national cultural policy documents declaratively supported the CCI with research, rhetoric acknowledgements and setting up dedicated working groups in charge of developing strategies and programs, however, at the time of writing, there was not a tangible evidence of implementation of supportive structures nation-wide. Therefore, I looked at a more local perspective and was interested how the city governments have articulated specific means of support for the CCI. The following section will demonstrate the instrumental justifications and supporting arguments used together with the CCI concept in the city-oriented policy documents.

4.1.3.2 Support of the CCI in a regional and city development perspective

After the fall of the communist regime, many of the Czech cities started losing their attractiveness and opportunities for qualified workforce. According to a general trend throughout European cities, in the aftermath of de-industrialisation, many industrial brownfields remained empty and in need of finding a new purpose (Koutsky et al 2014). After analysis of nation wide policy documents, five city-oriented policy documents have been selected for the analysis in order to look more closely at a local level of the creative economy discourse diffusion. In relation to the research questions, looking at a local perspective allowed me to explore geographically more specialised policy documents and understand how the discourse existed in a smaller geographical scale. This section looks at policy documents issued in Prague, Plzeň, Olomouc, Brno and Zlín and explains how the concept of CCI is represented within them, which rhetorical strategies within the discourse of creative economy these documents reflect and what were the means of support of CCI that the policy documents mention.

The document *Blueprint for Cultural Policy of the Capital City of Prague 2017 – 2021* operates with the term CCI very briefly by simply declaring that the authorities will “support the creative industries and their use in development of the city”. Since it does not refer to any details or justification for this point, the cultural policy document of the city of Prague can be regarded as not particularly representing creative economy discourse within itself. It has to be noted, however, that a city funded initiative titled Creative Prague (Kreativní Praha) has been operating in the city within the discourse of creative economy on several levels as it was established by a cultural policy consultants Olga Škočová and David Kašpar, who operated in the

preparation of new Strategic Plan of Prague in 2013. The Creative Prague organisation defined its mission as “strategically develop culture and support cultural and creative industries” as was one of the main actors in the Prague CCI scene. Both founders of the organisation were among my interviewees.

In contrast, the remaining four city-oriented policy documents provide valuable insights into how the discourse is reflected within local policy documents. Two of them (Zlín and Olomouc) are generic strategic plans for the development of the cities, which show the positioning of CCI as a theme within a wider city perspective. The other two (Plzeň and Brno) are documents that refer specifically to the area of culture, which, on the other hand, shows the intermingling of CCI and cultural policy.

In all four cities, research or a mapping exercise was an activity that was either planned to be done as an action point on the ‘support agenda’ (in case of Plzeň) or that has already been done in the past and provided evidence (the case of Zlín, Olomouc and Brno). In 2018 the city of Brno issued its Strategic plan for culture and creative industries of the city of Brno, the first cultural policy document in the country that merged the agenda of culture and CCI, and put the CCI in the centre of the document’s focus, rather than referring to CCI as one theme in the spectrum of issues to cover. This document admits that it is a result of previous research activities of an initiative Creative Brno as the following quote demonstrates:

The preparation of the strategy is a follow-up to the activities of the city covered by the Creative Brno platform. Since 2009 this initiative has been leading preparations for creating the Creative Centre Brno in the building of the former prison on the Bratislavská street, achieved mapping of Brno’s culture and CCI for the first time in 2013 and created other instruments of support, including a new specific role of a creative industries coordinator. The strategy is a result of a unique collaboration of the Department of Culture and the Vice Mayor’s Office for Smart Cities (City of Brno 2018).

The quote demonstrates that before the policy document was created, research and discursive events were formed by an independent initiative with a goal of turning an abandoned building into a Creative Centre, which marks the first tangible action in implementing specific steps towards establishing a hub for creative economy on a city level. Unlike Brno, Olomouc and Zlín did not have specific documents of cultural policy or a dedicated strategy to support CCI. The theme of CCI was, however, assessed within the large-scale city strategic plans. In the case of Zlín, the

research activity preceding the creation of the Strategic plan for development of the city of Zlín until the year 2020 (Zlín Strategic Plan) strongly influenced how is the CCI theme captured within it as the research findings were directly incorporated in this policy document itself.

Between the years 2011 and 2013 the Faculty of Management and Economics of the University of Tomáš Baťa in Zlín (UTB) realised a study titled The potential of creative industries for cluster initiative in Zlín Region as part of the EU funding for regional development and cross-border cooperation between Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic. The analysed Strategic Plan refers to the study as “uncovering the essence and scope of the cultural and creative industries” within the Zlín region and the city itself (Zlín City 2012). The document further elaborates on the results of the study whilst demonstrating the use of essential conceptual articulations within the creative economy discourse, such as Richard Florida’s “creative class” as the following quote shows:

The results of the study show that the City of Zlín has a significant human capital - the creative class (measured by the so-called creativity index, i.e. the share of people with creative employment and university educated people in the total population of the city). In connection with the prestigious tradition of the city, world trends, development of the demand and the capacity of creative human resources created mainly at the Faculty of Multimedia Communications UTB, two fields of CCI suitable for initiating cluster activities were identified – the field of audiovisual industry and the field of design (these are highly specialised fields of CCI with the highest share of added value and creative activities, which might create a unique competitive advantage for a given place in the future) (Zlín City Government, 2012).

This quote from the Zlín Strategic Plan shows several important insights. First, the analysed document seemed to appropriate the findings of the mentioned university study. This shows, similarly to relation between the IDU and the ministerial policy documents, that the third parties carrying the research and mapping activity oriented towards the CCI gained major agency in establishing conceptual articulations and rhetoric strategies used by public authorities afterwards. On the other hand, it shows that the University (UTB) that was carrying this research referred to its own importance within the creative economy of the city, serving its own interests in raising public awareness, attracting municipal support, strengthening its position in local politics etc. The research project provided justification and

led to the creation of a so-called Audiovisual cluster Zlín, based at the Faculty of Multi-media Communications of the UTB, which was the recipient of the research grant.

Second, the rhetoric of added value or certain not yet developed potential hidden in the CCI and latent unique competitive advantage are principal ideas in range of theories within the creative economy discourse. In this case, the theory of creative class coined by Richard Florida (2002) is mentioned. One of the final outputs from the UTB's research activity oriented towards CCI, a publication titled *Creative Class: Talent vs. Wealth* edited by Eva Šviráková with essays by the members of the research team (Šviráková et al 2014), proves that the theory of creative class appeared as the key rhetorical guideline in this research. The conceptual articulations of the creative class theory were then replicated in the analysed Zlín Strategic Plan.

From the language of the analysed Zlín Strategic Plan it is clear that the use of explicit terminology, such as creative class, can be assigned to a specific author. This clarity stems from the fact that in Florida's theory there are specific and easily distinguishable terms that he coined. Another case, where it is possible to assign a source from which specific discursive elements diffused from is the narrative flow of the definition of the CCI. In the particular case of Zlín and Olomouc, the narrative flow of the definition is identical with the one from the DCMS Mapping Document (2001), as evident in the following example:

CCI are activities that are based on the creativity of individuals, their skills or talents and which have the potential to create wealth and jobs through the production and exploitation of intellectual property.

(translated from Czech, Zlín City Government, 2012)

Creative industries are those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property. (DCMS 2001)

The quotes demonstrate that the wording is almost identical, analogous way of comparison has been done with all other analysed policy documents. A full attachment of compared wording in the definitions excerpts from all analysed documents can be found in the Appendix D. It can be concluded,

therefore, that the document consists of several conceptual articulations and narrative flows derived from foreign sources, such as the theory of creative class by Richard Florida and the definition of the CCI created by the DCMS. It is, however, not possible to assign all ideas to specific source. The document works with widely spread rhetorical strategies, such as those justifying particular actions that are presented as support of the CCI, and specifically the creative class. These are, for instance, facilitated networking events and coordinated communication between involved stakeholders or, the development of the cultural facilities of the city of Zlín “in terms of experience-oriented formats for attracting visitors and generating their own income” in order to create “environment attractive for the creative class”.

All four analysed documents shared similar methods of implementation of the CCI support as well as their justifications. In Zlín and Olomouc, the CCI support agenda is framed within the language of competitiveness of the EU’s initiative Regional Development Strategy (RIS). RIS is a method established by the EU for developing regional policies in the area of innovation, based on the assumption that it is not only the presence of technological know-how that is important, but also the business climate and the level of cooperation between the stakeholders. Positioning the CCI within the theme of innovation in these two cities, as the strategic plans show, made them supported through cluster initiatives and incubators for SMEs, which were feeding into the RIS frameworks and its language of raising competitiveness through innovation.

This can be demonstrated for instance on the example of Olomouc, where the authorities’ aim for the support of these industries was to “strengthen the link between high value-added creative industries and other economic segments”. Here, as well as in Zlín, the CCI were fully merged with the innovation policies, rather than having anything to do with culture and arts. In the case of Zlín Strategic Plan, the support of the creative class, which led to establishing the creative cluster in 2016, was articulated as follows:

regenerated industrial or abandoned areas in creative neighbourhoods, hubs or incubators with operational background and business advice for individuals or their organised networks - clusters. Support for soft localisation factors (e.g. reputation of an open and tolerant city) also plays an important role (Zlín City Government 2012).

The ideas here are mainly oriented at providing space and facilitating supportive environment as well as providing business advice, but also

strengthening the city's reputation, in order to attract the "creative class". In Olomouc, the main support of CCIs was largely oriented inwards, at the capacity building of the actual CCI sectors:

strengthening the competitiveness and economic turnover of entities in the CCI sectors and creating new jobs, new business opportunities, accelerating cooperation between entities across CCI and between CCIs and traditional industries and providing qualified professionals for the needs of each CCI sector (City of Olomouc 2017).

It means that the support was oriented mainly towards the economic performance of the CCI as well as the capacity to cooperate. This intention existed in parallel to the support to the city cultural institutions and plans to "develop new services in tourism, culture and sport". Rather than a shift in policy direction, the CCIs were an addition of a newly emerged theme in the policy discourse.

Together with research into the needs and status quo of the CCI, which proved to be the major tool of support articulated in the national cultural policy level, in the city of Olomouc, facilitated communication of various stakeholders was also articulated as a method of support. The authorities declared that they will continue to "obtain and maintain a detailed overview of the current situation and needs of CCI entities in Olomouc" and that the city will ensure "coordinated communication of CCI representatives with representatives of local government" (City of Olomouc 2017).

Similarly oriented articulation of support is seen in the *Blueprint for the development of culture for the years 2009 – 2019 in Plzeň*, which approaches the theme of CCI briefly and declares a necessity to create a "study of possibilities of support of creative industry in Pilsen" in order to "propose a system of support for projects linking cultural and artistic activities with industry and the business community". Nevertheless, even before such research was carried in the city, the document drafted several ideas for this support, such as "extending the current concept of the Business Incubator (BIC) to include CCI" and "providing emerging artists and independent entrepreneurs with premises and professional support". The supporting justification was articulated on the basis of "high concentration of people who work together, which generates fruitful environment for necessary synergies".

Unlike in Zlín and Olomouc, in Plzeň the agenda within the Blueprint for the development of culture for the years 2009 - 2019 explicitly included support

of emerging artists through their integration into the means of support oriented towards business development, such as the existing business incubator or business advice. The analysed document focused on culture and arts since it was created as part of the city's candidature for the European Capital of Culture award and the CCIs were mentioned several times by acknowledging their importance and potential and, as in many other analysed documents, the main action to be taken was more research through a study titled *Studie možností podpory kreativního průmyslu v Plzni - Inkubátor & Culture Business Angels* [Study of opportunities to support creative industry in Pilsen – incubator & Culture Business Angels]. *The Strategic Plan in Brno*, on the other hand, as has been said above, was the first cultural policy document that integrated the support of culture and CCI as equal areas of interest, but at the same, instead of merging the agendas of industry and culture, it clearly distinguished between them and suggested differentiated support mechanisms.

Within its priority no 1, "Support of excellence, diversity and development" the Strategic Plan in Brno declares an action point no. A.1.1 "To ensure qualitative and quantitative development of individual cultural and creative sectors". The document drew on a few years of discursive events and research that preceded its preparation convened by the Creative Brno initiative. It seems to be the most elaborate instance of a policy document that aims to cater to both culture and the CCI as two equally important realms, each requiring its own means of support, which was not clear in the other city oriented documents, neither it was clearly declared in the national cultural policy texts.

The analysed Brno Strategic Plan declares the determination to "develop entrepreneurial entities and entrepreneurship development in the CCI" by continuing in the activities performed by the Creative Brno initiative and suggests a number of new incentives such as "Creative Vouchers, Creative Centre Brno, Creative Hub etc. together with networking, presentations, export, industry conferences etc." Simultaneously, as the only document in the analysed set, it explicitly declares that the "budget to support entrepreneurial activities will always be separated from the system of subsidies and other support for the non-governmental cultural scene" (City Government of Brno, 2018).

Alongside the support of entrepreneurial activities by various methods, all four city-oriented policy documents shared the suggestion to support the CCI by creating a role of a coordinator within the city government. This person

would facilitate the development of the CCI and supervise monitoring of their needs. Mediation and facilitation of collaboration of various stakeholders as well as coordination of networking events has been mentioned as a tool of support of the CCIs, similarly to the research and mapping, an activity that spanned the creative economy discourse on national as well as city level. The reason for this is the cross-departmental and multidisciplinary nature of the CCI that generates overlapping agendas of governmental departments that previously worked separately, such as those focusing on culture and those focusing at trade.

This speculation is a hypothesis, which will be verified in the following chapter, which focuses on explanatory logics of the creative economy discourse diffusion. The Brno Strategic Plan for instance labels itself as a result of a “unique” collaboration between the Department of Culture and the Deputy Mayor’s Office for Smart City.

In all five cities, initiatives titled according to the formula: ‘creative + the name of the city’ exist and as the case of Zlín or Brno and the frequent references to these initiatives throughout the documents suggest, these third parties have a significant influence on the content of the policy texts. Since majority of Czech policy documents have a descriptive, rather than explanatory character, it is difficult to find justifications for the suggested objectives or points of action. The associated initiatives whose work has influenced the CCI agenda within the analysed policy documents has proved to bring a valuable insight into the justifications in the actual policy texts, which often appropriate, replicate or simply refer to the associated CCI advocacy groups. How these groups operate and what is their relation with the authorities will be explored in the following chapter.

In terms of tracing justifications for the CCI support agendas within the policy documents, city branding, retaining talented people, revitalizing less attractive parts of towns and brownfields, generating wealth and attracting investment were the major argumentative lines. The following quote demonstrates how the initiative Creative Brno justified its suggestion to transforming the dilapidated building located in a deprived neighbourhood of Cejl.

The aim of the project is to help develop the creative potential of talented people and thus prevent their outflow outside Brno. The center can attract a new kind of investors connected to the creative industry. [...] The creative center can open the area that has been

rather not attractive until now and make it more appealing for the general public (Kreativní Brno, 2019).

In Olomouc, the justification was also oriented towards increasing the attractiveness of urban space, as well as city branding: “the city will support the CCI with the aim to improve the image and increase the attractiveness of the city as well as market the value of its brand, targeting entrepreneurs and tourists” (City of Olomouc 2017).

The authorities in Olomouc also believed that the CCI entities maintained a stronger sense of identity within the city and the region, which is part of the narrative of the city branding and improving the city’s image. The CCI in Olomouc were marked as “highly resilient segments that are largely made up of SMEs whose owners and employees have a strong link with the city and the region”. It is not the subject of this study to verify, whether these statements present accurate information, such as the stronger connection of the entities within CCI to the location. In relation to my research questions, the documents reflect a certain language and show premises on which arguments built to support the document’s purpose.

Overall, it can be said that the above-mentioned justifications go in line with the key creative economy discourse narrative flows. For instance, CCI presented as a powerful catalyst for attracting tourists, investment, growth, employment and so-called “social regeneration” of marginalised or “resource-weak” communities is a vocabulary used in the KEA (2006) study, but it is also present in Florida’s creative class theory and in slightly altered way also in other key texts of creative economy discourse. Unless the policy documents clearly state the source, which is rare for this type of texts, it is rather difficult to say where particular ideas came from. Since these articulations were also used in the national policy documents, they may equally come from or be an attempt to engage with central government to persuade them to support the local. In general, the process of knowledge generation is non-linear and multidirectional, creation of policy documents is often based on works of groups and collaborative process of editing, merging and collaging ideas.

This section has demonstrated that the analysed policy texts used a range of theories and sources when referring to the CCI. Specifically, it was possible to find articulations with origins in the DCMS in the UK (definition of the CCI), in the EU commissioned study the Economy of Culture in Europe by KEA (2006) and Richard Florida’s theory of creative class. Some of the early documents gained the first insights regarding industrialisation and

commodification of culture from the discursive events of UNESCO and European Union.

However, what is more important than tracing specific sources of appropriated knowledge are the meanings that the articulations and narratives carry, and which are then transmitted through the policy texts. Although these ideas are not necessarily applied through implementation of policies in practice, thanks so their presence in texts they remain in the discursive realm where common sense is created. Reaching a certain level of credibility in finding what ideas mean require a direct conversation with those who operate with them. Throughout this section, identification of the elements of creative economy discourse has been oriented towards the explicit expression of the discourse within the policy documents – the presence of one of the major conceptual articulations, the CCI. The following section will explore an implicit, but significant manifestation of the creative economy discourse, the shift in understanding the value of culture and arts.

4.2 Putting economics into culture

As introduced in the literature review, one of the narratives that characterise the creative economy as discourse is the shift in understanding the cultural value and particularly the commodification and economisation of it. In his monograph *The Expediency of Culture* George Yudice (2003) wrote an extensive analysis of how the state's interest in culture is presently legitimised by instrumental and utilitarian arguments. In 2007 an English cultural policy scholar Clive Gray wrote that "the increasing emphasis that has been placed upon the "need" for arts and cultural policies to demonstrate that they generate a benefit over and above the aesthetic, has become a major development within political systems.". Schlesinger (2016) in his critique of creative economy as an "ideology" commented that the expedient argument that turns culture into economic value is seen as the only really comprehensible and sellable formula in our times.

Gray's quote refers to two important notions. First, the instrumentalisation of culture and arts as such, and second, the need to demonstrate the outcomes. Demonstrable outcomes and instrumentalisation of culture are also the main principles in the rhetorical strategies of a former British Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport Chris Smith and a collection of his influential speeches *Creative Britain*, one of the key texts within the creative economy discourse. They are, according to Schlesinger (2016) the essentials of the creative economy "belief system", which is why this section

analyses the presence of this theme within the selected policy documents. In order to instrumentalise, however, evidence of impact and related measuring and evaluations have been key. The presented analysis revealed that the intention to measure the impacts of culture can be found in the very first policy texts from 1999 as well as 2001 to tackle the problem of missing or scarce data and research about culture in general in order to support policymaking under the concept of evidence-based policy (MKČR 1999 and 2001). At that time, not many research-oriented activities were practiced since the Velvet Revolution in 1989. The documents declared that the ministry and other public authorities

are aware that information is needed to fulfil the task of informing citizens as well as creating favourable financial and legislative conditions for the development of culture, not only statistics on the use of cultural facilities by citizens and the cost of the public funding of culture, but also statistics on the economic impact of individual sectors of the so-called cultural industry (MKČR 1999 and 2001).

The quote explicitly demonstrates the intention of the authorities to measure the economic impact. As a source, under the star footnote, the document mentions two papers - the EU Council Resolution of 20.11.1995, on the promotion of statistics on culture and economic growth and also the Recommendation concerning the International Standardisation of Statistics on the Public Financing of Cultural Activities, adopted by the 21st session of the UNESCO General Conference, Belgrade, 27.10. 1980. Here we see that the early evidence of attempts to gather data on the economic impact of cultural activities originates in documents of two transnational institutions, the EU and UNESCO. At the time when the two analysed cultural policy documents were issued (MKČR 1999 and 2001) the Czech Republic was not part of the EU, but in the phase of preparation for joining it. The resources quoted with the reference to measuring the economic impact reveal that the EU and its policies were reflected in the cultural policy documents in the Czech Republic even earlier than the country joined the Union and that the early notions of measuring the economic value of culture came from the EU and the UNESCO.

It has to be noted that although this remark appeared in these two documents, it was a solitary occurrence and regular research and data collection regarding economic impact of culture was not executed until 2009 when the Satellite Account of culture was established and collected its first

dataset⁶. The aim of the Satellite Account of culture is to identify the resources of culture, its production volume, and analyzing and measuring productivity or efficiency of individual branches of culture (Strielkowski 2012).

Expressing value of culture and arts calculating their impacts in monetary terms and numeric indicators has been at the core of the evidence-based policymaking. This kind of policymaking is proclaimed to be making decisions based on statistical data and monitoring, which became a major feature of managerialist style of public policy practice. This method of expressing the value of culture and thus creating the rationale for its public funding became a common feature of cultural policies throughout Europe. As Belfiore wrote in *Auditing Culture* (2004), it became also a signature feature of the New Labour cultural policies in Britain between 1998 and 2010, which is when the discourse of creative economy gained its significance. In the Czech national cultural policy document from 2009 (MKČR 2009), the economistic discursive narrative flow can be illustrated, for example, through the following quote from the Czech national policy document issued in 2009:

- *the cultural and creative sector in the EU recorded a turnover of € 653 billion in 2003, i.e. 2.6% of EU GDP; more than the real estate sector (2.1%), food, beverages and tobacco (2.1%) or the chemical and rubber industries, including plastics (2.3%);*
- *growth in this sector was more than 12% faster than the EU average in 1999-2003;*
- *the cultural sector employed more than 4.7 million people in 2004 (2.5% of the EU25 economically active population); employment in this sector grew faster than the EU average and showed strong signs of 'modernity' - resp. how the work scene could look in the future - more flexible, project-oriented, requiring mobility and higher skills. (MKČR 2009)*

This form of presenting economic value of culture and arts in the policy documents is the first time such approach appeared in the policy documents in the Czech Republic. It shows numbers for the EU, drawn from the study *Economy of Culture in Europe* (KEA 2006) and uses them as a support for making the case for culture. At that time, this type of data was not yet available in the country, but the discourse of creative economy was already significantly present throughout the document and therefore, evidence in

⁶ Conversation with Milan Dederá from the Czech Statistical Office

terms of quantified value of the sector was necessary to be included to add weight to the arguments through indicators.

In the same year, the Ministry of Culture in collaboration with the Statistical Office and NIPOS established the Satellite Account of Culture and started using the above-mentioned formula that presents economic indicators in the official documents. For example, the cultural policy document from 2015 contains already the data based on the Satellite Account results and presents the economic indicators for employment, the GPD, the growth and the turnover of the cultural sector paired with comparisons with various other industries, which is the exact narrative flow that can be located also in key texts of the creative economy discourse, such as Smith (1998), KEA (2006) and EU Green Paper (2010).

The creation of the Satellite Account has been a crucial milestone in the development of the creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic, since it provided basis for quantification of culture and arts in economic terms. It captured information about culture and arts in industrial conventions through monetary and economic indicators, such as financial input and output of the industry, economic performance of each sector, GDP share, employment and growth. Since the Satellite Account has been established, the narrative of the economic performance of the cultural sector secured its place in the debate about creative economy and justification of public support for culture in policy related debates. The phenomenon of measuring the economic value of culture became an inseparable part of cultural policymaking and the measured figures found their place in the policy documents. This logic has been applied not only on the industrial sectors, but also on the arts as the following quote demonstrates:

The arts as part of cultural and creative industries have its quantifiable value of economic impacts, as evidenced by a large number of studies prepared for foreign and Czech cultural events and organisations. In 2013, the first version of the online application based on a certified methodology for the calculation of the economic impact of culture (software) was elaborated within the IDU research grant 'Mapping of Cultural and Creative Industries in the Czech Republic'. It calculates the direct and indirect (multiplied) impacts of cultural projects or organisations resulting from the expenditure of visitors to these events (MKČR 2015c).

This quote shows that the authorities adopted the belief that the economic impact of the arts can be calculated and accepted the methodology for

calculating the multiplier effect developed within the IDU Mapping Projects. Together with the Satellite Account, the economic multiplier effect has been prevalent in the theme of measuring impacts of culture and arts. Together with the narrative flow of the economic indicators mentioned above, the economic multiplier effect is another important phenomenon that a report by British economist John Myerscough introduced to the cultural policy debate in the late 1980s.

First appearance of the term has been noted in the cultural policy from 1999, which acknowledged that the state-subsidised heritage sites and historical city zones bring income to the local authorities through to their multiplier effects. The document, however, does not mention the necessity to measure or quantify these effects, which is the key turning point in the creative economy discourse. A shift to an active quantification and measuring of these economic effects appears in the arts policy from 2006 (MKČR 2006). Among the list of methodological tools that the Ministry defined for the achievement of the strategic goals declared in the document, we find the following bullet point:

- *monitoring and evaluating the economic multiplier effects that arise from the arts* (MKČR 2006).

Although the policy paper does not give any more details about this point, I believe it can still be regarded as evidence of increasing attention towards the measurement of economic impact – from a rather passive acknowledgement of the existence of multiplier effect in the document from 1999 to a more active stage where the authorities declare they will make steps to start measuring and quantifying it.

In 2015 the Ministry declared in the National cultural policy document that its aim was to create a certified methodology of calculation of economic impacts:

Within the framework of research and development of tools for monitoring and evaluation of multiplier effects of cultural and artistic activities and utilisation of cultural heritage, a certified methodology of calculation of economic impacts of cultural organisations will be developed (MKČR 2015a).

Although this quote comes from a document issued in 2015, the methodology of calculation of economic impacts was created and certified by the Ministry already two years before in 2013 within the project of the IDU, Mapping of the Cultural and Creative Industries, funded by the Ministry of Culture. In 2011, Martin Cikánek, the then director of the research project of IDU presented at a conference organised by the British Council⁷ in Prague the reasons why the Institute decided to involve the certified methodology of calculating the economic multiplier effect. I quote his justification in full length to provide enough context for the explanations that will be drawn from it:

We included this stream in the Mapping project mainly because of the demand for tools capable of monitoring and evaluating the multiplier effect by the cultural organisations themselves. Another reason for the inclusion of this stream in the mapping project was the need to catch up with foreign cultural and political research, for which we are about 20 years late in this respect. Finally, we also assume that the data that will be collected in the Multipliers stream will also work in the first Mapping stream⁸, and will ideally help resolve problems with the missing availability or absence of relevant data. [...] Within a few years, economic impact surveys will be carried out on a sufficient sample of cultural organisations, and the economic impacts of culture will therefore be taken for granted and proven and will not need to be accentuated in the cultural policy of the Czech Republic or in the cultural strategies of regions or cities (Cikánek's speech at the British Council in 2011).

This lengthy quote explains well the officially presented justification of why the IDU needed to get on board with creation of a methodology for calculating the economic multiplier. It says that the cultural organisations themselves asked for a tool that would help them quantify their economic impact, although claim was not supported by evidence and might have been a way the IDU justified its actions and making them seem as being backed by the sector itself. During its research projects the IDU held numerous working groups, discussions, seminars where representatives of the cultural and arts sector would participate. Participation in policymaking is, however, voluntary, and it is likely that those, who joined the IDU and its working

⁷ Conversation with Milan Dederá from the Czech Statistical Office

⁸ Meaning feeding into the methodology of mapping the CCI in the country

groups in research projects would not be those, who held opposing views but those, who were invited to join and whose thinking was more in line with the IDU directors and research staff.

Another point of justification that Cikánek presented at the conference is an assumption, that the Czech cultural policy research needed to “catch up” and that it was lagging behind foreign countries. He did not say, which countries was the Czech Republic lagging behind, but as an alumnus of a Cultural Policy course at the City University London as well as evident in his book (Cikánek 2009), most of his references and benchmarks about the concept of creative economy originated in the UK. The notion of lagging behind indicates a speculation, but certainly a specific worldview that might be a prompt for knowledge transfer from abroad, in order to “catch up”. This notion is an important one and will be analysed further in the next chapter.

The quote also predicts a situation in which the quantification of the economic value would be taken for granted by the authorities and no longer necessary to be emphasised in cultural policies. This suggests that until then, the quantification of economic value was not taken for granted, was not part of cultural policy strategies, and was rather something that needed to be demonstrated for the authorities to accept it and normalise the concept and the process of measuring it. I would agree, that the reason for this was, as Belfiore (2015) suggests, to “make the case for the arts and public funding”, without acknowledging possible transgressive outcomes, that may lead, as critical cultural policy scholars authors argued, to a situation when the measuring the values became part of “technocratic machinery of cultural policymaking” (Belfiore 2015).

Although Cikánek expressed his wish to “prove” the economic impact of culture “once for good, so that the debate can move on” (Cikánek 2010), at that time scholars in the UK already established a solid body of work that demonstrated, that the fixation with targets, performance measurement, and evidence are meant to act as a substitute for a more positive, constructive articulation of values and beliefs at the roots of cultural policies (Belfiore 2012).

Although these approaches were meant to win more attention to the cultural sector in a contested area of policymaking, as Belfiore (2009) articulated, the problem “lies in the specific type of narrow instrumentalism that has come to dominate public discourse, which is predicated on the application of a limiting utilitarian and calculating logic to arts policy, whereby precisely quantifiable “returns” need to be guaranteed for the “investment” received”.

Nevertheless, the plan of the IDU was, as part of the Mapping Project to create this methodology as one of the project's outputs, to "help" culture defend itself in economic impact terms.

In 2013 IDU produced the Methodology of Calculation of Economic Impacts of Cultural Organisation (IDU 2013), which was designed for the calculation of economic impacts of individual cultural events such as festivals, rather than a device to measure multiplication effects on a national scale. As per my conversation with the Czech Statistical Office in 2019, they did not use this method for their reports and were not aware that the method would be in use for policy purposes. As an outcome of the project "stream", as Cikánek called it in the above quote, the IDU produced the methodology as a free of charge publicly downloadable study and proclaimed it to be an advocacy tool for individual cultural organisations.

However, although the report mentions that the methodology is here for "everyone", it is at the same time "due to its difficult nature" meant to be used by "specialised economic institutions and firms, which are oriented towards economic calculations and could use the methodology to prepare economic impact studies for end-users" (Raabová 2013, p. 6). The author of the methodology, Tereza Raabová herself, established her own consultancy company Economic Impact oriented towards calculation of economic impact as a service for large scale cultural events and festivals. Some of these events were the most prominent cultural festivals in the country, such as Prague Quadrennial, Signal Festival, European Capital of Culture Plzeň 2015, Prague Spring, Prague Marathon, NATO Days etc. The method was designed to work with large scale data collection through surveys of the visitors' consumption (restaurants, accommodation, shopping etc.) and therefore it was incompatible with galleries, small-scale initiatives, informal arts activities or low-key community festivals.

As a consequence, a limited number of already quite large festivals that could afford to pay for a study of their multiplier effects were given a powerful tool to lobby national and local governments to receive more public attention and funding. The evidence generated through these processes was used in a lobbying process that resulted into a creation of a new funding programme dedicated to large festivals at the Ministry of Culture. This can be also demonstrated in the following quote from the National Arts policy document from 2015 that declared that the authorities' focus should "regularly evaluate the impact of programs, projects and actions, monitor multiplier effects, publicise findings" and "focus on selected projects and

actions in terms of promoting the best practice” (MKČR 2015b). What is meant by “best practice” is not explicitly clarified, however, in relation to the context in which it is positioned, I would argue that it points towards those organisations that can afford the economic impact analysis and can show off their convincing economic impact figures.

4.3 Conclusions of Chapter 4 – Retroduction: Preliminary Hypotheses

This chapter focused on analysing evidence of creative economy discourse within a set of selected policy documents and interviews searching for answers to the research sub-questions “*How does the discourse exist within the present and past cultural policy documents in the Czech Republic?*” and “*How do the policy actors frame the creative economy discourse?*”. Based on the analysis, several points are to be made as conclusions of this chapter.

First, the analysis revealed that the concept of CCI, appeared in all policy documents issued after the year 2006 and the detailed analysis of definitions revealed that the policy documents either did not define the CCIs at all or they used a definition by the DCMS, which diffused either in its full translation as referenced in IDU (2011) or with very small adjustments. The DCMS definition diffused via IDU into four public policy documents, two of them were issued by the Czech Ministry of Culture and two by local city councils. This shows how influential in policymaking were the research activities of the IDU, an entity external to the Ministry of Culture itself. It also demonstrates that the Czech policy documents adopted a definition that originated in a different country with entirely different cultural background regardless of its relevance with no explicit process to verify its relevance in the local context. The city-oriented policy documents showed similar model to the national one, in terms of the authorities relying on third party research and advocacy groups. These advocacy groups proved to have enough power to shape the policy documents, Brno being the most explicit example. They have also proved to have power to advocate for specific implementations, such as the creation of the Audiovisual Cluster at the UTB.

Alongside the definition of CCI itself, conceptual articulations have been brought from foreign sources that existed as key texts within the creative economy discourse. However, the actual implementation of action points was facilitated through the EU frameworks and funding, for instance the EU cluster initiative. Spreading of the implicit discursive elements has been

identified in the policy documents since 2009 with a heavy appropriation of KEA (2006) rhetorical strategies. The discourse of creative economy manifested itself implicitly through the rhetorical strategies and narratives that promoted quantification of the cultural value and implicitly contributed to the shifts in common sense understanding of it.

In terms of declarations of support on the national level, as the discourse was at its initial phases of diffusion, funding for further research and more mapping of the CCI seemed to be the major form of support articulated throughout the analysed policy documents. A key question that emerges from the declarations of extensive support of the Mapping Projects at the IDU is, if these activities had a further impact on policy change and overall implementation of creative economy in practical terms, which was out of the scope of my thesis but would be worthy of further research. However, one specific example of practical change could be the Satellite Account that started collecting data and was established as part of the declarations of support for CCI. Its methodology has been constructed in line with the EU directives whereas the concept of an economic multiplier with its origins in the 1980s publication by a British scholar John Myerscough and revived by the New Labour's creative industries policies, diffused into the policy documents only rhetorically. Another form of support towards the CCI I identified in the analysis of the policy documents was the Memorandum of Cooperation between the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Industry and Trade. It was the first formal confirmation of the fact that the agendas and scope of interest of the two ministries were starting to overlap, and a better coordination was needed among them. This move confirms that several points that O'Connor defines as major features of the creative economy concept have been diffused, such as: moving away from an emphasis on art and heritage to more contemporary cultural activities; re-orienting policy to the economic dimensions of culture; positioning culture as an essential part of a wider creativity in society; positioning culture therefore as crucial to the 'next stage' in economic evolution to a knowledge-intensive, creative economy and society.

In response to the second research sub-question answered by this chapter, "*How do the policy actors frame the creative economy discourse?*" I first focused on the sources of knowledge, circumstances in which the interviewees encountered the discourse to understand better their framing. Most of the interviewees encountered the research abroad at exchange events or study programmes funded by the EU, but not primarily focused on

spreading the theme (studying in the UK, travelling to international conferences and gatherings about art management and cultural programming etc.). Some of these pioneers already had strong social capital and influential position within the Czech cultural scene which has been an important factor in spreading new knowledge.

In terms of discourse framing, three interrelated ways of thinking about creative economy were evident.

First, the interviewees framed creative economy as ways of acknowledging what they called “added value”. However, across the interviews there has not been a consistent and uniform understanding of what the added value means. The term meant different things for different people, but the terminology worked for everyone. This is, as we will see in the next chapter, part of the political logics of the discourse but this chapter showed that this way of framing was shared across the Czech interviewees except those that seemed to be critical about the discourse and related concepts. Despite different understandings of what “added value” meant in this context, this way of framing had a uniting potential for the cultural workers and policy makers alike since the debate was not far enough to start going deeper into practical implementation of policy change that would, most likely, reveal severe conceptual dissonances.

Second, the analysis showed that there was a significant number of interviewees, who shared framing the creative economy discourse as a “new approach” to understanding cultural sector. Some of the propagators of the discourse were even attracted to the sole fact that creative economy as a theme is a new thing based on what they considered to be modern approaches in the supposedly more developed Western countries. They were attracted by the novelty of the underlying concepts and ways of articulating the value of cultural activities and wanted to take advantage of the momentum in which they could pursue it within their current or potential roles.

Third most important way of framing was in relation to the previous two – by putting economics into culture i.e. constructing economic rationales in cultural policy. This particularly resonates with the “added value” and new articulations of cultural value in economic terms. However, as O’Connor (2016) noted, “creative economy has not only reduced much of cultural value to a useful input into growth and innovation but has produced systematic confusion as to what the cultural / creative ‘sector’ actually does and how it does so” (p. 6). The further spreading of this confusion that the discourse of

creative economy produced has been demonstrated throughout the policy documents and evident in rhetorical strategies that justify the value of culture and arts in economic terms. Alongside the explicit manifestation of the creative economy discourse through conceptual articulation of the CCI, the shifting common sense regarding the cultural value is an implicit, but rather significant feature of the creative economy discourse diffusion into the Czech cultural policy field. The thematic analysis of policy documents and interviews showed that not only language or specific terminology framed the discourse, but also visual models demonstrating systems of interconnection of the “added value” of cultural activities and the role of non-profit, non-market based cultural activities in profitable spheres of creative economy. The concentric circles diagram visualisation echoing the report *Staying Ahead: The Economic Performance of the UK's Creative Industries* by the British Work Foundation (2007) was used by the pioneers of the discourse, the IDU and it was also identified in several analysed policy documents. Within this conceptualisation, the pioneers of the creative economy discourse maintained a concept of interconnection in which the for-profit and non-profit activities within cultural sector coexist. Particularly revealing was the metaphor of a “core”, which was based on the concentric circles diagram and served different people with different aims and values. Similarly to the “added value” framing, this metaphor proved to be functional for both those, who saw creativity to be exploited as a resource and arts as an instrument for achieving higher financial value in production of goods but also those interviewees, who understood arts as an autonomous, sublime zone, to be treated as precious “core” and protected from market logics.

These conclusions partly answer the major explanatory research question *by* showing *what has* diffused into the major public policy texts concerned with culture or city development in terms of terminology, definitions, visualisations, concepts. Also, through intertextual comparison, the chapter showed that these were almost entirely adopted from Britain based sources and KEA (2006), a document issued by a private consultancy, but the adoption of these sources has been facilitated by the IDU.

Following the retroduction and building on the explanations presented in detail throughout this chapter and summarised in this conclusion, the upcoming chapter draws on the argumentation analysis of interviews with people, who took part in the creative economy discourse diffusion process and focuses on the political, social and fantasmatic logics of the diffusion. I did these interviews with various policy actors and cultural workers to

understand why the creative economy discourse happened to be included in policy agendas and how they made sense of it.

Chapter 5

Logics of Critical Explanation

In the previous chapter based on thematic analysis of policy documents and interviews I focused on definitions, framing, visual models and especially the way the discourse of creative economy existed within the policy documents. In this chapter I will go deeper into the hypotheses drawn from the thematic analysis to answer my research question *Why and how has creative economy discourse emerged in the cultural policy field in the Czech Republic?*. To do so I will draw on Glynos and Howarth's (2008) framework of social logics, the political logics and the fantasmatic logics. The chapter is therefore structured into three sub-chapters.

The complexity behind this apparently simple question is illustrated by the quote from one of my research participants, one of the two interviewed directors of the IDU. The interviewed directors articulated her hypothesis of how the discourse of creative economy emerged in the Czech Republic:

It got here completely naturally, because it was being discussed on the European level at various projects and meetings. [...] Logically, the discussion is interesting, because it was a new approach to how to look at the field of culture and art, and so it got here. That was the first impression. Then, of course, there were a lot of people who were studying abroad, especially in Britain, where the core knowledge was, and as they returned, they were spreading the knowledge, like for example Mr. Cikánek, who worked here. So, I think it was influenced by those natural processes that were then in Europe (Interview 5).

The quote reveals the intertwining of all three logics of critical explanation. It is evident that according to the interviewee, the discourse emerged in some form of an international space by which she means the institutions or events related to the policies of European Union, which is essentially related to the political agenda of trans-national governance. Second, the actors of the discourse, who have international connections to what O'Connor (2016) called "epistemic communities" possibly through their studies, international networking and social capital, have acted as the initial agents of the discursive formation and disseminated the knowledge in discursive events, through particular narratives, argumentation and framing as demonstrated in the previous chapter. The social logics of the practices of these actors will be analysed in the following section. Last, certain vocabulary such as "naturally" or logically" and other indications of common-sense judgements and

argument constructions are necessary to be unpacked and deserve a great deal of attention. In Gramscian and post-structuralist approaches to discourse analysis, what seems to be taken for granted indicates internalised ideological beliefs. Language of common sense as well as idealised success scenarios expressed through the interviews will be analysed and further discussed in the last part of this chapter, the Fantasmatic Logics.

5.1 Social Logics: Identities and Motivations

The Social Logics part of this chapter looks closely at the actors of the discourse and their practices. This process of course has generated wider consequences in terms of the social logics, for instance formations of a new Czech epistemic community of consultants in creative economy and cultural managers, who engaged in the discourse for varying reasons, as presented in the argumentation analysis. Glynos and Howarth (2008) define social logics in terms of rules or grammar of a practice. They claim that

social practices always exceed any particular system of rules, because they contain possibilities and contextual richness that cannot be expressed by any one expression of them. Nevertheless, the search to discern the rules surrounding or informing a practice is still important in helping us determine the meaning and character of a social practice (p. 137)

Based on the framing used by the interviewed participants as presented in the previous chapter, in this chapter I observe the particular social practices as they were described by the interviewed agents of the discourse of creative economy in the Czech Republic and the foreign experts, who were involved in establishing and shaping the discourse.

According to Glynos and Howarth, in order to identify the social logics of a particular regime or practice under investigation, self-interpretations of the social actors involved in the discourse have to be identified (2008).

Throughout the cultural policy studies literature, the role of experts, consultants, advisers and intermediaries has been seen as key in facilitating the global transfer of the creative economy concept (Prince 2014, O'Connor 2016, Schlesinger 2016) therefore, I closely focused on the social actors, who were instrumental to the dissemination of creative economy discourse and analysed how did they explain their own motivations and how they narrated what were they doing and why. Interviewee 1, who was a key

initiator of the creative economy discourse interpreted his peers who engaged in mapping, consultancy work or initiated creative incubators interpreted as “a bunch of punks”, “people who are revolving around the IDU”, “researchers in the arts” and “managers, people, who sometimes organise something and so on” (Interview 1) which shows that they were not artists or cultural practitioners, but people with different backgrounds, a mixture of research and management.

A particularly comprehensive answer was given by a British policy consultant (Interviewee 40), who has been working internationally and held close, long-term relations with Czech cultural managers and who saw three groups of stakeholders: cultural professionals and practitioners, who felt marginalised; economist researchers, who sensed a lucrative opportunity in engaging in the discourse; and major players in the creative industries market, who sensed an opportunity to gain less market regulation and make their businesses flourish. Unlike the view of Interviewee 40, who interpreted the motivations of the actors of the discourse as mostly rooted in self-interest related to their own field of activities, others narrated the values and motivations differently, Interview 7 and 14 referred to themselves and their peers or close collaborators as driven by “some kind of public good and wellbeing” as a priority and “simply wanting to help the cultural sector in general”, these were people who started in the non-profit arts sector but later decided to move onto the field of lobbying and advocacy and were ready to challenge the local and national politicians who were sometimes resistant towards change, as analysed in the previous part (Interview 7).

Similarly, they also had in common the notion of “holistic understanding of value” or “added value of culture”. What differed was that the Interviewee 7, who worked for the IDU as well as ECoC Pilsen 2015 deemed that those, who were the propagators of the discourse started in non-profit organisations and weren’t businessmen or politicians. Interviewee 14, who worked for the Aspen Institute, on the other hand, understood the advocates of the discourse as people, who were not afraid of money and who saw an economic activity as the main area of their endeavours in life, which suggests that they were primarily business oriented.

A public official from the Ministry of Culture believed that they were people who “feel that there is some growth potential for the industry”, they were according to her economically motivated to get involved in the policymaking process, because “when you are at a source, you can better influence that source, you can steer things or do something about them” but at the same

time, she believed that it was not an explicit motivation to get money for themselves, but rather to improve conditions for the entire sector and “think in the next dimension” (Interview 27).

Another important widely shared characteristic of those who were seen as connected to the discourse was their international network and attributes such as openness to new, unknown things, being university educated and “real experts in the field in which they work” but at the same time having “a great overview of what was going on elsewhere”. At the same time, they were seen as able to maintain a critical approach towards the creative economy discourse (Interview 16).

Interviewee 19 mentioned the “old guard” by whom he meant the first generation of artistic directors after the Velvet Revolution, such as Ondřej Hrab (the Artistic Director of Archa Theatre) and Yvona Kreuzmannová (the Artistic Director of Tanec Praha), who according to him “were very strongly influencing the environment” thanks to their early memberships in international networks such as the IETM and people whom they brought from abroad. One of the ways to do so was, according to him, organise an annual IETM meeting in Prague, from which “crucial international inputs were introduced” (Interviewee 19), which proves the important role of discursive events and strong potential of bringing people together to meet and share knowledge.

A local perspective of people who lived outside of Prague and were promoting creative economy discourse within their cities, namely Zlín, saw themselves as “enthusiasts” (Interviewee 9 and 15) and “local patriots” (Interview 9). Likewise, public officers from the Ministry of Culture (Interview 27), City of Prague (Interview 11) and Brno City Council (Interview 15) identified the creative economy advocates as “enthusiasts”, “idealists” and “visionaries”, who saw a potential for growth, not only of their own business but wanted to push better policies for the entire sector in which they worked.

All three public officers had a rather positive view on the creative economy discourse agents – all three believed that those, who were promoting the discourse were somehow genuine people, who were not faking their interest, neither were they only interested in their own benefit, but were rather concerned with the growth of the entire field (Interview 27) or were convinced that the area of their activity was beneficial for the society, such as culture and arts (Interview 11) and therefore were engaged in advocating for more state support using the creative economy rhetoric. However, simultaneously, they were professionals in those sectors and therefore they

of course had vested interests although they were not seen as being at the forefront of their advocacy.

A Prague based theatre director referred to those, who promoted the creative economy discourse using a metaphor of an “apostle” as follows:

I'd say that these are the people, who have adopted the topic and they are now specialising on it. And they seem to me as the apostles of the creative industry. So, they've learned it themselves and are now trying to somehow infiltrate it in the society so that other people can understand what it's about. There aren't that many of these people. That's why I say they're like the apostles in the sense that they're trying to convince another 4 people, for example, who will be doing it in another city. (Interview 21)

She indicated, what Interview 40 hypothesised about researchers-economists, who “adopted the topic” and made it the centre of their expertise. She referred to the promotion of the discourse by these people as “apostles”, indicating advocacy or a missionary activity, which relates to the practices of enlightenment as further discussed below. Another theatre director based in Prague saw these individuals as hardly involved in the actual cultural field, because those, who are full time involved in cultural or artistic work “have no time for this” and those who participated in the dissemination of the discourse were those, who “do not work themselves fully in any cultural project” (Interview 12). He also declared that the work has to be divided somehow, indicating that there might be people, who profile themselves as cultural policy professionals. Both theatre directors declared that there was only a few people involved in the creative economy discourse in relation to cultural policy.

A director of a Prague based centre for visual art described the type of people, who were involved in creative economy discourse as a new type of professionals, who were university graduates in specialised cultural policy programmes, unlike previously, when management of cultural institutions and cultural policy was still executed and theorised by art historians, who happened to be in leadership positions:

I think that they are attracted by the professionalisation and that it becomes a field in itself, [...] Now it's becoming more and more professional, that as far as I know, people study even just cultural policies, right? [...] I don't mean it badly, but I wanted to say that, of course, it naturally begins to profile itself as a separate field of activity

that these universities are spewing. And those people will somehow assert themselves as such. And by the way, for us, as end consumers, it probably means more creative industries and I guess more policies, because there will be more of those people. And they will be very active. (Interview 22)

This opinion was shared among many others, including a young orchestra manager from Prague who referred to a key figure of the creative economy discourse as someone who “took it as an opportunity to assert himself in the cultural field” (Interview 25).

Professional researchers in cultural policy, apostles of creative industries, hardly involved in the real cultural work would be the characterisation of those, who promoted the creative economy discourse from the point of view of cultural workers. As will be explored further in detail below, with this type of professionalisation and emergence of the new opportunities, practices of competition and self-assertion of individuals with vested interest emerged. Similarly, the theme of creative economy also appealed to politicians, although at the time of the field work for this research it was much less present in the political debate than at the time of writing. Interviewee 11, who worked at City of Prague declared that politicians, who were interested in the discourse “sensed that it was a sexy theme” in terms of asserting themselves and their PR. Namely, in the year 2017 the Vice-Prime Minister Pavel Bělobrádek was mentioned in relation to this theme 16 times by 7 Czech interviewees.

Another such case mentioned was a Member of European Parliament Martina Dlabajová from Zlín. Both politicians were seen as putting the theme on their agendas and pushing it, however, as Interview 16 declared, it was a very “unsystematic matter”. Interviewee 14, who worked for the Aspen Institute mentioned that the Government Office and “people around Pavel Bělobrádek took the theme as their slogan, but I’d rather not comment of the way they were proceeding with it”. She continued that they were not really “living for it”.

Based on all the quotes, the self-interpreted identities of those, who were facilitating the discourse were professionals, who were perceived as open, resilient, visionary, idealistic, educated and in contact with the international networks, well informed and able to think outside their own field holistically in terms of interconnections and interrelations with other sectors. At the same time, persistent, critical professionals, who “started” at non-profit organisations, but had the ambitions to focus on the policy and advocacy

level in order to gain better structural conditions for the field where they used to work or were still working.

From the more critical points of view of those, who were arguing against the discourse or had an ambivalent relation to it, said that they were people, who wanted to “buy political status through art” or “have seen grant potential in terms of economic benefit” and also the film industry professionals, who have turned into “strong lobbying platforms” (Interview 13). Another critical voice (Interview 22) mentioned that they were people, who were interested in the “professionalisation” and that the creative economy discourse is getting a field of its own. When asked, who are the people benefiting from the discourse he replied that “mainly people, who ‘do’ creative industries, for instance those from the IDU, or those people, who write the grant applications on behalf of us” (Interview 22). He did not mean professionals from the actual creative industries themselves, but those, who deal with the discourse and disseminate the debate, such as researchers and policy makers of governmental institutions or professionals in certain policy-related sub-sectors, such as private companies, who execute EU grant applications on behalf of the cultural workers and are knowledgeable of using the right language and key terms that became part of the EU’s funding policy jargon. He added,

I would not be able to complete such application, I would not understand it. I would be staring at it blankly if I did not pay a person, who makes his living out of writing EU grants, although I have been working in the field for 15 years (Interview 22).

The proposition that the apparatus of cultural policy and creative economy discourse was becoming an end in itself, a theme that was being studied and promoted by those, who had a specific educational profile oriented towards the apparatus itself, rather than art or cultural content, was a notable one, because it was expressed by those, who in fact were subjects of cultural policy and the shifting perspectives in funding bodies’ understandings of cultural value were directly effecting their work.

Foreign experts I interviewed also portrayed those, with whom they were working in the field in the Czech Republic. Several of them mentioned Martin Cikánek to whom they referred as a “champion” of creative industries agenda seeing him as a young entrepreneur (Interview 35) who, like several other figures such as Eva Žáková from the IDU “understood the potential” of the discourse. Other entrepreneurs and start-up companies representatives were also mentioned in relation to being able to benefit by getting more

customers. These were, however, as Interviewee 35 noted, “hyper networked already as individuals” and “able to emerge as leaders” in the process of mapping and creative industries, which is somehow contradictory to the claims by some others about those, who saw the main discursive actors as being among the marginalised. Martin Cikánek was, according to Interviewee 34 connected to the university students whom he was teaching as well as city leaders and policy makers. Among the other named institutions were those “more entrepreneurial and innovative” and “museum sector, particularly those located in the tourist areas” and “very rarely artists or people like painters or theatre professionals” (Interview 34). Interview 34 continued by declaring that the proponents were people who worked in design or “organisations who were focused on social /economic engagement, interested in seeing how culture could contribute to that” (Interview 34).

People associated with creative industries in the cities such as Zlín were seen as “knowing what they wanted” and knowing that “it was important” because of the future of their students and wanting to retain talent (Interview 35).

Young people in general were seen by the foreign experts as the most open towards the creative economy discourse as a cultural policy consultant from London, who worked in the Czech Republic described:

It was anybody under 25 got it. Everybody over 35 thought this will never last and it is complete rubbish and we don't see why we have to do it. [...] So yeah, those people who had been out, they had gone off to do degree in America and come back for postgrad or whatever.

Yeah, they had, they were dynamic, they were thinking. (Interview 36)

Another interviewee based in London commented that the people interested in the creative economy discourse are “the new generation” and that the “terminology doesn't bother them” (Interview 39).

Interviewee 36 further noted, however, that the young people “did not have any power” which might be partially an explanation why, as pointed out by some interviews, not much changed even after a lot of time was spent by mapping, researching and debating and attempting to make policy change in a participatory processes, as will be further explained in the Political Logics. Interviewee 36 further articulated his experience of consulting cultural policies in Central and Eastern Europe as always hearing the same comment from younger cultural managers: “we get it, but the local

government will not get it. They have got their fixed ways of doing it” and noted that this is his experience across Poland and across that whole region. Cultural people “understand it”, but local authority, bureaucracies don’t understand it (Interview 36). A consultant from Estonia declared that it wasn’t the highest level of politicians interested in the discourse, as he never met the Minister or had a conversation with the Deputy Ministers either and commented that it was mostly an “initiative from below, definitely from the civil society and maybe cities” if the “official system” was involved, it would be people such as governmental advisors or a designated person that is responsible for creative industries or department specialists who would be involved, but not really the top politicians and people, who held power (Interview 33).

In terms of the motivations of the social actors involved, Interviewee 39 noted that “they just want to do creative things, for the good of the public and make money and generate jobs” and “there is not a preoccupation for this old set of divisions – ‘more money from the ministry, more money from the municipality, arts for arts sake’ - with some exceptions”, which shows that the type of people who were interested in disseminating the creative economy discourse had more politically centrist oriented mindset and were open to economic narratives in domains that historically were thought and practiced rather separately from commercial activities. Interviewee 39 further reflected on David Černý, a controversial Czech artist, whose works in Prague public space became a tourist highlight. According to Interviewee 39, Černý, among others have found a way of “making significant amounts of money”, have large studios and employ lots of people, but have been “side-lined by the artistic community” for “completely selling out”. Nevertheless, these people, as interviewee 39 said, are the “real drivers of creative economy” and compared them to the pop genre in the music industry. The real drivers of the economic reality itself, however, do not necessarily have to proponents of the discourse in policy terms. To understand better the social logics of the creative economy discourse, I dedicated close attention to the social practices and focused on the language used by the interviewed actors when describing them. The following section will look closer at the language and modalities of creative economy discourse dissemination.

5.1.1 Social logics: Modalities and Practices of Enlightenment, Explanation and Education

When asking why and how the creative economy discourse was diffused, key words “enlightenment”, “explaining” and “educating” kept being used.

This section will examine the social logics implicit within these. As has been evident from the analysis of the identities of the creative economy discourse actors, a tight connection to openness towards new knowledge as well as a certain kind of revolt against the old ways of doing things were on the forefront of the discourse agents' identities. These are essential to understand the following analysis of patterning of social practices, where such practices are understood in this regard as "a function of the contextualised self-interpretations of key subjects" (Glynos and Howarth 2008, p. 104). The analysis presented in this section introduces the practices of "enlightenment and education" and presents how the discourse actors interacted and understood each other (or not) in the discourse of creative economy.

The expression "osvěta" (enlightenment) was used by policy consultants and representatives of public authorities, only one interviewee from the cultural sector used the expression, when she referred to the experience of sharing knowledge among other professionals in the 1990s, when she first travelled abroad, or when she referred to her foreign mentor, who came to the Czech Republic as an advisor and consultant in policy. The noun "enlightenment" and the related adjective "enlightened" appeared in 15 Czech interviews 35 times in total. Enlightenment (osvěta) was also frequently linked to the verb "explain" (vysvětlovat or vysvětlit), which occurred throughout the Czech interviews 90 times, in 22 texts out of 31 and in the foreign interviews 10 times in 6 out of 10 texts.

The term "enlightenment" is a literal translation of the Czech expression 'osvěta', which can also be translated to English as "further education", however, the actual term includes the polarity between light and darkness (světlo = light), where the goal is to "enlighten" something, or someone. The adjective "osvícený" then means "the enlightened one". According to a Czech sociologist Žák, osvěta means "bringing light, mediation, making accessible and popularizing knowledge and training in skills related to this activity. The consequence of enlightenment is overcoming of an innocent cultural backwardness in which large sections of the population live involuntarily. Enlightenment is a means of cultural and social emancipation" (Žák, 2018). Therefore, the activity of those, who identified themselves with enlightening or educational activities must be understood as an act of help and doing good in their own self-interpretation.

Notably, in Czech language the term osvěta was introduced at the time of Enlightenment movement, and therefore, according to the Czech sociologist

Žák, the term is driven by the postulates of the movement, i.e. belief in reason as the main tool of knowledge and change of the world, freedom of knowledge, liberalism, democratism, rational critique of traditional theories and authorities (Žák, 2018). As Žák continues, “lack of reason, lack of knowledge, are considered to be the cause of inhuman, unjust, irresponsible and inefficient functioning of society”. The term *osvěta* (enlightenment) signifies activities, but also their content or subject, i.e. science, art, ethical and other information, recommendations, guidelines for action, criteria for assessing phenomena. Selected contents are granted the immanent ability to positively influence a person's consciousness, attitudes, motivation and actions (Žák, 2018). It can be concluded, therefore, that the term “*osvěta*” has been associated with certain values, the values of the Enlightenment movement, especially the emphasis on rationality, and is not therefore as open as the term “emancipation” which does not necessarily imply specific epistemological principles.

Following Foucault (1984), the idea of enlightenment was associated with disregarding “faithfulness to doctrinal elements, but rather the permanent reactivation of an attitude—that is, of a philosophical ethos that could be described as a permanent critique of our historical era” (Foucault 1984). He saw Enlightenment as a critical and emancipatory reflection of the present condition, rather than education about a certain approach, which was the case in the way the proponents of the creative economy discourse were using the word in speech. My analysis reveals that the use of the word *osvěta* (“enlightenment”) in the Czech interviews implied promotion of a certain epistemological approaches and specific policy approach, rather than a critical philosophical ethos. The word *osvěta* as used in the Czech interviews signified an activity in order to explain and self-legitimise social practices that were instructive rather than emancipatory and carried a vested political ideology in related approaches to cultural policy, for example to apply measures that quantify monetary value and impact of cultural activities or re-conceptualise the relation between commercial and non-profit cultural activities into an ecosystem, rather than potentially politically differing positions. Furthermore, the polarity between light and darkness suggested a dichotomy between the developed West and the not yet developed East, a hierarchy characteristic of the post-communist transformation as will be shown further in this chapter, for example by use of phrases that show that the Czech Republic has to “catch up” Western countries.

Following Wittgenstein (1953), the meaning of words is their use. The term “enlightenment” was used almost exclusively by cultural policy consultants and public officers, except for interviewees 19 and 23, who represented individuals from the first post-communist generation of cultural managers (at the time of the interview they were in their late 50s), who declared that they were “spreading the enlightenment to each other and to the outside” (Interviewee 23), when in the early 1990s international exchange was frequently facilitated by foreign cultural institutes. According to experience of a contemporary dance theatre director, who travelled to the UK in the early 1990s thanks to a fellowship facilitated by the British Council, the newly gained knowledge about the economic impacts of culture was used as a tool for gaining more attention to cultural sector, because the “numbers were revealing” and used a comparison to the automotive industry, which is “barely half of what the creative economy brings” (Interview 23). She named the activity of British Council that was inviting Czech cultural managers to Britain in the early 1990s as “spreading the enlightenment” among people from Eastern Europe (Interview 23), which shows the internalised belief that what was happening in Britain was something to be learned.

She further elaborated on how she was “super lucky” with her “mentors” she met in Britain, for instance a consultant Bob Palmer, who later became a board member of the Archa Theatre in Prague but also occasionally worked as an advisor of Czech cultural policy makers and introduced her to the “remarkable” studies of economic impacts of culture when sharing his experience from the European Capital of Culture Glasgow. It is necessary to understand further how the practices of the foreign consultants related to the “spreading of enlightenment” and I elaborate on this in the following section. However, it is clear that in this sense, the enlightenment was not perceived as a critical reflection of the present in the Foucauldian sense, but rather as education about particular approaches and rhetoric.

The following quote demonstrates further, how was the “enlightenment” related to the foreign consultants and their ability to explain things related to cultural policy to the Czech politicians and public officers, whom she perceived as in need of having a bit of the enlightenment “poured in their heads”:

The few people who were regularly going to IETM basically after the early 90's. And these people actually held seminars on the ministry's premises, to pour some enlightenment in the heads of those politicians and those responsible officials. (Interview 23)

Not only was the “enlightenment” associated with foreign cultural institutes and experts, but also with the research of the IDU and associated researchers, who promoted the concept of creative industries in the CR. When discussing the terminology of creative economy in the CR, one of the principal researchers of the IDU said that certain terms were disseminated and became part of the discourse thanks to “the enlightenment that we were spreading” (Interview 28). When further enquired about the purpose of the IDU’s Mapping Projects, she admitted that the purpose was

to organise conferences, overall enlightenment about it [creative economy] and that it deserves some attention, because creative industries are among the few sectors that during an economic recession actually grow. Well, we wanted to spread the word that they deserve some support and attention (Interview 28).

The mission of “doing enlightenment” was a key word used in the self-interpretations of what the interviewed subjects were doing or what was the purpose of the activities they organised. Notably, those who collaborated with the IDU as well as the cultural managers reasoned about the enlightenment based on their belief that culture and arts “deserve attention” (Interview 28) and that “someone should finally start noticing it” (Interview 23), which was according to some the main mission of the Mapping Projects and various discursive activities related to creative economy.

In Czech cities the main line of argument for engaging in the creative economy discourse was to retain talent, resist the brain drain and prevent the socio-spatial differentiation between Prague and the rest of the country. The “spreading of enlightenment” for them was essential to raise awareness throughout the public sphere and prepare the ground for policy advocacy and investment. A policy consultant working on policy strategies as well as mapping of the CCI in Brno referred to the events, and social groups, which joined the debate, as initiatives that helped the interconnection of like-minded people, who were “opening the theme at those seminars” to develop support from different parties, such as private sphere, academic sphere and the municipality, “to a certain extent it was enlightenment, rather than networking of random people” (Interview 16). In a similar manner, many others, such as Government Office consultant (Interview 18), Government Office Officer (Interview 30) and a Ministry of Culture Officer (Interview 24) used the term “enlightenment” to signify that the purpose of the activities, such as seminars and focus groups was rather to raise awareness and lean towards “education” of someone in order to achieve a particular aim, rather

than a critical reflection of the present in the Foucauldian interpretation of the term. Some of them were interested in “educating the elites” such as politicians and high-level officials and called it enlightenment (Interview 18) of those who are “either economically or otherwise influential, so that they start actually fighting for culture”.

Interviewee 18, government consultant perceived herself as an agent of the enlightenment towards the creative sector – to organise the subjects of policies into a “shape” in which they gain better bargaining position as well as an educator of the influential “elites” in order to bring them to be more favourable to supporting creative economy. Simultaneously, she promoted the view that the State is not the main agent of change, but rather it should come from the industry and the elites. The following quote represents a similar view of a governmental officer, who referred to a conference that took part in Brno and in her views it was a two-way enlightenment – in one way towards the sector, in the other towards politicians, “so it was kind of an enlightenment for both the political public and the people who somehow operate in the area, so it was a kind of a large two-day event” (Interview 24)

Similarly, events organised or co-organised by the IDU were seen as the major instruments of enlightenment “about the existence of the sector and what belongs there and what kind of people there are” (Interview 18). In this sense the activities of the IDU were seen as significant “especially in the regions”, meaning outside Prague. A representative of the Technological Agency of the CR explained the enlightening activities of the IDU as “getting the information to people” about creative economy through establishing a new “mini discourse, which contains words related to the cultural and creative industry, so that it succeeded (Interview 20). The interviewee further noted that “it doesn't matter what effect it does, but people have definitely heard about it, they know. And if not, the IDU will mention it at the next possible moment” indicating the persistence of the IDU in the creative economy discourse dissemination. He further mentioned that the IDU's activities were “successful” in the sense that the information reached those people, who can decide on other interventions in this direction.

A Government Office Officer evaluated the activity of the IDU similarly, including the IDU's influence on “upbringing of new generation”:

Great enlightenment. A significant one. And to this day, because they [IDU] bring trends from the outside and those debates etc. But it has the limit that it has this very intellectual dimension. That must be there, too, but the problem is that there is nothing else, an agency or

someone to push it into reality for the public sector. But the sector, the sector itself, is badly impacted by it. So, their [IDU] activities have this important positive dimension. But it's fleeting. And I think they also have the effect of creating a new generation of people who deal with it, and they are motivating people who already deal with it at the market (Interview 30).

Interview 30, also declared that for him the “enlightenment” and connecting and creating what he called “a synthetising discourse” was a point of interest because the art milieu had a potential to be a base of other solutions including industrial and technical ones in commercial spheres, which is, in line with the previous chapter, a radically different motivation than one from the IDU officers or cultural managers themselves, who wanted to spread enlightenment about the importance of culture and art for the society.

Those, who were in favour of the discourse and willing to “enlighten” others, who have not understood and supported the discourse yet, admitted that they were meeting the same people and had a problem to diversify or get to those in power, who were not supporting the discourse yet. One of the Cultural Ministry Officer’s (Interview 27) quote shows three types of social practices that I argue were crucial for the social logics of the creative economy discourse. First, there was a process of one group aiming to “enlighten” or “open the eyes” of another, second, there was a high-level of familiarity among those, who promoted the discourse generated and nurtured through common events such as seminars, and third, those for whom the discourse was “unreadable” were dismissed as either belonging to the bureaucratic remnants of the communist era or the well-established members of the older generation of cultural directors, who were in favour of maintaining the status quo for their own benefit. The group of those, who promoted the discourse and was educating others, was mostly from outside the public institutions, and yet – individual public officers, such as the author of the quote, ‘joined’ the discourse agents and aimed to promote it among public institutions from within.

A significant metaphor that appeared in the Interview 28’s speech was the phrase “to open the eyes”, which shows how the interviewees related to those, who were not yet on board with the creative economy discourse, metaphorically presenting them as having their eyes closed, perhaps sleeping, perhaps unwilling to see what was considered the reality. The following quote comes from an influential policy consultant, a collaborator of

IDU and organiser of the Fórum for Creative Europe, who reasoned around inviting foreign experts to the highly influential conference:

Of course, we were interested in it and we just did it, because we wanted to invite those people to learn as much as possible from them, yes. And at the same time to simply convince the locals here or open their eyes a little. So it was like, you could say, then it came here in some kind of a bigger form. (Interview 8)

Throughout my interviews, events proved to be highly important and influential practices in generating and disseminating enlightenment about creative economy discourse. The following quote from a former IDU collaborator, who later worked at the ECoC in Pilsen shows that the “massaging” of the theme of creative economy towards public institutions and their representatives was mainly thanks to repeated conferences about the theme. She used the term *obrovskéj posun* (huge shift) in relation to Pilsen’s Mayor Baxa’s vocabulary, which signifies an improvement in a status quo in terms of him understanding or learning the new discourse. She thought that it was thanks to his presence at conferences with foreign experts sharing their knowledge that his vocabulary in favour of the creative economy discourse changed:

In 2012, I gave such a lecture at the Ministry of Culture when I started at IDU - so there in the audience sat Baxa, the then mayor of Pilsen and - I could never imagine that this person would ever say terms like creative industries, creative city, smart city and suddenly three years later he himself has a speech that Pilsen supports creative industries and he is into keeping creative people in the city and so on. So I actually saw it as a huge step and a huge shift, and three or four years didn't seem like a long time. [...] Definitely well, and he's just a man who was, how to say ... attacked [laughs] that he was at all our conferences you know... This is of course an extreme case, because he participated for four years, he saw foreign examples - it is very rare for a politician to deal with this continuously. But I think it's just the impact of a kind of a 'massage' of the theme (Interview 7).

The term “massage” was used also by a Czech cultural policy consultant (Interview 3), who explained that the discourse of creative economy proliferated during the years 2013, 2012, 2010 “by something like kind of a massage” during “so many meetings, so many conferences that quite a

mass of people met there and not only from culture but mixed also with public administration" (Interview 3). As she reflected the amount of conferences and events through which the related concepts were massaged into the public sphere and caused a "huge shift" over the years as Interview 7 noticed.

A project manager, who worked for the Aspen institute referred to her and her peers' activity around creative economy towards people from the politics and business as "implanting the idea in them, submerging them to the cultural water" (Interview 14). The metaphors of embodied practices such as "enlightening" or "pouring enlightenment into others' heads", "opening their eyes", "massaging the theme", "submerging them into the cultural water" seemed to be highly connected to the dissemination of the creative economy discourse through highly consciously driven strategies and advocacies signifying a wake up, invocation or even ritualistic approaches such as baptizing or converting into faith, rather than a practice that would emancipate the subject to critical reflection of the present. A public officer from the City of Prague authority labelled such activities as "creative enlightenment" (Interview 11).

Other policy actors referred to the process as "selling" (Interview 14) and "explaining it" (Interview 16), which eventually led to more people understanding it and hopefully adopting the same way of thinking. Practices of explaining were key in the social logics of the discourse of creative economy in the Czech Republic. The expression "explaining" was particularly frequent in the Czech interviews and it was not only used in terms of describing a phenomenon, but also in a context that signified an element of convincing – to successfully explain something to someone might also mean to convince this person.

The term "to explain" and its morphological forms occurred 90 times in 22 texts out of 31 of the Czech interviews. Although the terms "enlighten" and "explain to" are different, the use of the word was often signifying similarly one-directional transfer of knowledge from those subjects, who either used the language of creative economy discourse to explain the value of culture or those advocating for creative economy discourse. The one-directionality of the practices of explaining can be demonstrated in the following quote from an interviewee, who was leading one of the mapping projects in Olomouc:

we tell them, well, you may not know it, but we're mapping you because, according to a concept we recongise that means this, this

and this, you're part of the cultural and creative industries. And think about it what you want, but you just are. That's why we're mapping you. And we put you, the architects, together with theatre, because it just makes sense from a certain point of view. And we try to explain to them why it makes sense. (Interviewee 31).

The mapping exercises were therefore also ways how to get into situations in which the creative economy related concepts had to be explained by those involved in the discourse and thus promoted and disseminated, sometimes in a one-directional manner rather than in a dialogue and critical evaluation if such categorisation made sense for the actual cultural professionals and actors in the creative sector. This shows that the mapping exercises functioned not only as research projects, but as ways of spreading certain type of knowledge through a practice of convincing and explaining.

The following diagram shows the most significant collocates of the term *vysvětlit / vysvětlovat* [to explain / explaining] which appeared through the Czech interviews. From these collocates, it is evident, that the interviewees often found it “difficult” to explain things to others, and at the same time they felt like they had to do it, that explaining things was necessary.



The following quote relates to the situation in which people, who learned what the creative economy is about had to explain it to others, because it was a novel term and not many people know what it meant:

*Well, I'd say that first people who operate in culture have to learn it.
And then to start teaching the politicians, because also, it won't sound*

familiar to them, they didn't hear about the creative industry at the university, they probably don't hear much about it on the radio, so you have to explain it to them. To explain it to them, you have to learn it yourself and you have to believe in it yourself. Or ... and understand! Understand. Because of course it has a name, but then it has also content, right? So, you really just have to understand what the content is so you can then argue and explain the term, right? (Interview 21)

The following quote demonstrates the amount of explanation that has been around during the process of learning to understand what creative economy means as well as an effort necessary to pass it on. Interview 31, based in the city of Olomouc and a leading personality in creative industries mapping in the city, used the term *vysvětlit* (to explain) 23 times:

Even myself, I was quite sceptical at first. I wondered what it actually meant before I let it be explained to me and gradually I began to understand what was hidden under it. And in a way, it's good that I've been through this because I'm doing only this today, okay? I explain it to other people today, and it can't be explained in two words or one sentence, right? It's just, I'm trying to explain to the people in the city council, at the regional authority, in the companies or even those sectors that we've mapped that they are the creative industries, even if they don't know it. In fact, in a way, my understanding of this term sometime, let's say 2 years ago or so, 3 to 2 years ago, was successful in a way that today I am trying to do it the same way. The way I started to explain it to myself, am trying to explain it to others (Interview 31).

The previous two quotes demonstrate the channels of explanation and sharing knowledge about creative economy: first those, who were in positions of contact with the foreign knowledge directly and practicing the “enlightenment” as per the previous section, then cultural workers on the ground and from them, politicians and public officers. It could be, therefore, said that the discourse was disseminated from the bottom up, rather than a top down. On the other hand, the starting point, the IDU was a ministerial institution and particularly Eva Žáková represented the Creative Europe Desk, an institution funded by the EU and related to the European funds. It cannot be therefore said that the discourse of creative economy emerged directly from the younger generation of professionals themselves, as some interviewees, particularly the foreign ones, suggested, but rather it was a

combination of channels working in parallel including the early 1990s activities of cultural diplomacy institutes such as the British Council.

Overall insight from most of the interviewees was that over the last years there was shift from the point when creative economy was completely new and incomprehensible (and therefore necessary to be explained) to a point where the terminology started being established and understood among people (Interview 28) and “you don’t have to explain much” (Interview 3). Interviewee 15 referred that

at this time, it is understood somehow differently and the creative industries are already known, it's nothing strange, back then I had to present it to the whole city over and over again and explain why is it necessary to do it, that it wasn't just something strange (Interview 15).

From the last quote from a public officer at the City of Brno, it was personally interesting and fulfilling to be convincing politicians that it makes sense to support the people, who worked in creative industries. Many of the interviewees took for granted that with time, everyone will understand the creative economy discourse and there will be no longer need to explain it to anyone, that it is “nothing strange”, as the Interviewee 15 declared. They understood it as a question of development, rather than a political ideology and a particular policy approach that could be rejected on the grounds of its political charge, rather than on the grounds of people having lack of knowledge as the passionate creative industries propagator from Olomouc (Interviewee 31) seemed to believe.

The practices of explaining, however, did not only include explaining a novel terminology and concepts, but also practices of mediation between different political understandings of culture such as “perceiving culture through the creative and cultural industries versus culture as a public service” and “harmonizing the two parties and explain that it can be together” (interview 19). A lot of advocates of the discourse were seeing themselves as interlocutors aiming to reconcile the antagonistic positions of those, who did not accept the promoted connection between commerce and publicly funded culture and arts, which was often presented through metaphors of concentric circles and eco-systems and explained as social practices of interconnection, as demonstrated will be further explained in the following sub-chapter Political Logics. The core of the explanation practice of these mediators was to “explain that it can be together, that it doesn't have to be against each other” (Interview 19). Interviewee 18 believed that there was “a war that draws energy and leads nowhere” which was why she wanted to

“reconcile the individual parties and explain to them what they are to each other, why they are important to each other (Interview 18).

The practices of reconciliation, interconnection and “joined up thinking”, as per one of the foreign interviewee’s quote (Interview 35), were integral to the practices of the creative economy discourse advocates, and present in the thinking of foreign experts as well as the Czech interviewees. As British consultant who referred to his experience in Pilsen during its candidature for European City of Culture, where him and his colleagues were “paid by the city to give them advice” and therefore they were looking at the city’s assets. He believed that people did not work together because the city government wanted to realise different things than the artists, largely differing in the concept of the city branding. In the spirit of reconciliation the more popular marketing interests around beer culture of Pilsen and the more artistic and critical approaches, the recommended strategy was “don’t bother – do both” and “stop arguing, collaborate!” (Interview 36)

Apart from the conflict between the antagonistic positions between those, who understood art and culture as separate matter from business and commerce, here was also a sub-conflict between the representatives of the fully state-subsidised institutions and non-profit independent organisations and public officers, who were involved in the creative economy discourse also found themselves in need of reconciling those conflicts as well, as per the following quote:

And then it also became clear to us that it is often a conflict between, on the one hand there is a traditional conflict between the public institutions and independent scene in Brno, because the public institutions scene simply consumes 95% of the budget or 97% or something. And there are simply just crumbs left for the independent scene. So, there is such an animosity between those people that it was necessary to bridge some of the conflicts at various meetings. And to explain that it's not against each other, but that it's just about finding a way to saturate everything. (Interview 29)

The mission of the propagators of the creative economy discourse was therefore to find a third way which could saturate everything. The Political Logics part of this chapter contextualises these political logics in a greater depth and discusses questions of the political consensus and the Third Way politics on which the conceptual framework of creative economy was based and how these related to the Czech politico-historical development after the Velvet Revolution as well as the UK cultural diplomacy. The following quotes

from the Directors of the IDU demonstrate how far from each other the cultural and industrial policies were in the early 2000s and how difficult it was to explain that it could be otherwise, which was necessary for those, who lobbied for the discourse to take place:

Because, of course, from the beginning, since the IDU started to spread the concept here, many of those initiatives in the non-profit sector still feel threatened. If it is presented in a way that the profitable projects, start-ups or business are to be supported, various business plans that are at that overlapping zones, then there will be no money left for the core, for the art itself, which was actually the original fear, which was here for the first few years, and which we tried to explain out in a way. But it is also important for the MKČR or the subsidy body to understand it in the same way, which is actually understood at the level of the MKČR in a way that they want to continue to support the creation and the business activities should be supported by the other ministries.

(Interview 5)

From the Czech interviews it became clear that the ability to explain and convince, in other words strong and persuasive rhetoric was crucial in building and shaping the discourse of creative economy. Persuasive rhetoric, language and means of expressing value of arts and culture were seen by the cultural workers as the only reason, why they would engage or accept the discourse (Interview 12).

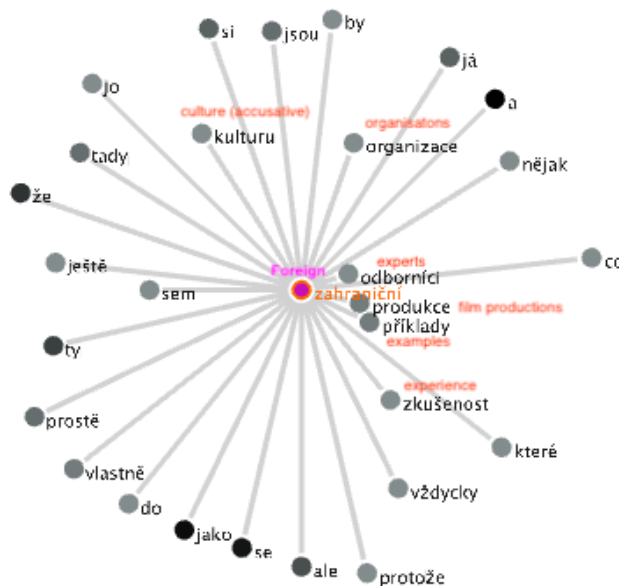
As has been said at the beginning of this section, the practices of explanation, however, started with foreign experts explaining the conceptual framework of creative economy to the Czech policy actors and therefore, it is important to focus closely on the practices of foreign knowledge sharing, the way Czech interviewees related to the foreign experts as well as the way foreign experts reflected on their work in Central and Eastern Europe, and particularly in the Czech Republic.

Interviewee 7 believed that international projects “got it moving” in the Czech Republic and the role of “international experts” such as London based Lia Ghilardi and Estonian Ragnar Siil was significant because they were able to “explain it” to the officials at municipalities. The ability to convince Czech public officers points to the essential importance of rhetoric and focus on argumentation, articulation and persuasion, which sometimes, however, was an end in itself without connection to the relevance of the communicated

concepts for the given locales or any specific repercussions in policy change or implementation in practice. The following section will therefore explore in more detail the relations between the Czech policy actors and foreign experts.

5.1.2 Social logics: Relations with Foreign Experts

In order to understand better the practices of “spreading enlightenment” and “explanation” as analysed in the previous parts of this chapter, it is necessary to look more closely into the role of people, who were often mentioned in relation to introducing new knowledge and raising awareness about the creative economy and thus building the discourse. The following collocation diagram shows that the term *zahraniční* [foreign] was most frequently and closely connected to the words *odborníci* [experts], *produkce* [productions], *příklady* [examples/models], *zkušenost* [experience].



The social practices of sharing the foreign “examples” or “experience” through presence of “foreign experts”, as they were mostly referred to throughout the interviews, is explored through the language the Czech interviewees used when referring to foreign consultants and scholars. The term “konzultant” (consultant) was absent in relation to the foreign experts, neither were they referred to as “scholars” or “researchers”, but rather as simply experts. The following terms were used:

“zahraniční odborníci” or “zahraniční experti” [foreign experts] – 8 times in 6 interviews

“zahraniční vzory” [foreign models] or “vzory ze zahraničí” [role models from abroad] – 3 times in 2 texts

“odborníci ze zahraničí” [experts from abroad] – 1 time in 1 text

“zahraniční hosté” [foreign guests] - 1 time in 1 text

“zahraniční hvězdy” [foreign stars] – 1 time in 1 text

“zahraniční speakeři” [foreign speakers] – 1 time in 1 text

“mezinárodní experti” [international experts] – 3 times in 1 text

Overall, most people referred to them as simply “experts” (odborníci, experti) – 110 times in 26 texts or “speakers” (speakeři) – 11 times in 6 texts sometimes followed by the country, from which they were from (Britain, Australia, USA, Netherlands and Estonia) and “role models” – 7 times 6 texts. Several interviewees used also the full name of experts they directly worked with or were inspired by and frequently referred to them by their first name only.

Lia Ghilardi was named 24 times by 7 people, John Howkins 14 times by 5 people, Richard Florida 14 times by 9 people, Bob Palmer 12 times by 3 people, Ragnar Siil 10 times by 5 people, Charles Landry 7 times by 6 people, Hasan Bakshi 4 times by 1 person, Colin Mercer 3 times by 3 people. Those, who were mentioned multiple times in a more familiar context were Lia, Bob and Ragnar. For simplification and consistency throughout my text I will use the term “foreign experts” as it was the most frequent term.

Before moving onto a more detailed analysis of the language that shows, how were the local actors referring to the foreign experts, the following quote from a researcher, who was active in cultural management and policy consultancy in the 1990s and early 2000s describes the practices of sharing foreign knowledge and how the social practice of sharing foreign experience worked:

So there were just a number of meetings, discussions, there were foreign experts. Of course, in the first phase, in the 1990s or the first half of the 1990s, it was simply an import of foreign experience, basically foreign experts were saying how things should be done, and so on. It soon became evident that those who were interested somehow knew what should be done, but it was bouncing against the limitations of the local environment, in which many things were simply not possible to put forward. (Interview 10)

His quote refers to the “import of foreign experience” and foreign experts telling the Czech actors how to do things, which, however, in his view was not possible to put forward, because of various forms of resistance, including the “limitations of the local environment”, such as rigid and mildly authoritative structures of governance. A different view was shared by a cultural manager and one of the IDU associates in their Mapping Projects, who said that people took the foreign experts seriously, simply because they were from abroad (Interview 7).

As has been already mentioned above, various types of events, such as conferences, seminars, workshops and opportunities to speak and persuade were key in building the creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic. Fórum for Creative Europe was the most profound event reflected in memories of Czech as well as foreign interviewees and mentioned at least 30 times by 15 people. Interviewee 7 admitted that the Fórum was for many people the “start” of the creative economy discourse in the country and believed that people seemed to hear it when “foreign experts come here and talk about foreign examples” (Interview 7).

Among the experts there was, of course, discrepancy in terms of their long-term, versus short-term engagement in the country. Four people I interviewed had a substantial, repeated engagement and consultancy work in the area of cultural policy and creative economy and knew some of the Czech interviewees very well, whereas seven of them have come to the country to speak at conference, deliver workshops or lectures, but were not involved in a more in-depth work, although, as some of them mentioned they would have liked to do it if there was a follow up from their Czech counterparts. Many of these engagements were facilitated by the British Council, I will however refer to this in a separate section in the Political Logics as I consider this as part of the UK cultural diplomacy which needs to be contextualised in wider political overview.

In a search for explanations of the knowledge sharing by foreign experts it is necessary to observe how were the Czech interviewees relating to them as well as at the experts’ own self-interpretations of what they were doing.

I have found the language around international guests highly charged with metaphors, informal terms and emotionally charged vocabulary that signified personal connections and respect. The interviewees explained that it was important to have international guests at events that they organised, because foreign expertise was making the events more credible for the audience. Based on my own previous experience with programming of

events in cultural policy in the country, rather than diversification of perspectives the goal of inviting international guests was to add more validity to the arguments presented with the hope that the representatives of authorities will take the presented views more seriously. As Interviewee 14 argued poignantly “at home, no one is an expert, so I brought the experts” when she referred to her collaboration with a Dutch consultant Luke Bruins.

A Czech policy consultant commented that having “international guests” was a method to make events more attractive for the audience, which came to listen to the “foreign examples” and then disseminated the information, as Interviewee 3 described it. She used the metaphorical “icing on the cake” and “main attraction” when referring to the foreign experts taking part in discursive events. Interview 3 explained that the reason why the foreign guests were interesting for the Czech policy makers was because they were interested to see how people abroad solve similar problems. Others, however, thought that the foreign guests had a certain reputation and Interviewee 7 deemed that in the Czech Republic the international reputation was working very well because “they were coming with some credibility”. Although she wasn’t sure why it was so, she admitted that when she worked for the IDU and European City of Culture „it was important that there was a person from abroad” (Interview 7).

It was noted by two other interviewees that they were using the foreign experts strategically as a leverage to advocate and push things on policy agendas, thanks to either a position of authority that the foreign expert held in international scene or simply based on the experts educational and professional achievements as a young policy maker from Brno said. On one hand he saw international experts important, because “they bring know-how to the officials themselves” but also as “a very good weapon in advocacy at the politicians”. He analysed the situation as follows:

An expert lady, who arrived from Britain with various honorary titles and so on... well a redneck from Brno, he is not going to tell her to fuck off, right (LAUGHTER) So, they can be used. And I think it can be very well used in advocacy. (Interview 29)

A theatre director from Prague mentioned that foreign experts were “very crucial, because they wouldn't listen to us alone” (Interviewee 23) and complained that if she was bringing insights from her experience abroad, “no one cared” but if someone with “authority” such as Bob Palmer, who was the Head of Culture in Strasbourg in the Council of Europe, people seemed to respect him because he was perceived as an expert (Interview 23).

The ability to be internationally recognised was also a critical factor in the process of creating the programme of Fórum for Creative Europe and the theories of creative economy presented by those, who were invited also served as the sources of inspiration for the follow up activities that were pursued by the IDU. One of the two Directors declared that “big names” such as David Throsby were inspiring because his “original concept was very crucial” (Interview 8). One of the two directors of the IDU mentioned that the “key names” such as Richard Florida or Rod Fisher, Howkins were inspiring and therefore they invited to the Fórum for Creative Europe. David Throsby, according to her „was one of those who had formulated it at the world level“ (Interview 5) according to Interviewee 8, the organisers of the Forum wanted to “learn” and therefore invited Colin Mercer, Lia Ghilardi, who returned to the country several times, and John Howkins, who according to Interviewee 8 was “very interesting” because she perceived him as “the father of the European cultural industry” (Interview 8). Through those people, her and her colleagues working at the IDU at the time “really learned a lot”. Referring to John Howkins as “the father of the European cultural industry”, which signifies position of authority in the field regardless of the validity of the claim.

Practices of persuasion and rhetoric were at the core of the social practice and logics of the creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic. Confidence in articulating something or how to speak convincingly was what the Czech interviewees evaluated as a powerful attribute of the foreign experts. In reasoning about why the Czech stakeholders understood the foreign experts, some referred to the “high profile speakers” (Interview 1) as having „convincing contributions where they talked about it coherently” (Interview 8), other expressions used throughout were that the “connections between freedom, democracy and creativity” were “incredibly formulated”, “smart” (Interview 8), “clearly named” (Interview 19), “beautiful examples” and “super well prepared” (Interview 23). When I asked how they selected the participants of Forum for Creative Europe, Interview 8 commented as follows:

Whoever knew someone. When we experienced someone at a nice conference or if someone really spoke well, we put their name down. And we said, this is a real expert, let's invite him (Interview 8).

This shows how persuasive and well-articulated language convinced the Czech organisers of the Ministerial conference that according to many kick-started the creative economy discourse in the country. Getting people

excited through “charismatic lecture” seemed to be an important aspect of the work of the foreign experts. Although many of the Czech interviewees preferred the fine-grained detailed work on the implementation of projects, such as Lia Ghilardi’s intervention in Zlín and Brno, hearing the experts speak at conferences was enough for some cultural managers to change their perspectives on their own work and sign up for the creative economy discourse.

Several Czech participants that I interviewed, referred to the foreign experts with a language that refers to showbusiness by using terms such as “celebrities”, “stars”, “legends”, “big figures”, “big names”. Notably, this language was heavily used by Interview 1, who was one of the pioneers of the creative economy discourse and one of the early principal investigators in the creative industries mapping at the IDU. Except for John Howkins whom he referred to as “big star”, he listed also Sarah Selwood as a big figure and “a celebrity in this field” (Interview 1). Interviewee 1 further recalled that with the British Council the IDU did a lot of events in which these experts whom he labelled as “absolutely amazing people” participated (Interview 1).

An interviewee from Technological Agency ČR used vocabulary relating to religious leaders and practices when he mentioned British researcher Hasan Bakhshi:

So that is one, for me personally, such role model, I do not want to say directly a guru, but so be it. Someone who is inspiring and from whom it is possible to learn and consider whether his procedures can be transferred to the environment of the Czech Republic (Interview 20)

He further shared his experience in the Open Method of Coordination group of the EU as inviting “real gurus” who are based in creative economy consultancy companies to learn from. He used his own word *nachytřovat* for “letting ourselves get smart”, which includes the Czech prefix “na-” which in combination with the passive shows a passive subjectification in the process of learning, an adoption of new knowledge rather than a critical, emancipated evaluation of it. Another religion related term *misionář* (missionary) was mentioned by Interviewee 8, who referred to a collaboration with British Council and a British creative economy consultant Tom Fleming, who according to her constantly “travelled around the world, was simply everywhere” (Interview 8).

Another religion and showbusiness related language was used by Interviewee 3, who was a policy consultant, who has worked in the field of cultural policy since the early 2000s and had a good memory of the development of the creative economy discourse. She was very critical towards the Czech politics, authorities as well as the way some of her peer policy consultants worked. On one hand she was critical of what were the foreign experts doing by using the metaphor of saying that they were „selling hot water“, which signifies that in her opinion the content of their presentations and consultancies was rather banal, but on the other hand she referred to them as „foreign stars“ and “megastars”, “serious experts” and also „definitely interesting for the environment“ [Czech Republic].

Overall, in the views of Czech interviewees, the names of foreign experts were framed as celebrities or preachers. The construction of this framing, however, has to be understood as relational. Throughout the interviews it became evident that also the foreign experts had high-level accommodation requirements and astronomic fees, which co-constructed their own celebrity-like image. Interview 8, who was involved in the programme preparation for the Fórum for Creative Europe was reflecting on the terms and conditions of inviting Richard Florida, whom they eventually decided to involve only digitally via a live stream, because the organisation could not afford to bring him in person, due to his “celebrity-like” requirements.

Some of the interviewed foreign experts showed in their own language high-level, show-business like, fashionable or missionary practices. For instance, an Estonian policy consultant referred to himself going on “a tour of Europe”. Here referred to an experience in Bratislava, where he went to inspire people to “launch creative industries” alongside Chris Smith, who “talked about when he was a cultural head of the DCMS and he launched the creative industries process in UK with Blair” (Interview 33).

Another example was given by a UK cultural policy researcher who referred to what he was doing as a “bandwagon”, because “there were a lot of cities labelling themselves as creative cities, lots of power point presentations saying – we are a creative city, written all over it (Interview 40). A British consultant in creative industries investment referred to being “given a gig” in Poland by British Council because people in Polish government asked British Council to bring someone “who could talk to the ministers” in order to develop their own creative economy policy (Interview 37). What Interview 37 described, a short-term interventions in a form of a speech or a lecture in different places, was reflected critically by one British cultural policy expert,

the only person out of 10, who was radically against such practice, as the following quote demonstrates:

I would be very reluctant to do it unless I felt there was a serious intent, rather than simply, I call it 'rent a speaker', you know, for show, to come, perform for an hour and excite people while officials are sitting there knowing that they are not going to act on it, you know.
(Interview 40)

Interview 1 presented a rather cynical view in terms of the consultancy business related to creative economy. He himself was part of it for a certain period in his career, when he led the creative industries Mapping Projects in the Czech Republic and presented it as exchange of experiences among a “gang that is really into it” where invitations to share experience were well paid and high-level hospitality was a key motivational factor of those involved (Interview 1). He described the reality as “these people charge a thousand pounds for a day so why wouldn’t you go talking somewhere in Alma-Ata, you stay there in a five-star hotel, you stuff yourself there ...” (Interview 1). He further admitted that “milking” municipal resources was a main point of the consultancy practice related to creative city agendas that were based on “sexy theories” and primarily geared towards “investment projects”. He used the term “flying professors” when commenting on who were the main actors of these practices and shared his own experience with being invited to a conference in Slovakia as an expert on creative economy alongside other foreign experts:

I experienced it, for example ... it was when Košice was the capital of culture. Okay, so I got a flight from Prague... well, Košice is quite far away, so that was not that... you know... but then just ... there was some kind of an event, I guess it was for a maximum of 30 - 40 people, there were about 4 people from Britain [...] well and we ended up there in a restaurant that I would never go to in my life, there we had dinner of about 7 courses, some modern gastronomy, there was a different wine for each course, like... 5k for a bottle ... and these people live like this, well ... then they write a report, for which they get another 5 thousand pounds and go on, and that's it (Interview 1).

Many of the foreign interviewees admitted that creative economy was a “fashionable” theme at a certain point in the past, but most of them believed that there were misunderstandings among the stakeholders in the foreign

countries about how creative economy works and how to nurture talent. The overarching theme of creative economy being a novel phenomenon and advocating for it being fashionable was present in most interviews. On one hand, the discourse's novelty was powerful, but the main reasons for its global mobility were political and consequences of ideological beliefs underpinning common sense and hegemonic power of the Anglo-American cultures and policy approaches, including the English language and the rhetoric abilities of foreign experts.

Many foreign experts mentioned speaking at events and talking to public officers at meetings. The term "workshop" appeared 45 times in 8 texts, "lecture" appeared 26 times in 8 texts, the term "advice/advisor" and its morphological forms appeared 25 times in 7 texts, "consultant/consultancy" 53 times in 10 texts and mentoring 6 times in 1 text (Lia Ghilardi) and "mapping" 66 times in 7 texts of foreign experts (and 170 times in 24 Czech interviews), "learning" 36 times in 6 foreign texts and 63 times in Czech texts.

The rapid growth of global demand for consultancy business can be seen in the growth of the number of projects. One of my British interviewees, a creative economy consultant based in London described his career journey since 2002 when he started as a sole trader and since then have worked in about 60 countries and we worked with about 200 cities at least by doing "a range of things, from high-level policy developments and advocacy through to detailed, evidence-based work, which could be mapping, it could be developing strategies for sector, parts of the creative industries sector and the wider cultural sector" (Interview 39). "Advocacy and convincing, presenting and engaging" were also named as their core activities and saying that they have "worked in every region of the world, one way or another" shows the scale of the market for creative economy discourse and related services (Interview 39).

Seen from a critical perspective of Interviewee 32, a cultural policy scholar with a robust international lecturing practice, spreading the model developed by the New Labour government after 1997, the DCMS model of the creative industries, creative economy with creative industries mapping was seen as "prescriptive and not recognizing enough specificities" and

dangerous because in a sense you are proposing some kind of standardisation and homogenisation that goes against the very nature of culture and culture for me is about distinctiveness, it's about understanding the unique cultural assets (Interview 32).

He further openly criticised the way several of his British colleagues operate because in his view they don't adapt their idea to the local context and there is "almost an assumption about the superiority of the British and American ideas" and he disagreed with that (Interview 32).

Metaphors of embodied practices of persuasive techniques were present also in the testimonies of the foreign experts. Interviewee 39 described the situation of speaking about creative economy abroad referring to a drug use: "all you need to do is say creative this, creative that, and everybody smiles. It is like an opiate". He reasoned that because it creates a "sense of contemporary and new" those who wanted to reform existing policies were into it. He also acknowledged the fact that it is "very hard to say being creative is a bad thing when you are trying to make a policy, when you trying to be popular and make policies" (Interview 39). Trying to be popular is a key point, because it shows that the creative economy discourse could be used as a populist agenda.

An Estonian creative economy policy consultant, who was a member of the European Union's Open Method of Coordination group (Eva Žáková, the Director of IDU was also part of the group for many years, among many others) described his work in foreign countries concerning creative economy as "making pizza" where ingredients might be different, but the "sequence of thing is more or less the same" (Interview 33). He mentioned that his work is not a consultancy, but more a "speaking activity" in order to "raise awareness" in a context, where "people knew very little about what is happening". This way he self-positioned himself into a role of an educator or mentor and further referred that he was giving speeches on "what is it, why is it important creating this sense of urgency, good examples from different areas etcetera" (Interview 33).

Giving language and tools combined with mapping was an approach of a long-term consultant from the UK, who did substantial consultancy work. She was convinced that her Czech clients needed "language" and "tools" for mapping their resources i.e. creative industries, mapping resources was a first step of her work in cities and countries followed by "talking about strategy, initiatives and policies". Mapping was the primary activity used to "analyse context" by "strong group of doers" in which the local creative economy advocates operated. The process of mapping was, however, also a way to generate evidence for certain projects, such as the Creative Centre Brno, rather than a scientific research bound by certain ethical principles of expanding knowledge rather than supporting specific agendas or interest

groups. Interviewee 35 mentioned that in the Creative Centre Brno, there was a need to back the proposal by mapping “that shows that we have enough creatives that will want to take place in there”. She further described the process of mapping as follows:

trace the story of the company, each of them fill in a form and we meet them, and we tell them. We tell them first, you know, what the idea is, and we asked them what are your expectations, needs at this point in time, et cetera (Interview 35).

“Constant mentoring” was a key part of Interviewee 35 practice in countries like the Czech Republic, as well as “intermediary people”, who were “sensitive to the context” but did not necessarily have to be from the locality itself. The problem with this type of practice is first that the typology of case studies and applying same methods and procedures seems too pre-defined and not sensitive enough to local contexts, second, the mapping, intermediation and constant mentoring were geared towards a predicted result. Although presented as research, it could have been easily also promotion of certain ideas, plans and bargaining to strengthen support for specific investment projects across the creative economy stakeholders. As part of the following parts of the thesis, the mapping process was a way to bring people together, disseminating certain type of knowledge and building a specific type of discourse, but the results were often presented as rigorous research.

Interviewee 39 noted that mapping is “fundamental” in terms of having “evidence-based policymaking and investment, in terms of case-making and advocacy, in terms of forecasting and investing skills and clusters and things like that.” (Interview 35). He further mentioned that mapping is important in terms of developing intelligence around sector trends. Intelligence and sector trends are a tool for making creative industries predictable, which shows the market logic of such thinking as being rightfully unpredictable is one of the key values of arts and culture, especially the experimental side of these fields.

The above section focusing on social logics has explored the social identities and practices of those, who promoted the creative economy discourse. In relation to the research question why and how has the discourse proliferated in Czech republic, there are several points to take further to the next stage – Political Logics. First, the characteristics of the Czechs were described as mostly young, educated people with networks abroad, who were interested in new ways of policymaking and redefining cultural policy towards greater

independence on public funding, as will be further explained. They were seen as either people with professional interests in creative work with such connotations as visionary thinking and enthusiastic local patriots. Some were, however, doing it strategically as they wanted to associate with something that felt new and trendy and were looking for attractive identities with relations to abroad. Foreign experts were regarded as authorities, celebrities and other identities signifying hierarchy and cultural superiority. The most pronounced social practices were discursive events such as workshops, seminars, conferences as well as advocacy and lobbying, where activities that included explaining and enlightenment, sometimes described through bodily practice metaphors such as “massaging” including advanced rhetorical skills took place. Although some of the social logics indicated through the personal motivations of the interviewed discourse agents partially answered the “why” part of my research question, it is important to take a look at the contextual and structural conditions of the diffusion of the discourse and look deeper into explanations how these social practices were instituted and I will do so in the next two sections.

5.2 Political Logics: Logics of Equivalence and Difference

As has been presented above, the social logics were based primarily on practices of explaining, enlightening, dissemination of persuasive rhetoric and the language of economics thanks to institutional structures of networking among experts between the former “West” and the former European “East”. The analysis showed that the creative economy discourse was generated through parallel processes of a combination of factors – first, the post-communist transformation from within the Czech Republic, the politics of trans-national institutions, such as the EU and third, the cultural diplomacy and soft power of the UK and other “Western” European states, such as the Netherlands. In order to contextualise and understand these practices politically I follow Glynos and Howarth (2008), who argue the political logics of discourse “provide the means to explore how social practices are instituted, contested, and defended.” (p. 133). This means that if the most important social practices were indeed happening in both the realm of exchange and sharing a foreign experience as well as the realm of influencing, explaining, enlightening and reconciliation among the Czech cultural policy actors themselves, we have to look at how these realms were instituted, contested and defended politically. What follows in this sub-chapter are the particularities of such processes, the “grammar” of their

institutionalisation and how political frontiers were drawn by the interviewed subjects.

Several key concepts will be used throughout this analysis. These concepts are: the political, politics, hegemony, historical bloc and common sense and my intention is to refer to them over the following pages when seeking to explain the political logics. Perhaps the most crucial here is the concept of the political and politics. By 'the political', Mouffe means "the potential antagonism inherent in social relations, antagonism which can manifest itself in many different forms". Politics, on the other hand, refers to

the ensemble of discourses, institutions and practices whose objective is to establish an order, to organise human co-existence in a context that is always conflictual because of the presence of the political. Politics is concerned with the formation of an 'us' as opposed to a 'them'. It aims at the creation of unity in a context which is always one of conflict and diversity (Mouffe 1998, p. 16).

Using the concept of the political in the discourse of creative economy in the Czech Republic, it is necessary to understand why certain social actors considered themselves as "us" and not "them", in other words the logics of "equivalence and difference" introduced by Laclau and Mouffe in their study of hegemony (1985). The political logics of equivalence and difference comprise, according to Glynos and Howarth (2008) a descriptive framing device which is derived from a particular understanding of discourse and the importance accorded to processes of signification. Political logics are giving us a conceptual grammar in order to understand the dynamics of social change. The primary aim of exploring the political logics in my research is to show how the social practices discussed in the previous section are contested, transformed, and instituted. If we consider the way the discourse of creative economy was established as per an interviewed British cultural policy expert (Interview 40) by deploying the logic of equivalence and difference, we understand that politically, the frontier was drawn between different understandings of the meaning and role of arts and culture in a wider social context. Considering the changing vocabulary from

a vocabulary which was actually looking at issues of cultural rights participation and accessibility, the kind of art for arts sake, the right of the artist to create, the notion of creative activity in its purest form" to "an economic investment or a tool to achieve other objectives where one of those objectives was to help develop the economy in the 70s or

early 80s partly due to the Thatcher Right government in the UK
(Interview 40).

In the broadest sense, the political frontier was drawn between those, who were against this change and those, who either welcomed it or accepted it as inevitable. In the Czech Republic, however, such developments were entangled with the process of post-communist transformation, that followed the moment of dislocation i.e. the Velvet Revolution and the establishment of a new hegemonic regime⁹ and a new historical bloc that followed. The following section looks in detail on these complexities and how logics of equivalence and difference were established in the Czech cultural policy field by policy actors, who according to Howarth (2000, 2013) “engage in hegemonic struggles to articulate political frontiers between ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ by way of the definition of a ‘core opposition’ between ‘friend’ and ‘enemy’”.

5.2.1 Dislocation, new hegemonic regime and a new historical bloc

Based on my analysis of the social practices in the previous sub-chapter, the strongest connective tissue in the logics of equivalence under the creative economy discourse was a shared struggle against the state apparatus represented by the politicians and/or public officers. What connected most of my Czech interviewees was disillusionment with the developments after the 1989 and/or willingness to change the status quo as well as a shared common sense constituted by the hegemonic regime of neoliberal capitalism and deterministic understanding of future within it.

The key Gramscian term historical bloc is particularly important to understand the political logics of the creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic. Historical bloc is, according to Gramsci, “a social bloc of forces, which is a basis of consent for certain social order, in which the hegemony of a dominant class is created and re-created in a web of

⁹ The concept of hegemony is defined as a “complex set of social and political practices through which the active and passive consent of key social actors in a particular historical bloc is secured, whilst at the same time ensuring the compliance of others, if necessary by force and coercion” (Howarth and Griggs 2012). This means that hegemony goes further than just the winning of a political leadership or political domination. Hegemony is essentially the “ethical and intellectual leadership by a dominant force (or alliance of forces) in society to its norms and values” (Gramsci 1971).

institutions, social relations and ideas” (Bottomore 2001). In relation to the Czech Republic, the historical bloc of Normalisation lasting from 1971 until 1989 preceded the following historical bloc, that of transformation towards neoliberal capitalism with important milestones that had a significant impact on the post-communist society, particularly joining the EU in 2004 and the economic crisis in 2008, which plunged Central and East European countries back into crisis after a rapid economic growth in the early 2000s (Orenstein 2009).

The Velvet Revolution in 1989 and the following process of democratisation, which I understand as a moment of dislocation¹⁰ allowed for change in existing discursive structures and the identities they confer (Howarth and Griggs 2015, p. 117) and required the Czech cultural policy actors to “articulate new mobilizing narratives and campaigns with new means of representation and signifiers to partially stabilise policy regimes” (Griggs and Howarth, 2004).

Starting in 1989, the country was undergoing many policy reforms that have transformed the country from a centralised power, totalitarian communist state to what an interviewed Czech cultural policy scholar and consultant called “a caricature of neoliberal capitalism” (Interviewee 10). In the 1990s, many reforms started transforming cultural policy right after the year 1989 in a sense that funding of culture started being questioned from the neoliberal capitalist ideological point of view, not only by some politicians, such as the former Prime Minister Klaus, but also by various cultural workers and policy actors, such as those representing the independent art institutions and demanding a new funding system for independent arts initiatives, which were according to the interviewed policy actors dismissed and ignored by the state and local governments, which funded only the PBOs run by the state.

This situation resulted into what Interviewee 29, a former activist from Brno, described as “a traditional conflict between the PBOs and the independent scene, because the PBOs get 97% of the entire city’s budget for culture, or

¹⁰ Moments of dislocation are characterised as moments of crisis, during which, “there is a failure of ‘normal politics’, social actors may need to reconfigure and transform identities to address this new situation, and in such contexts new forms of political agency can come into being, as subjects construct and identify newly constituted and available discourses” (Howarth and Griggs, p. 117).

something like that and the independent scene gets just left overs". Those from the independent scene were trying to find various ways how to advocate for more funding for the independent art initiatives, and funding systems from abroad, specifically the UK system and later, the creative industries concept that were oriented towards the individual, independent activities were theoretically a way to steer policy to be more favourable to the independent initiatives. A British consultant noticed that shortly after the Velvet Revolution,

in the foreground you got government trying to develop policy that was anything from the old state system, it was a real time of turmoil, and so people were latching onto ideas like audience development, like diversity, like sponsorship etcetera. All of which we were bringing in, but we were also bringing that in as people, as the way we thought, as the way we worked, the way we talked with students (Interview 36).

The reforms were, however, largely inconsistent, contradictory and chaotic. According to Interviewee 10, the country never arrived to what he understood as neoliberal capitalism, because the

previous governments, even those right-wing ones that were always connected to neoliberal capitalism, were always preventing a dignified transformation of the economic environment [...] and in fact the negatives of neoliberal capitalism conjoined with the negatives of the overgrown social state (Interview 10).

He did not think that the governments of Klaus in the 1990s really pursued neoliberal capitalism and that there was no will to "fundamentally transform cultural institutions and create a mixed funding system and a framework for a strategic development of cultural sector" (Interview 10). On the other hand, whilst the state system was (and still is) managing and funding primarily the PBOs, the post-communist governments applied an extreme market logic on non-profit independent art initiatives.

A theatre director, who worked in the field since the 1990 described the situation after in the 1990s as the governments "for years only wanted to fund their own institutions" and "totally misunderstood the term independent", the governments did not think that independent initiatives needed any public funding and regarded them as private businesses: "who is independent, does not need state support – this is what they told us" (Interview 23). According to her, the government's approach was such as "free hand of the

market, that's the cure, you now do what you want and if no one comes to see your work, why should we support you, if you don't have the audience?" According to her, the governments did not understand the importance of non-profit and less popular artistic activities, such as contemporary dance at the time it was establishing as independent artistic scene in the post 1989 era, or that some venues had a smaller capacity and overall that contemporary art would never attract as many people such as mainstream theatres. She said that during Klaus's governments whether he was the Prime Minister or Minister of Finance, whoever was doing anything for smaller audiences was considered unsuccessful for doing things that no one is interested in, which shows the libertarian logic applied in the understanding of art and culture, disregarding the notion of market failure. A pervasive long term structural devaluation of cultural sector caused on one hand conflicts within the sector itself (independent vs. PBO) and on the other hand, a situation of the PBO being "deeply, structurally underpaid" and unable to develop their programming in line with contemporary needs that often imply expensive technical solutions and so on.

In such rivalry condition between the PBO and independent initiatives the discourse subjects representing the independent scene questioned for instance the lifelong mandates of artists employed in big state institutions (Interview 23) or politicised leadership of big cultural institutions (Interview 2) but at the same time demanding greater stability and stronger social security in the cultural sector. As per the critical post-structuralist policy analysis by Howarth and Griggs (2015, p. 117), in the dislocatory moments of policy-making, agency of individual actors, or policy entrepreneurs comes to the 'front of the stage' in explanations of policy change. The political and ideological task of these individuals is to create and set the new 'common sense' (Howarth's and Griggs 2015, p. 117).

This explains why, a few leading cultural workers, who got the opportunity to travel for "upskilling seminars", as Interviewee 36 called it, and learn abroad had the opportunity or agency to influence or lobby for changes in cultural policy in the Czech Republic in the early 1990s. Their learning zeal oriented towards the "West" and particularly the UK or the Netherlands, later on brought the key ideas and concepts of the creative economy, which was in line with their goal to establish a new funding model, that would reform the old state-controlled one and allow imagining better funding of independent arts initiatives. The discourse of creative economy as a novel approach was

part of this process, but it was preceded by a long-term endeavours of reforming the funding system.

According to Interview 8 as well as Interview 3, after the revolution, artists and cultural workers got to the government and key political positions, due to their previous work in dissent (including the president Václav Havel, who was a philosopher and a playwright). However, as Interview 3 said, they did not last long, because of the path dependency of previous regime. Many of them “got in the politics, got to the resources, but they had a very naïve views of how the reality in the society worked, so they happened to be out very soon.” According to her, the people gave up very quickly and went back to their own things, because they did not want to lose their own creative practice which was “closer to their own values” (Interview 3). Interview 8 said that the cultural workers expected these intellectuals to somehow form the institutional infrastructure based on the interests of the cultural sector, which did not happen. She further commented that after 1989 many things were shut down without replacement, in the 90s the Ministry was cutting funding of many organisations, including those that were doing research in the cultural sector. The reduction was justified as cleansing the sector from the communist ideology, many things shut down, some others were privatised and the State “lost control over” and left the organisations and cultural workers on their own to take care of themselves:

here you go, do it yourself, here is the freedom, we have nothing to do with this anymore and was not open to do any kind of regulation in the first years. No one wanted to touch it, culture cannot be regulated at all, there has to be only freedom (Interview 8).

Of course, under “regulation” was considered also the notion of public funding since it was seen as an intervention of the State forces into the imaginary “market” of cultural activities. Indeed, those involved in the post-revolutionary reforms such as Interviewee 19, who was the Director of the Theatre Institute (former IDU) in the early 1990s, declared that he took part in many committees that were “trying to conceive a supportive structure for cultural sector” but had “tendencies to cancel absolutely everything that had anything to do with what was going on during bolshevism”. He confirmed that he and his peers at the time oriented themselves according to two basic ways of doing it – first, to try to reconnect with the tradition of the First Republic and the post-War time between 45-48 and second, connect with foreign models. The strong critique of what was going on before 1989 was, however, a really strong aspect of all these processes. In the mid 1990s,

according to Interviewee 19 and confirmed by many others, the favoured models were those of the “arts council type”, such as the Dutch and the British. He declared that since the 1990s it was part of their debates that it is necessary for the state to create the “arm’s length model”, which was eventually applied in the case of the State Fund of Cinematography (Státní Fond Kinematografie) but failed in other attempts such as the State Fund of Culture (Státní Fond Kultury).

The “arts council models” were interesting for various reasons and preferred over the French model, for instance, which Interviewees 19 and 23 mentioned as one of the possible foreign model variants that were considered in the 1990s. The French model however, as Interviewee 19 mentioned was “always kind of dismissed and deprecated” by the cultural workers, because “although in the French socialism they pour a lot of money into it, it is all terribly state controlled” which they did not want because it seemed too similar to the communist cultural policy system. Therefore, the arts council type model seemed to be more suitable in their struggle against the state PBOs and related legislature that were seen as remnants of communism by many. Interviewee 23 commented that

the French have communism, they just don’t know about it [...] it is in fact a total heaven for the artists, perhaps the care for artists is too much, bureaucratically it is overgrown, and we evaluated it as too complicated system to be implemented in the Czech Republic back then, we were talking about it, our groups of experts who were preparing those events, debates or workshops, but we never really wanted to implement that here (Interview 23).

She confirmed that they found it too dangerous to give this much power to the politicians, who appoint the heads of the big choreographic centres and the biggest theatres, she said that it seems to be “extremely under political influence, which is what we really disliked” (Interview 23). On the other hand, the UK or Dutch arm’s length model was seen as “simple” and it was believed that decisions were being made by “experts” which, according to her was convenient to promote in their struggles against politicians, who according to her in the 1990s were aggressively refusing this concept and giving up their “democratic mandates” (Interview 3). She said “it was like if you wave a red cloth in front of a bull, because they did not want their power to be taken away from them, because they felt like they were having a public mandate by being elected”. According to her, politicians did not understand that although they held a democratic mandate, they should not be deciding

about things they don't understand, such as contemporary art and the cultural workers were fighting for finding a place for the cultural sector professionals in the decision-making processes.

Interviewee 23 further declared that those, who were trying to reform the cultural policy system felt that the British arm's length "will be more acceptable politically", because under that model there was a higher pressure on financial self-sustainability of cultural institutions and although, as she declared, "it's not that we did not want more money, but we felt that this is more acceptable and we liked that mix of state, city, private and own income, which makes them operate more independently from the state and also because they care more about the statements of the experts" (Interview 23). She understood as a complete nonsense the Austro-Hungarian system of "repertory theatres", which she labelled as a "total anomaly and a complete nonsense". Others, such as Interviewee 3, a policy consultant mostly favourable to international policy transfer, however, was more oriented towards what she called the "German-Austro-Hungarian context based on strong institutions paid by the State and it would be very dangerous to try to get out of this in whatever unorganised way, this is what we have had for 200 years and getting out of it is just a nonsense, we should be directed by the guidance, which is close to us – in Austria" (Interview 3).

The idea that the British or Dutch arm's length policy models were based on the statements of experts was also interrelated with what Interview 19 reflected after many years of working in Germany that "engaged public officers are necessary to know what to do" and contrasted it with the post-Velvet generation of cultural professionals who "started saying that public officers should have no opinion and decisions should be taken by independent committees of experts", which he identified as a major problem and it will take a while to build a "structure of the enlightened public officers, which we need" (Interview 19). This relates to the previous section depicting the social practices of explaining and enlightening, where many experts, cultural managers, and creative economy consultants felt like their role was to enlighten and educate public officers and politicians, who were usually seen as rather incompetent and at the root of the struggle that many cultural workers found themselves in.

Indeed, an interviewed Head Officer of the Department of Culture of the City of Prague (in 2017) declared that his role was to process ideas and visions of political representatives, rather than come up with ideas and proposals himself. He believed that at best he can make a recommendation based on

his knowledge of the sector or provide an assessment of politicians' visions in terms of administration, but definitely not realising or suggesting new ideas related to developing the cultural sector in Prague. He declared "I might have some thoughts, but my role is not to present and defend them" (Interview 11) in seeing his office mostly as an executive body for political agendas.

Although in the early years of the transformation in the 1990s, where many interviewees declared there was a push for reducing the power of the state, years later, members of the same group realised that they needed to have a stronger legal and policy apparatus that would guarantee a certain amount of financial support for independent cultural initiatives, alongside the mandatory funding of PBOs. Interviewee 21, a theatre director, complained that the funding really depends on "who happens to be at the government" and "everything that happens is because of some momentary situations, momentary constellations based on how people who distribute the state money and those who apply for them are able to speak to each other" despite trying hard for twenty years to create a legal structure for a state support. She complained that there were no clear regulations, no clear rules and every time a new minister took position, one could start lobbying again why it is important to support culture and that it "really depends on who influences the particular city council". She then referred to the fact that on the other hand, European funds have clear rules, and "although we did not really reach out to them, now we are trying to do it via creative industries, which were established by the European Commission" (Interview 21).

The concept of creative industries was seen as a new approach and a spark of hope for finally "getting the door open a little bit", as UK based policy expert declared (Interview 40). Particularly, as Interviewee 8, who had a major role in disseminating the discourse and worked closely with the IDU and the Ministry of Culture declared, the economic crisis in 2008 "somehow opened a bit more space. Until then the theme was not really here, but after the crisis it started being discussed that some things need to be changed" (Interview 8). Although the theme was discussed and presented, much like the arm's length model, not much has changed practically, as many interviewees believed, despite the use of creative economy vocabulary in policy documents as evident from the analysis of policy documents.

Although in a view of Interview 3, a Czech cultural policy consultant, it was difficult to apply the creative industries approach in cultural policy, because of the behavioural remnants of communist regime, the role of novel ideas is

important. According to Howarth and Griggs (2015), novel ideas “can help to dissolve existing coalitions and accepted patterns of policy-making, whilst inspiring social movements and groups seeking to bring about social and policy change”. Alongside novel ideas, Howarth and Griggs (2015) are emphasizing the importance of knowledge and scientific expertise in shaping policy debate, which according to them often provide “important ammunition for the forces engaged in shaping policy” (p. 122). Novel ideas, such as the discursive elements of creative economy were therefore a new impulse in the struggle of changing the dispositif of cultural policy. Although new hegemonic regime, the one of neoliberal capitalism started its articulation after the moment of dislocation in 1989, as was declared by many interviewees, the system of cultural policy was still retaining many features of the previous historical bloc, such as labour law in state run institutions, lack of funding for independent art initiatives that was frustrating and demoralising for cultural managers, who had great hopes that the 1990s involvement of dissent in the government will change the environment, complete dependency on public funding and political control whilst a prevailing feeling of extreme struggle for survival. In continuing efforts of separating from the cultural policy of the previous historical bloc, the creative economy discourse seemed to be bringing new hopes for changing the system and many Interviewees were convinced that the discourse had the potential to change the status of culture and arts and win more political attention.

As has been demonstrated in the previous chapter, the framing of the discourse in terms of its novelty and interconnection lies at the core of the logic of equivalence, because of the particular understanding of modernisation and progress among the subjects, who supported the discourse. As has been evident from the previous section, on a broader scale, the two most significant unifying elements of the political logics of equivalence within the creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic can be explained as first, the need to separate from the previous regime and associate with what was considered the West. Due to the transnational hegemonic position of the West including its ruling capitalist ideology¹¹ the

¹¹ In the early 1990s under the government of Thatcher in the UK, who was the role model of Václav Klaus, the Prime Minister between the years 1992–1998 and President between 2003 – 2013.

interviewees' understanding of modernisation was inseparable from catching up with the West.

And second, the creative economy was seen as a concept, which brought a new perspective of interconnection and hope for change in the status quo of prevalent struggle for survival within the cultural sector. Therefore, the connective tissue within the logic of equivalence was the hope of solving the shared struggle against the state authorities - in the lack of public funding and the lack of dialogue and fighting such problems in a larger coalition.

The logic of equivalence is, according to Howarth and Griggs (2015), a form of an alliance, which is "an identity that is partially stabilised as the differences within it are superseded in importance by what it shares in common with respect to an opposing force. The identities that compose such equivalential chains are, moreover, modified by this practice" (p. 118). This means that the diverse identities, which in the case of creative economy, were the individual industries and fields of practice, if connected, are modified by the very practice of such interconnection. This point is important, because it tells that, in fact, the field of art, for instance, when connected in such alliance of equivalence with commercially oriented industries, will be modified by such interconnection. What connected the diverse identities was the aim to get closer to the "developed", capitalist West and separate from the picture of the Czech Republic as belonging to the "undeveloped East" and its communist past as well as the promise of fighting the politicians and public officers together in a larger alliance. These somehow beatific fantasies will be further explored closer in the Fantasmatic logics below, but for the political logics, I will further show why was the narrative of interconnection crucial in political logics of the discourse.

The previous section showed that there were many different identities supporting the discourse of creative economy and that interconnecting people, practices of explanation, enlightenment, workshops, common brainstorming and strategizing were the most significant social practices. These practices were establishing what Howarth and Griggs (2015) call "linkages between previously dispersed social and political demands" constructed by policy actors as an attempt to "integrate hostile opponents into discourse coalitions through the negation of existing antagonisms" (p. 119). The negation of existing antagonisms is clear in the narratives of interconnection and it is necessary to look closer to how were these interconnective linkages constructed and what differentiated those, who

were supportive of the creative economy discourse from those, who were against it.

5.2.2 Ecosystem as an Empty Signifier

Following Howarth and Griggs (2015, p. 119), universalising narrow sectional demands and values is key in hegemonizing different groups and sectors around plans and projects of social actors. Providing symbolic means to unify identities in a common political project is an important part of the construction of equivalential chains that also requires “the production of empty signifiers, a means of representation that can serve as points of subjective identification to hold together a diverse set of agencies in a precarious and contingent unity” (see Howarth, 1997, 2000, 2013; Laclau, 1995). Within the creative economy discourse, I consider the concentric circle diagram and the metaphor of the core as an empty signifier, serving as the symbolic means to visualise the interrelations between non-profit independent art, state funded institutions and commercial creative industries and framing such relations in a metaphor of an ecosystem.

Although many subjects understood the metaphor differently, as has been demonstrated in the previous chapter, it still connected them in a way that the idea of an ecosystem was used by them as a symbolic means to unify their identities rather than think of differences and political antagonisms. Through this empty signifier, it was, for instance possible to visualise an ecosystem that showed the presumed interrelations between the commercial activities and non-commercial ones or imagine what Interview 19 called “a global perspective on cultural policy” where, according to him it was no longer necessary to constantly aim to distinguish between what is “art, which enriches us as humans” and the “commerce”. Those, who were in favour of the creative economy discourse were open to change and reconcile such antagonisms, although as observed by the foreign experts, this antagonistic understanding prevailed and was somehow complicating their work in the country. The social practice of reconciliation was an essential element in constructing the social actors’ identity as presented in the Social Logics above.

A UK based consultant working globally with the theme of creative economy suggested that there is a

false dichotomy over there, where is this kind of ‘us and them’ agenda. Or this polarisation between hungry commercially driven

creative business on the one hand, and this art for art's sake subsidy dependent culture sector on the other hand (Interview 39).

Such situation was, according to Interviewee 39 caused by “a failure in policy on many levels”. The idea that such dichotomy might be based in a conscious political antagonism was not even considered as a possible scenario by most of the interviewed social actors, who were using the ecosystem metaphor to narrate their supposedly trans-political agendas of reconciliation. The aim was to bring the adversaries together and get beyond dichotomies, with the fantasy to be more like the Western type of institutions, which were “entrepreneurial” with “opened shops” and what Interview 40 described as “hugely popular exhibitions which they charge money for, they are generating more jobs, they understand this notion of a museum contributing to the creative economy of the country” and have undergone “a complete revolution” as opposed to the “dusty places which have no feel for entrepreneurship and attract only schoolchildren or older people” (Interview 40).

The connective tissue under the logic of equivalence within the discourse of creative economy was therefore to change this and be more Western-like, where the institutions went through “a complete revolution” and, for instance, according to Interviewee 40, “the library service, it's not about books anymore” but opened bars, became noisy places with music and shops with a few quiet spaces for people to study in (Interview 40). Such developments were uncritically accepted as the course of progress and modernisation, something to aim for, something that is necessarily ahead of things, rather than in a way that would not necessarily negate any changes, but first question what is the role that cultural institutions play in society, whether they fulfil such role, and if, for instance their purpose of intellectual emancipation and developing the human mind is still maintained etc.

As has been declared by the Interviewee 40, who has a long term insight into the cultural policy of the Czech Republic, there was “still this huge divide, almost a wall between the private sector and subsidised sector, whereas in the UK for example there is a real softening” (Interview 40). This huge divide was therefore to be changed through the deployment of the metaphor of an ecosystem and reconciling the adversaries on each side of the imaginary wall between the commercial and the non-profit. This ecosystem was described by a UK based consultant as follows:

You know, you still need to protect your artists and make sure they are not driven insane by the need to generate surplus, but they are

generating value, that in turn is generating commercial outcomes. So, it is, so in a sense that ecosystem, this is sort of metaphor, analogy can work, because you need to see the core of your commercial creative industries, you have to have a strong, healthy cultural sector, that is always changing, that is, where talent is the big resource, it is open to talent and new ways of expression. It provides pathways for development for aspirational talented people. It does not ossify, it is not frozen to some sort of reduced national, cultural proposition. I mean, in term that generates active audiences, active participation, creating and making. And in turn, if you get the education mix right and skills mix right, you get a level of entrepreneurship. And you have a good regulatory landscape and you have this strong, hungry, domestic cultural market. So, it all flows, they all flow into one another. (Interview 39)

In this way, Interview 29, who at the time worked for the Municipality of Brno believed that what was his aim and the aim of his colleagues, who were preparing a new city strategy for cultural and creative sectors was to “bridge those conflicts during various meetings with the representatives of the CCI and explain that it’s not about one group standing against the other, but that a way has to be found to financially saturate it all”. This shows that many of those who were either on the side of the independent cultural sector or at the local or national governments were in fact trying to use the creative economy discourse to bridge conflicts and bring people together, as per the interconnective logic. The empty signifier of the concentric circles therefore served those, who identified as “us, cultural managers and planners” (Interview 16) who wanted to express the value of arts and culture and “put the right words in the mouths of politicians and public officers” as well as those, who were described as “generations of people, connected with culture and willing to be engaged politically [...] this big wave of local initiatives, who care about their cities and these local projects are often creative industries, who invest in politics, because they want to live in a better city” (Interview 3) as well as those, who were primarily interested in economic growth and nurturing the industries, which according to them had “high added economic value” (Interview 18).

It was evident that part of the interconnective logic was based on the need to stand against the state system that was considered a remnant of the past regime by those, who identified more with Right-wing liberal politics. On the other hand, the cultural workers were the first ones, who wanted more of a

state involvement in funding and better legal and funding conditions for independent arts and culture. Such mismatch of political demands was enfolded in the core of the creative economy discourse and yet, the interconnective signifier of an ecosystem created a certain imaginary alliance among some. The key term to understand here is the notion of the Third Way politics, which was yielding in the country with neoliberal reforms in the late 1990s and which explains how conflictual ideas can be weaved in the logic of equivalence.

The politics of the Third Way were based on ideas developed by Anthony Giddens in his book *Beyond Left and Right*. The Third Way, introduced in the theoretical framework has been a manifestation of neoliberalism in social democratic politics by reconciling the traditionally antagonistic political parties and promoting what Mouffe (1998) termed “radical centre”. The Third Way, as Mouffe (1998) argued, followed the collapse of communism, but “since the late 1980s we have witnessed a clear move towards the centre in most socialist parties. But with New Labour in power a new twist has been added to this tale” (p. 11). According to Mouffe, New Labour marketed a “new movement” of the “radical centrism”, which relates to the creative economy discourse particularly through the rhetoric of reconciling political adversaries within the concept of CCI. As Mouffe (1998) observed,

the novelty of this third way of 'radical centrism' supposedly consists in occupying a position which, by being located above Left and Right, manages to overcome the old antagonisms. Unlike the traditional centre, which lies in the middle of the spectrum between Right and Left, this is a centre that transcends the traditional Left/Right division by articulating themes and values from both sides in a new synthesis (p. 11).

In my understanding, same logic was applied in the creative economy discourse by placing the metaphor of an ecosystem above the traditionally antagonistic positions of commercially oriented culture and non-profit arts institutions. As will be discussed further, the “creative turn” in cultural policy is partly constituted and constitutive of such anti-political vision in the realm of culture and arts through its appeal on interconnection and consensus. Majority of the interviewees saw the new “perspective of interconnection”, in terms of value as well as differential subjects as the main feature of the creative economy discourse.

5.2.3 Reconciling Two Worlds

In the context of researching creative economy as discourse, we have to understand the genesis of this discourse and how it relates to politics at the given time and space. Based on the presumption that the main discursive elements, such as the creative industries concept were created in the specific conditions of New Labour government in the UK under the leadership of Tony Blair, we cannot think the discourse separately from the New Labour's cultural policy. Illustrated by Hesmondhalgh et al. (2015), New Labour neither implemented cultural policy as merely neoliberal, such as in the US, nor typically social democratic, but based on "a successful 'mixed economy' of public and private", under the label of the Third Way politics. Hesmondhalgh et al. (2015) further continued that cultural policy success during the Blair's leadership, was largely built on "the economic contribution of the arts and culture to the UK" and "an increasing tendency to justify public expenditure on arts and culture in terms of economic rewards" and that this was "a key theme in the history of New Labour's cultural policies".

One of the most active proponents of the creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic and a long term collaborator of the IDU, Interviewee 28, mentioned that the aim of IDU was to blur the boundaries between the non-profit and profit-oriented activities, because as she said "there is no such thing as a division between the for-profit and non-profit, [...] today, this really does not matter anymore" (Interview 28). She further expressed a belief that "sooner or later" the non-profit organisations will have to adapt to the "business thinking" because "if you look at the Netherlands or Britain, there were huge cuts in the public subsidies and so, they either closed down or found their way to private funding". Such way of securing a financial stability she evaluated as perhaps even "more stable and better source of income" (Interview 28). She further noted that "it is important for non-profits to learn how to think business-like, it is extremely important to connect the two worlds, also because they need to understand the world of the potential private donors" and continued by predicting that the development here will be like in the Western Europe, where huge cuts in public subsidy have happened, which will make the situation even worse.

Drafting future as a determinate scenario, where change is inevitable and thrust upon us, rather than us being active agents in the development was according to Fairclough (2000) a typical feature of neoliberal rhetoric. Visualisations of what we have to do, because the future will be so and so were typical in the speak of those, who advocated for creative economy

discourse. Such predictions of future will be closer explored in the Fantasmatic Logics sub-chapter, because they clearly belong to the realm of fantasmatic neoliberal common sense, taking the agency away from the subject. Similarly to this view, a consultant working for the Government Office (Interview 18) suggested that

the two worlds have been long time separated and hated each other, rather than communicate, but in a long term, this is unsustainable, so our institute brings these two worlds together and in the case of the new industries It is aiming to de-fragment those sectors (Interview 18).

Following Mouffe “envisaging the aim of democratic politics in terms of consensus and reconciliation is not only conceptually mistaken, it is also fraught with political dangers” (2005, p. 12). Through envisaging the cultural and creative industries in terms of reconciliation and interconnection, the discourse of creative economy is fraught with dangers of totalizing elimination of political adversaries, shifting attention elsewhere from the artistic statement and its role as critique of the dominant, Western neoliberal capitalist anthropocentric frameworks of worlding towards the common-sense adoption of the taken for granted structures and dominant forms of economic production. Those, who did not submit to the creative economy discourse were perceived as enemies of development and hindrance to potential investments in the cultural and creative industries. Following Mouffe (1998), who argued that “while consensus is indeed necessary, it must be accompanied by dissent”, I believe that the idea of an “ecosystem”, as presented by several foreign experts as well as many Czech proponents of the creative economy discourse, was a metaphor fabricated on the basis of consensual Third Way politics presenting itself as transcending the old dichotomies and thus installing a form of a hegemony in cultural policy thinking.

The creative economy discourse applies on what Mouffe (2005) calls “an idealised view of human sociability, as being essentially moved by empathy and reciprocity”, under which the antagonistic positions of specific fields of practice voiced by their representatives who were challenging the ecosystem metaphor, were perceived as individualist, non-collaborative, inward-facing perspectives. Some interviewees, also reacted to the critique, by saying that the end users of cultural policy, in fact, could not really judge if the creative economy discourse helps them or not. A cultural policy consultant involved in the mapping of CCI in Brno suggested, that those, who do not see the

discourse as useful “do not actually know that they benefit already from the actual dissemination of the theme”, she further elaborated that if the cultural policies of cities are oriented towards a larger unit, “they are much more interconnected and stronger, if they are understood in this wider sense”. She further argued that perhaps “one single person, who is applying for some grant money cannot see as far as the strategies go and who is actually creating them, which means this person also cannot see how it benefits them” (Interview 16).

The reconciliation of the antagonistic positions was evident for instance in the joint up approach towards visual arts and art market at the IDU. The two visual arts interviewees presented a questioned the IDU’s position towards visual art based on its position of a state-run arts research institution. What was criticised by these interviewees, was the fact that the IDU was inviting private galleries to take part in the discussion of how to develop the art market, as part of the creative economy debate. Interviewee 13 described that what IDU defines as visual art in its debate of creative industries is in fact the art market and questioned the fact that the Ministry of Culture has “paid experts to do research on how to develop the art market”, which according to him was not only “not urgent”, but counter to what the priorities of the Ministry of Culture should be. He referred to the situation as “totally absurd” when commenting on the IDU organising round tables about “how to kick start the art market in this country” together with representatives of private art galleries. He pointed out the profit-making mission of private galleries and suggested that if they want to use public money they should apply for them at the Ministry of Industry and Trade, like any other business, rather than the Ministry of Culture, which has historically taken care of the non-profits. In his view, this situation illustrated what he called “a huge terminological mash-up” in the discourse of creative economy, which was opening possibilities for various private profit-oriented companies to navigate through it and “use it for their own benefit” to draw public funding from the Ministry of Culture. (Interview 13).

On one hand his critique disclosed disagreement with the fact that the IDU defined the visual art as “art market” based on the public service character of the institution, simultaneously he contested the “terminological mash-up” introduced by the creative economy discourse, which rendered the meaning of terms such as public good and private benefit opaque and was creating a ground for access to public funds for private companies, which would not be a bad thing per se, but the contested ground was the source of that funding

– the Departments of Culture of public institutions, including the Ministry, which were perceived as deeply structurally underfunded.

Overall, the critique deployed by the visual art professionals towards the IDU's activities was the most articulate, explicit and consistent, although, as one of the two interviewed directors of the IDU and the principal investigator in the Mapping projects declared: "there must be a lot of critical approaches, but I am not really following them" (Interview 6).

The critique from the visual arts sector was also regarded as a form of "individualism" and lack of willingness to collaborate, rather than a clash of different political positions, which was according to one of the interviewed Directors a barrier to finding a consensus on what are the needs of the sector:

It is given by the nature of the visual art itself, they are great individualists, it is evident that they are not united within the community in any way. This has always been on the agenda and now it is revealed even more, because all the other areas are trying to cluster and unite, some have a greater disposition to it, such as the theater, it is logical. But even in the literature sector, they are now working more closely together to define their needs (Interview 5)

In line with essentialist logic, the Director of the IDU deemed that the visual arts sector consists of individualists, unwilling to find a consensus in defining the needs for the field. The critique voiced in interviews 13 and 22 was not acknowledged as a valid point for discussion, but rather dismissed as a lack of willingness to collaborate and find consensus. The Director saw the biggest benefit of the Mapping projects in their potential for connecting people and serving as a platform for bringing people together to find consensus about strategy towards the state funding system.

Rhetoric of consensus and avoidance of polemic was according to Fairclough's (2000) analysis an important feature of New Labour's political style and in the heart of Third Way politics, because of the claim that the "new politics" were

transcending the 'old' divisions between Left and Right – effectively a claim to go beyond politics. New Labour has some strongly authoritarian tendencies that are somewhat mitigated and disguised by the search for consensus, which is manifested in these features of Blair's style (p. 110).

What Fairclough (2000) argued, and what is in my view also in line with Mouffe's concept of the political is that there should be space for consensus, but equally a space for disagreement and in my understanding, the creative economy discourse and the way it was promoted through social practices, gave no space for disagreement. Disagreement was dismissed as lack of willingness for collaboration, lack of interest in what culture and art sector might look like in the future (under the neoliberal regime's imaginary), lack of understanding and prevalence of the old mentality, meaning the communist system or elitist notions of art practice.

Furthermore, people who were not happy to collaborate, were defined by the IDU staff as either "given from the nature of the sector" (visual artists presented through the "individualist" stereotype as opposed to the theatre as more social and therefore easier to agree on what they need and want) but also that those who have already established funding – big institutions or those who have successfully lobbied the institutional funding bodies in the past, but also people who have been tired and sceptical towards new ideas and concepts. The details of such resistance will be explored in the following part.

5.2.4 Logics of Resistance

As much as the creative economy discourse served as interconnective, it was also divisive and generating resistance and antagonism. This resistance was represented throughout the interviews in three ways. First, certain interviewees described negative consequences constituted by and within the discourse of creative economy. Second, for some of the interviewees the divisive power of the discourse was the economistic language, instrumentalisation of the cultural value, overall market logic embedded in the terminology. People, who did not want to sign up for such rhetoric, found themselves in opposition or, rather, distanced themselves from the discourse entirely although they worked in one of the fields categorised as creative industries, for instance music, literature, visual art and shared the struggle against the precarious working conditions in cultural sector which was the connective tissue for many others. And third, some interviewees expressed their experience with resistance of other stakeholders, for instance local initiative stakeholders or public officers, who described barriers in their work that included others' resistance towards the discourse of creative industries and was therefore mainly causing problems in the implementation of policies and practical measures. The second and third category will be explained here as part of the logics of difference.

The main problem mentioned by many interviewees was that the discourse included unfamiliar terminology and was considered foreign born “in relation to the Central European cultural environment” (Interview 19), Interview 19 also mentioned that at the beginning the discourse was “confrontational”, because of the pioneer of the discourse in the CR, Martin Cikánek, who had a strongly entrepreneurial approach and his argumentation was perceived as against the existing state funding structures, promoted the US style of private funding of arts and culture and “often argued that culture is supposed to earn its own income and that it’s necessary to do marketing of culture in all directions”. Interviewee 19 declared that he had a tendency “to defend our own, let’s say Czech, thinking about culture”. The major political frontier was between “those, who saw culture as public service¹²” versus “the concept of understanding it via creative and cultural industries” and a suspicion that such discourse “could negatively influence the funding bodies in distributing public funding” (Interview 19).

As I have already presented in the literature review, the critical resistance towards the discourse expressed in articles by Gajdoš (2010) and Stejskalová (2012) layed down arguments why the discourse of creative economy was unacceptable for some representatives of cultural sector. Many others, however, somehow registered the discourse, but disavowed it and distanced themselves from it verbally based on its inadequacy in terms of what they felt they were doing. For instance, a Prague based new music orchestra (Interview 25) said that the concept definitely did not include what she was doing because “industries” means that they should make money and she saw herself “working in culture” which is “meant to elevate the human spirit and improve the quality of life”, she further argued that most people in the cultural sphere would agree with her that creative industries are not part of cultural sphere, “culture is basically art and creative industry is business” (Interview 25).

Another, similar response was given by the chair of a visual arts association, who suggested that creative industries were “totally ok” but they had nothing to do with contemporary art, because “the state, despite all the economic lapses, is and should be rich enough so that visual art has some specific regime or space in which it operates”. In his view the concept of visual art

¹² In the Czech context by public service it is meant a publicly-funded infrastructure and activities such as education, social services, health system etc.

and creative industries were “counterproductive” and “against each other”, he further declared that “if you actually want to develop something through visual art, and at the same time you want it to act like a creative industry, you are simply killing one or the other” (Interview 13). This demonstrates how, certain cultural workers understood the two concepts, the CCI and culture as unrelatable adversaries. Interviewee 13 believed that the IDU was using the creative economy discourse because of “operating with nothing else than only with the European dialect and terminology of cultural industries, but we really do not get anything out of it” and he felt that there was a complete misunderstanding and no recognition of “the particular problematics of the reality of visual artists” which in his view was replaced by the dialect of “what is culture and creative potential in economic sense and economic performance” (Interview 13). He further believed that even if some politicians understand it, whenever there is a political decision to be made, they always follow the proclamations of the European Union. He added that

“the problem is that the times are set according to an economic logic, it needs a certain vocabulary and an apparatus, which solves problems formally, but the people often just don’t see what is going on at the background” (Interview 13).

He used a metaphor of a “melting pot in which all those terms are getting mixed up” and a “terminological chaos”. Finally he added perhaps it is different in theatre or music, where tickets are sold, but in the critical visual art scene he was part of, people just strictly refuse to talk about financial aspects of it and for them “playing the game of economic exchange” was indeed against the core values of the art association he was chairing at the time of the interview.

Another example of the logic of difference was that many people simply did not care and ignored the whole discourse of creative economy by relating to it as something on an “abstract level” (Interview 17). A renown writer and a former chair of a professional associations of Czech writers said that he has heard about it, but he had no idea about the definition, neither was he interested if what he was doing as a writer and an editor in a publishing company was somehow theoretically included in what the discourse of creative economy concerned. Such attitude was widespread and the fact that many people working in what was conceptualised as creative industries did not see themselves part of it was confirmed by a public officer from Brno (Interviewee 29), who admitted that the concept was understood differently by different subjects and not everyone “self-identified” with it. He said that

some people, like architects “really did not care about whether someone calls them creative industries or not and it is the same in the field of advertising”. Surprisingly enough, these were industries that usually are the main economic drivers of creative economy, which means that not only those from the non-profit arts, but also those from the market-oriented fields of activity did not want to partake in the alliance the concept of CCI was offering. Others, however, as has been observed by foreign consultants, had vested business interests in the potential policy changes and were active in the discursive practice.

He continued that those, who were at

the more cultural part, those theatre artists and musicians, literature, and all those sectors, just have quite a reserved approach to the concept, because it pushes them into the profit-oriented approach, which they tend to resist, and rightly so (Interview 29).

Although he was a key person, who was driving the process of drafting new city strategy to develop cultural and creative industries, he expressed a view that “culture is simply not something that should be measured economically and its benefits for our society are simply not economic”. For him the benefits could be economic but primarily the impacts are not meant to be so, “they are primarily about identity, about constituting our society, and so on” (Interview 29).

He was not the only person, who although standing behind key processes of establishing and driving the creative economy discourse, believed that culture and arts are not here to be primarily evaluated economically, but at the same time was not against it if such argument was used in certain contexts. Based on my research, this quasi-pragmatic attitude towards the use of economistic language when debating the value of art and culture was somehow ignoring the fact that if art and business could be conceptualised in a form of interconnection, at the same time, it ignored the differing value premises and political positioning of the individual fields.

A former collaborator at the IDU framed the logic of difference as “a certain rancour between those who are more like business and the non-profit culture” and then she added that it was so “at least at the older generation” she added that “those, who are from culture say that what is important is the value, the quality, the intrinsic values and so on and that money actually damage culture and so on, there are still people who believe this” (Interview 28). The phrase that “there are still people, who believe this” indicated that in

her view, it seemed like something that would be eliminated with time, or that it is something that is no longer plausible and indicating that under the common sense understandings of the abstract notions of development or modernisation, such views will be no longer valid or present. She further reasoned around the older and younger generation adversary regarding the creative economy discourse as caused by the fact that young people “already have a different thinking, they grew up in capitalism, which is really evident, they think differently” (Interview 28) and therefore the discourse of creative economy was more acceptable for them, which confirms the thesis that the creative economy discourse was proliferating what Hall and O’Shea (2013) called the neoliberal common sense. She believed that the use of technology in their daily life was an important factor in people’s acceptance or rejection of the creative economy discourse and said that young people are therefore “much more open and consider it normal”. On the other hand, “the older generation from the non-profit culture, those orthodox ones, that I say they really do that ‘art’, they told me to go to hell with the economic impact”. She then expressed a doubt saying that she always insists that the economic impact can be a “good servant but a bad master” expressing the views from other interviewed public officers and consultants, who believed that the reconciliation of the adversaries is good if one uses the rhetoric as a strategy in the shared struggle for public funding. At the same time, she seemed to be aware of a risk that, if this happens to be in hands of some politicians, who decide “completely nonsensically” that they will compare the economic impacts of all events and support only those that have the biggest impacts, then “this is a nonsense”. She then again repeated that “negative reactions will still be here for some time” and again showed a determinate vision of the future. Those, who were opposed to the creative economy discourse, were described as

the kind of people who resist the reform in terms of culture investments, hankering after or just afraid of what that might mean necessarily for their own stability or their own employment without looking at a long view or even perhaps being given support to recongise the long view around how cultural, how the cultural sector might be structured in the future. And that includes, for example, how state-run culture infrastructure can be more imaginatively sort of restructured, so that it plays a more progressive role for cultural education, placemaking, for innovation, research, creative economy, all that stuff (Interview 39).

Such reasoning was a typical categorisation from those, who were in favour of the creative economy discourse.

The young former public officer from Brno confirmed such view that “people who are under 35 have the concept already internalised, they work with it and it makes sense to them” in contrary to the “older ones, who have to be convinced still” and gave an example of an old theatre worker in his 80s who participated in the public hearings that they organised, but “completely did not understand what had advertising to do in the list with culture and arts” (Interview 29). According to him, what divided views was not entirely the age of people, but, as he said,

most young people were able to understand the concept of creative industries and perceived the advantages, but the older ones at least half of them just did not get it and those who did were already some professionals, who are in it somehow in a greater extent and has come across it before and were dealing with some interconnections between disciplines and so on (Interview 29).

One of the two interviewed Directors of the IDU as well as a public officer from the Ministry of Culture both expressed a suspicion towards those, who did not want to submit to the creative economy discourse as somehow feeling threatened that they might lose their funding:

of course, the theatre people are very traditional, they are very strong in advocacy, lobbying of the entire sector and they of course, in the first years, some of them were strictly against it because if you have managed to lobby the government to the point that you have a certain support and prestige, you can be afraid that if suddenly you are connected to a larger unit, it might be at the end actually unfavourable for you (Interview 5).

She then continued saying that these were mainly individuals who were against, rather than a large number of people, and that they “managed in fact very well explain it to them throughout the years”. This illustrates, a situation in which the IDU, which was primarily an Arts Institute and from its mission supposed to stand behind the interests of arts professionals was aiming to convince them about the advantages the discourse of creative economy might bring. Rather than standing behind the critique coming from the sector, the IDU seemed to stand behind the creative economy discourse principles as if it was for granted that the creative economy is what had to be done, without an acknowledgement of the contingency of such discourse.

The Ministry of Culture Officer, who was part of the EU OMC groups focused on creative industries believed that “culture is really competitive, or that the people see each other like in terms of competition and I constantly have the feeling that they see it as – aha, if they give money to them it means they take money from us” (Interview 28).

She believed that from this kind of competitive environment there was a lot of antagonism between the individual groups, who according to her did not want to lobby together. She believed that these people, who were opposed to the discourse of creative economy,

were not aware, that if we lobby together for animated film, for instance, which is for me at the moment the most urgent one in my agenda, and show that it does have some side impacts and that it generates money and it means that it engages many other professionals, they are simply not aware of this (Interview 28).

The belittling of those, who were in the opposed camp by labelling them as “not aware” “not getting it yet” or being too old to understand was prevalent by those, who were interested in the creative economy discourse. She further said that people basically defend their own positions and that there was “really a lot of them” in the museum institutions, in the arts, or in the “high culture” institutions. However, she then concluded that although there was a lot of professionals against the interconnective approach, they “have simply decided that it does not make any sense to be forcing anyone” but that what her Department was doing was to communicate with those, who were willing to communicate and join the debate. This shows that the public institutions were disregarding the critical voices and were doing their own thing instead, which was precisely what frustrated many of the cultural workers, who were fighting against the rather unresponsive and authoritarian governments, politicians and public officers.

Another similar case was expressed by a public officer in Brno, who believed that this was because traditionally the word “industry” was connected with heavy machinery industry and this is what people connected with the term industries. She shared a similar attitude to the Interviewee 28

if someone does not want to be part of it, they are free to go back to focus on grant applications and desperate searching for money, or not search for money at all, stay as they are and be independent, but we should to support those, who want it, or need the support or want to be part of it (Interview 14).

And last, a consultant working for the Government Office at the time of the interview commented that people do things on their own and that it is “a Czech disease” because they resign on actual collaboration and collective power, “don’t understand the advantages of this wider coalition”. He said that although there are many very skilled solitaires in each of the sector, they get exhausted very soon, depressed and demotivated, because they “often close themselves in their own projects, which they understand in competition with others, do not share information, are not open and therefore they stay these single units rather than creating a mass, power, which would then have a much bigger output” (Interview 18).

This observation is interesting particularly in relation to what a former chair of the Association of Writers said. The association was founded as a professional organisation to defend interests of writers in collective bargaining, however, he said that there was a lot of disagreement among the literature scene and accusations of return back to socialism, when artists want to bargain together. This means that it was difficult to set up field specific associations for collective bargaining due to the continuous resistance towards anything collective, because it could be interpreted as resembling the social order of the previous historical bloc. He said that for people who are older than 50 “anything collective immediately linked to something extreme” and that “such non-problematic thing as writers setting up a professional association generated a lot of repulsion from within the scene” (Interview 17). He said that there is “a very right-wing way of thinking” among the literature scene, which would say that “creation is a matter of an individual and whatever is collective is in fact somehow against the substance of creation and art” (Interview 17). On the other hand, he noted, that the scene was very strictly rejecting what is abstractly called creative industry and many people were thinking that art cannot be connected with any money or finance, that it does not go together and he found it “tiring and difficult to constantly again and again explain that you do not do things for money but that you simply want to be paid, like anybody else”.

As evident from the testimonies, frustrations from the conditions of working, collective bargaining and overall environment in Czech cultural sector prompted the cultural professionals act in both ways – either for or against the creative economy discourse. The need for change, often associated with separation from the past and doing things differently was, however present in most interviews. The next part will explore these logics to understand

better how and why was this separation desired and what were the different motivations behind it.

5.2.5 Separation from the past

The aim of separation from the previous, communist regime was present in majority of the Czech interviews as well as the foreign experts. This separation also included the dichotomy of the “new” and “old”, as well as the “young generation” and the “old guard”, as was already explained in the social logics above. The foreign experts I interviewed explained the changes such as “an ongoing reform agenda” and “lots to celebrate”, because “the culture policy level has been a lot reformed, there are some strong and sustainable ambitious and innovative cultural organisations. And the festival sector has grown a lot as well”, but “still painful” and “heavy lifting to be done to reform from a communist history” (Interview 39). The political logics of separation from the previous historical bloc under the rule of totalitarian communist regime was the major force drawing frontiers and producing social antagonisms. For instance, those who were not fond of the proposed neoliberal reforms were immediately labelled as propagators of the old social order and framed as a hindrance of progress. Similarly, those, who wanted to maintain the antagonistic interpretation of the positions of art versus the market were framed as traitors of the modernisation agenda or individualists unwilling to collaborate.

One example of political frontiers were what foreign experts referred to as “bright” or “impressive” young people”, “local initiatives”, who “seem to refuse to engage with politics or with business, because it was somehow a bit sordid” as declared by the interviewed former Director of the British Council in Prague (Interview 34). He further elaborated by saying that it was interesting about the Czech Republic to see that there was a “political class which always appears to be incompetent, lazy, stupid” as opposed to “a business class sort of civil society, which is incredibly dynamic, bright, inventive”, he further added that “it felt like the emerging leaders of the creative sector needed to engage more with the system, they seemed to me like they wanted to stay outside the system” (Interview 34).

“Staying outside of the system” along with the imagined Western notion of artistic autonomy and arm’s length principle was one of the tempting straplines deployed in adopting and promoting the creative economy discourse, because it allowed more opportunities and support of the private sector, rather than the public one. In general, the public institutions and their representatives had an extremely bad reputation and were giving such

impression to the foreign experts. It seemed to many of the foreign interviewees that young people who were working in the creative industries, wanted to have nothing to do with the state money (Interview 37), which, however, was not the case with the Czech cultural sector professionals, who in fact were asking for more public support. There was, on one hand, an intense distrust into the State institutions, politicians and public officers in general and on the other, a desperate need for public funding.

An interesting observation was deployed by another British consultant in creative economy, who said that “in some parts of Central and Eastern Europe, that even the cultural, some of the new generation of cultural produces are more, they are less likely to resist the creative industries now than the artists and culture producers are in the West”. He reasoned around it as those people trying to “cut themselves away from their past to some extent” while in the West there has been an “ongoing crisis of reform and reduction of proportion of subsidy, so, people resist that as much as possible, because they want to retain as much subsidy as they possibly can” (Interview 39). The older individuals who were in favour of the creative economy discourse, according to him and, as confirmed by some cultural workers above, were in fact trying to cut themselves off from the past, and, on the other hand, the new generation of young cultural managers, who only experienced the post-communist context of culture being extremely devalued were looking for other ways of developing a living, so the creative economy discourse served both groups, but for different reasons, which is in line with the illusion of Third Way politics.

Several foreign consultants spoke about reforms that were either happening in the Czech Republic or in other Central and Eastern European countries. It was clear that they evaluated positively the shift towards more mixed, entrepreneurial way of working. For instance, a consultant from Estonia, who worked intensely in the Czech Republic and was invited by the IDU and other local initiatives mentioned that he considered “an extremely successful” reform in Estonia, a structural change “turning all the cultural institutions into private foundations” (Interviewee 33). He continued about reasoning that the institutions are now much better managed, because they have much more flexibility in running their own business, they are encouraged the earn. He further referred to the privatised cultural institutions in Estonia as “run as really innovative businesses”, which sell expensive tickets and therefore thanks to their own income are not directly influenced or impacted by the governments decisions (Interview 33). Many foreign

consultants invited to work in the Czech Republic were in fact in favour of reducing the power of state and turning cultural organisations into more entrepreneurial entities earning higher portion of income from ticket sales and running associated business enterprises, a typical feature of neoliberal cultural policy. The problem with this is, of course, that the more pressure to earn own income, the less artistic risk can be taken and the price of tickets without any state subsidy might make culture more exclusionary towards low-income social groups.

The assumption that the country needed a reform was widespread among the foreign interviews. Interview 39 mentioned the term “reform” 18 times and elaborated that people he worked with “focused on reforming the culture sector to increase its cultural value to make it more relevant to embed different technology to make it more aspirational as opposed to the kind of, to the dusty, heavy approach to cultural management and communist legacy” (Interview 39) illustrating the political frontiers between the new, progressive, technology, and dynamic market oriented as opposed to the old state funded system as a remnant of the communist regime. He said that there is what he called “a kind of progressive agenda in the Czech Republic” but still “the heavy lifting to be done to reform from a communist history” (Interview 39). In his opinion, the country needed a “wholesale policy development reform process” where the department for culture delegate to intermediary agencies that are “more agile and able to instil a reform agenda”.

From this observation it is clear that although many of those who were involved in shaping the early Czech post-Velvet cultural policy wished to create such arm’s length bodies and government agencies in order to diversify funding sources and get more experts, most likely their own peers, to the policy decision-making, if they succeeded, it would have been easier for foreign consultants to work there and the creative economy discourse might have been stronger. Notably, what he mentioned with the regard to the new developments in the country and other countries of the region of Central and Eastern Europe was that the “productive reform agenda” has been

squeezed politically with the kind of hardening of the Right-wing and things like that in the last few years. And then the also hardening of the Left wing, and they’re less imaginative in the role of culture has in nation building. It’s much more about nationalism as opposed to inclusion and progressive approaches to culture (Interview 39).

This is a remarkable proposition considering the fact that the two Mapping Projects led by IDU were funded by the National Cultural Identity Fund focusing on research of the Czech national cultural identity. Research of national identity can be, of course seen as a tool of nationalism, building national pride and identity based on the concept of a nation state, although those, who worked on such research projects may not, necessarily identify with nationalist thinking. Many of the interviewed Czech “local patriots” as well as those, whose main premise was the development of the Czech Republic’s brand against the peril of appearing as a “country of assembly lines and depots” but rather a “country of high added value” (Interview 18) were however interested in strengthening the sense of identity and either the national or a local brand. Furthermore, Interviewee 39 also confirmed that particularly at the city level, where people wanted to develop clusters of creative industries activity, they did that because “they know it can have kind of reinvigorating role in their identity, in their sense of purpose” and contextualised this in line within the “post-industrial economic reform” and the local agents hoping to “reinvent themselves” because creative industries “is playing a part of a role of restructuring and reimagining” (Interview 39) in a Western post-industrial way, modern, technologically oriented, innovative, flexible, creative etc.

Many of the foreign experts, as outlined in the Social Logics were instrumental in spreading the creative economy discourse, its recontextualisation and galvanizing what Interview 39 called “productive reform agenda”. The following part will look closer into the international politics and the role of transnational institutions and national cultural diplomacy played in the political logics of the creative economy discourse spreading.

5.2.6 International politics

In terms of international political logics, two major and interconnected power flows have been identified throughout the analysis. First, the European Union’s politics enacted by the European Union’s institutions, such as the European Commission and its instruments, and second, the cultural diplomacy of countries such as the UK, the US and the Netherlands. My research has been primarily focused on the relations between the British or Britain based experts and Czech policy actors to narrow focus, and therefore, the Dutch and the American international diplomacy and interventions into cultural policy transfer have not been explored in detail.

Major connective tissue in relation to political logics on the international level and involvement of various national as well as transnational political bodies was the aspiration to transform the Central and Eastern Europe according to the Western model of capitalism, separate from the communist past and aligned with the “West” not only economically but also culturally. What was working divisively was, however, the fact that the Czech Republic did not have such a long tradition of private sponsorship and funding in arts and culture was almost entirely public and therefore, many of those involved did not want to take the risk of completely dismantling public funding of culture or ideologically did not agree with it.

In the 1990s and early 2000s, several foreign private and public foundations, such as the American Open Society Fund or Swiss Pro Helvetia were active in the region of Central and Eastern Europe for several years. Pro Helvetia was

exceptionally active in spreading new thinking until the mid 1990s, and then they have moved on further East, because they got the feeling that the Czech environment is already Western and does not need to be educated and brought up like that anymore (Interview 19).

A person who used to work at the Open Society Fund remembered Pro Helvetia as having a “very big programme” alongside “the Americans, who helped quite a lot” (Interview 8). One of the two interviewed Directors of the IDU mentioned that probably the first conference that was ever organised and related to the creative economy discourse was called Ekonomika kultury [Economy of Culture] organised in the year 2000 by Ladislav Kesner, funded by the Trust for Mutual Understanding, an American fund established in 1984 by

an anonymous American philanthropist as a private, grantmaking organisation dedicated to promoting improved communication, closer cooperation, and greater respect between the people of the United States, the Soviet Union, and other countries in Central and Eastern Europe (TUMUNY 2022).

As one of the interviewed UK consultants (Interview 36) mentioned, there was also the British Know-How Fund, which enabled him and his colleagues to travel to Central and Eastern European countries, namely Czechoslovakia, shortly after the fall of the Iron Curtain and share experience soon after the Velvet Revolution. The Know-How Fund, Britain’s “bilateral technical assistance programme in post-communist Central and

Eastern Europe, was launched by Margaret Thatcher's government in the spring of 1988 in response to the economic and political changes then taking place in Poland" (2013). According to the historian Keith Hamilton (1997),

while eastern Europe was in many respects peripheral to British interests, the West as a whole had an interest in the long-term stability of the area. And with this in mind, it was suggested that the British government might look at the provision of legal and political expertise with a view to helping the establishment of proper democratic structures (p. 4).

He further argued that there was "evidently much to be said for trying to transfer British expertise over a whole range of subjects" in order to "help foster political liberalisation and economic efficiency in Eastern Europe". Thatcher's proposal was to deploy British expertise in "a distinctly non-political sector" and assist with management training (Hamilton 1997, p. 4). It is, of course, a misconception that management is not political.

Management, in other words, the design and sustenance of the modes of operation are political because they are intertwined with structuring human activity. The way things are done shapes the things themselves, the relation between substance and its structure is multi-dimensional. Although structures are contingent and never fixed, they do shape the final content of what they hold and vice versa and therefore, in my analysis, involvement of foreign institutions, governmental programmes and cultural institutes in management and policy leadership is regarded as political.

Interview 36 described his understanding and work under the Know How Fund as getting "political and possibly economic influence into the Czechoslovak Republic through training effectivity or communication" and that he particularly worked in areas of tourism, theatre education and cultural policy in Czechoslovakia and bringing various British experts and professionals in these fields to give "public workshops, run seminars and lectures at the universities" and "representatives from all over the country were coming into Bratislava for those workshops" (Interview 36). Not only the Know How Fund was involved in the post-revolutionary transformation of the Central and Eastern European countries, the British Council alongside other cultural institutes were actively intervening in the area.

The same person, who worked under the Know How Fund remembered British Council "spending a fortune on redecorating its building at the time of the transition" and under its department called "Seminars" based in Oxford, "go around the world either bringing people into the UK or running seminars

globally, workshops, seminars – upskilling”, he further mentioned that the first seminars he did was in audience development in the British Council premises and confirmed that

this was that sort of time when they would pay for a two-week workshop, every cost for those people to come from across the Czech Republic to London and then for us to go to Bratislava to the British Council and run a second week there, unheard of now, but then there was the money because the West wanted or certainly the UK wanted influence at different levels (Interview 36).

As another consultant confirmed, the British Council “focused quite a lot on policy leadership, not necessarily always about policymaking, but building of confidence, capacity in the kind of management of culture and the creative industries”, which confirms a continuation of the focus on management and “upskilling” and also shows that the targeted positions were those at the top of institutions as a way to influence the modes of operation of local entities. He further noted that although he had worked with them a lot he was not sure why the British Council was doing that but it seemed “to be a popular and productive element of their work and the way of building relationships that have delivered value back to the UK” (Interview 39).

People involved in the leadership programme of the British Council were, among others, consultants and writers from UK’s think tank Demos, one of whom I interviewed. This interviewee also confirmed that think tanks like Demos and Nesta had a large-scale influence over the creative economy discourse worldwide, because of their reports being free to download on their websites and he found the attention and download figures extraordinary (Interviewee 41).

Based on the literature review and scholars mentioning a role of the British Council in disseminating the concept of creative industries, part of my interview with foreign experts was about their experience with working for the British Council and an overall view on its involvement in the creative economy discourse. Many interviewed foreign experts spoke about British Council in relation to giving an opportunity to speak at events or lead workshops in the CEE countries, when “cultural industries et cetera were becoming quite fashionable”, because it was “something that the UK could probably export” as a policy consultant from the UK, who has long term relations in the Czech Republic declared and added that “many of these countries at that time, in the 80s and 90s, if you look at the names of the consultants many of them were British consultants” and that “all of these

things in the UK has been certainly at the forefronts of these developments, with a lot of copycats” (Interview 40).

He further mentioned that the British consultants were “adopting this framework from the UK and almost imposing the concept which was very appealing for other governments” especially in the early 2000s, when “the huge emphasis on more neoliberal political regimes had swept through Europe” (Interview 40). To this interviewee, the fashionability of the concept of creative economy was due to the way it responded to the “neoliberal government policy which is focused largely on a country’s economic development”. Notably, like many other interviewees, he seemed to be critical towards neoliberalism, and referring to it as “completely away from any kind of socialist or perceived socialist philosophy, fairness, cultural justice, cultural rights, et cetera”, but at the same time, he was one of the proponents of “joined-up” thinking and believed in the ecosystem-like relations between different fields of creative industries without recognizing them as adversaries. He further mentioned that although “the pendulum has swing back again in certain countries, the cultural economy is still one of the main, main drivers and justifications for government financing” (Interview 40), by which he confirmed that the language the discourse created and established was the one which fits into the hegemonic neoliberal capitalist politics.

Interviewee 37, a former member of the think tank Demos, confirmed that the British Council is one of the channels, through which the idea of creative industries has travelled thanks to distribution of documents and events on creative economy they supported or organised around Europe and around the world. He reasoned around it by saying that “it is kind of a policy export, creative industries have been the UK policy export and they have been one of their channels doing that (Interview 41). A creative industries investment consultant from London (Interview 37), who has lectured in the Czech Republic described his experience as over the past 10 years being “invited by the British Council to do quite a lot of things” because Britain was known for inventing a methodology for classifying creative industries and the creative industries have since then been very much “associated with the UK and British Council has published documents on all of that” (Interview 37). Therefore, he believed a demand around the world existed for British people, who work in the field to “go and speak”, which is why he found himself doing a lot of it in the last 10 years (Interview 37).

In his view, Britain was first, who came up with “a political construct and marketing construct which enabled governments to say this actually earns us money” and therefore other countries wanted to learn from that which made the discourse “an export industry” (Interview 37). The Czech Republic was not an exception, a creative economy consultant from Estonia declared that for Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and most of the countries in the Eastern and Central Europe most of the inspiration came through British Council, “because it was the British Council policy in 2002, 3 and 4, where they really put it in their strategy and they worked across the region, they started the mappings, they brought the experts, they gave the methodologies for mapping”, and he further mentioned that in his view, “the single most important source of creative industries debate in the Eastern and Central Europe was British Councils policy” (Interview 34). The view that the British Council was strongly involved in the creative economy discourse outside of the UK was a univocal understanding among the foreign experts, although not many Czech interviewees seemed to be aware. The following quote demonstrates in a great detail how a cultural policy scholar from the UK saw the situation in a time-based view as well as noticing that certain people made their careers in reinforcing creative economy discourse outside the UK:

Right from the beginning, Britain was always very active in proposing its own experience to these other countries for example the idea of the creative economy was already introduced by Landry in... not only in Cracow but also St Petersburg, he went to St Petersburg in the early 1990s, he was sort of importing British and largely American ideas about culture-led regeneration related to the creative economy and then of course... I know about the role of the British Council in spreading these ideas not only in Eastern Europe but also in Colombia and other parts of the world. I've never been involved unlike colleagues like Tom Fleming who has been much more involved than me and... actually have spent much of his professional life doing this (Interview 32).

What was, however, also notable was that according to the foreign experts, the request and demand was coming from the national governments, which wanted to “develop a creative economy policy” and were asking the British Council to bring people, who “could come talk to the ministers” as Interviewee 37 mentioned. He further declared that “in Central and Eastern Europe, we are seen in that way as being leading” and although Britain might have “run out of ideas”, the country’s “performance hasn’t been

anything less than spectacular". He continued that "one of the reasons why people look to us is because we are very successful" (Interview 37). The image of Britain being very successful in creative economy was therefore, in the views of the foreign experts the driving force for countries in the Central and Eastern Europe to bring them and "talk to the ministers". On the other hand, one of the former Directors of the British Council in the Czech Republic admitted that they had to do quite "hard sell into that" (Interview 34).

My analysis showed that the British Council's programme titled Creative Cities was key in the creative economy discourse in terms of spreading urban regeneration narratives typical for the creative city concept and quasi participatory city planning. Many of my Czech interviewees mentioned parts of the Creative Cities programme, namely the Future City Game, as related to the British Council's involvement in creative economy discourse. However, most of them did not seem to be aware of in any major British Council's role except for the two key personalities and leading researchers of the IDU mentioned that the British Council "had a big influence, doing a lot of events and always somehow participating" (Interview 1) and that it played a key role in how the theme of creative economy got to the country, because there were projects focused on it (Interview 6). Overall, the British Council had, in the words of another British consultant who did substantial work in the Czech Republic "big role in disseminating this idea of toolkits" because it had a "very strong office in Prague" (Interview 35) and, as another UK based consultant mentioned "a particularly active director" and thanks to whom "they played like a kind of a development role for the Czech Republic creative industries sector" (Interview 39).

The method of British Council was, according to Interview 35, who worked with them was based on organising presentations and spreading documents, suggestive rhetoric that was promoting creative economy's importance, bring in one expert for a day or two workshop and then let the country decide and fundraise for further props. He added that the British Council

wants every country, Lebanon included, Egypt and such. [...] So, their system of working is like, they bring in the brand of "we invented the creative industries in the sense" in 1997, in 1998, DCMS. And from then on, it is like 'helping' other countries to understand how should they look at it (Interview 35).

This quote reveals how, the BC was disseminating and implanting ideas and knowledge in countries in Eastern Europe and Global South. She further

mentioned that it is “the brand that is important, very much associated” and that “it is a huge brand for Britain in terms of policy, policymaking, et cetera” whilst, on the other hand, according to her the Arts Council was doing things that were contradictory to the narrative of investing in cultural organisations at the time.

An interviewed London based author and consultant mentioned that

there was a lot of activity at the government level or rather sort of academics and consultants went around the world talking about the British model. And almost every country copied the British list of 14, 15 industries. The British phraseology, the British policy framework (Interview 38).

Another person, however, who worked for the British Council said that this was “a way of influencing” and “promoting Britain abroad” because one of the strengths, was the creative and culture economy (Interview 40).

There was a shared view of the interviewed foreign experts that the British Council changed its focus and at the time was not doing any creative economy related activities in Europe anymore and that the “arts side is kind of off the boil a little bit” (Interview 40). Many other foreign experts confirmed that after certain amount of time, the British Council changed its priorities and other funding bodies “took that role” such as in Estonia the Nordic council of ministers so the Nordic council took creative industries as one of their priorities, as declared by Interview 33. Interviewee 40 further mentioned that they were not interested in Europe anymore, and that „now there is an interest back in the arts but only in certain territories, for example this whole issue of the creative economy, culture economy in Syria or parts of the Middle East, but Europe I think is kind of forgotten in regards of this, they think they can walk on their own now“ (Interview 40). The metaphor of „walking on their own” is a remarkable one, because it gives an impression that certain countries were less mature than the UK, where Britain would be teaching them how to walk and as soon as the Central and Eastern Europe learned what needed to be learned, the soft power was deployed towards new territories.

This, of course, resembles unspoken and rather problematic colonial strategies. It was remarkable to recognise the colonial attitude in such language, although the Czech Republic was not a former colony. The analysis showed that none of the UK based interviewed experts mentioned the colonial history of Britain as part of the current country’s success story in

the creative industries. Many of them praised the recent development and strength of the UK's creative economy when explaining why many other country governments and initiatives around the world were interested in knowledge transfer from the UK. Interviewee 35 mentioned that the strategy of the New Labour's creative industry agenda was based on "recognizing that pop music is bound in the DNA of this country". Others, such as Interviewee 36 said that the debate about interrelations between creativity and all other parts of economy has been in the UK since the industrial revolution and "we [Britain] have had arts schools operating in a particular way for over a hundred years. And if you look at the creative industries policy for the UK, the starting point is creative education in schools" (Interview 36). For many others, the connection between a long tradition of art education as well as the literary tradition of Shakespeare as a "global brand" (Interview 37). Interviewee 37 acknowledged that "English language is unquestionably an important part of it" because cultural and intellectual content in film, literature, music is largely distributed in a form of text and literary or vocal language is key in these areas. The global spread of English language is, however, part of the legacy of colonialism and its global spread can't be thought otherwise.

The other major reasoning around the success of the UK in creative industries was the notion of their culturally inherent resilience in terms of risk and failure (Interview 36). The interviewed participants saw Britain as a country of resilient, risk-taking, flexible and creative people who are strong and don't get destroyed by failure, unlike some other cultures, where "if you fail, your parents look on it as you are crap, and your friends go – you failed". In the Anglo-Saxon cultural space "you come out and say – I have learned" (Interview 36) and "failure is only deferred success". Interviewee 38 connected the willingness to take risks to the wealth of the US and Britain, where artists and people who are willing to take risks are appreciated, "flourishing economy" and "freedom" were however perceived as partly allowing the risk-taking culture (Interview 38). In most countries, as the Britain based experts declared, however, "people either work with their family or behind the counter of the family shop or in the fields where their families are working or work for really big stable company or the government. The idea of setting up... the idea of being freelance and independent is felt to be a sign of weakness or failure" (Interview 38).

Along these lines, the success of Britain was seen as "something to do with the combination of the literary tradition and an entrepreneurial spirit" and a

long tradition of “a relationship between arts and commerce”, “a lot of creative talent” nurtured since the 19th century movements around the Mechanics Institute and diffusion of culture in various ways that allowed a lot of working class people to engage with arts and that “produces a population of people who are interested in culture, and so talent kind of emerges out of there” (Interview 37). These ideas are certainly relevant, however, the history of colonialism that preceded and paralleled such developments is inseparable from the constellation that rendered Britain among the leading countries in creative economy today. In this perspective, the lecturing of British experts abroad about how to develop creative economy based on the British model without acknowledging the colonial history seems rather obscene.

The following section, the last part of Logics of Critical Explanation will take the realities of international politics further and explore how were beliefs around cultural superiority of Anglo-Saxon cultures embedded in the common sense thinking as evident from my interviewees alongside other fantasmatic beliefs related to Modern Western neoliberal capitalist ideology of progress and development.

5.3 Fantasmatic Logics: The Fantasy of Development and Modernisation

In the previous sub-chapter, I have focused on the political logics of the discourse of creative economy in the Czech Republic. Politics, according to Stavrakakis (1999), is “identical to political reality and political reality, as all reality, is, first, constituted at the symbolic level, and, second, supported by fantasy”. This section will focus on the fantasmatic logics of the creative economy discourse as they were formed in language, the symbolic register of meaning.

Boris Buden in his recent publication *Transition to Nowhere: Art History after 1989* writes that in the post-communist countries after 1989 the worldview seemed to be “an illusion that has lasted for almost three decades” and “a time of undoubted certainty” about the Western capitalist system including its cultural values to be the only thinkable political system (Buden 2020). The following analysis shows how such certainties were present across the interview sample. In my analysis, pre-determined visions of future where public funding have been irreversibly cut, Anglo-American cultures and Western European countries are epistemologically and culturally superior, latent potential in places with deteriorating infrastructures, which can

become “places to be” if adequate policy measures regarding creative industries are taken – are all recognised as fantasmatic constructions. Glynos and Howarth (2008), whose conceptual framing of post-structuralist discourse analysis followed in my theoretical as well as methodological approach understood fantasmatic logics closely linked to the ideological dimension, unlike political logics, which are closely associated with the political dimension of social relations. The aim of this section focusing on fantasmatic logics is to understand how “subjects are rendered complicit in concealing or covering over the radical contingency of social relations” (2008, p. 134), a particularly powerful way in which ideology captures subjects. Therefore, the analysis presented in this section is not aiming to verify the truth of the interviewees’ beliefs but show the constructed beliefs were making alternative scenarios or potential dissent difficult.

In the case of the Czech Republic, the way I studied and analysed the interviews was designed to be attentive to the symbolic elements which the interviewed subjects expressed and which signified what they took for granted as well as the fantasies and imaginary futures they held as such. Integrating Lacanian approach in psychoanalysis Stavrakakis (1999) proposed an analysis of politics based on analysis the political reality as constructed on the symbolic level i.e. through the intervention of metonymic and metaphoric mechanisms and empty signifiers. Fantasmatic frames, according to Stavrakakis are providing its imaginary coherence by promising it an anchor in the real. Metaphoric and metonymic mechanisms and empty signifiers have therefore been the major elements I looked at when deconstructing fantasmatic logics and identifying what seemed to be the common-sense beliefs held among the interviewees.

In this study I follow common sense according to the neo-Gramscian approaches, as interpreted by Stuart Hall and Chantal Mouffe. The link between Lacan’s psychoanalysis and Hall’s interpretation of common sense is the un-conscious taken-for-grantedness. What is considered natural, taken for granted renders common sense largely invisible and yet according to Hall “it plays a crucial role in defining the limits of thought” (Hall 1980). The most crucial part of the theory of common sense and its implementation in my analysis is what Hall referred to as “being hardly aware at all that we are operating in a domain of constructed meanings. We simply take it for granted” (Hall 1980). An example of such constructed meaning can be evidenced in the following quote by a civil servant, who at the time of the interview was the Head of the Department of Culture at the City of Prague:

There is no contestation about the fact that all these industries [the CCI] which I have just named have a positive influence on society as such in all consequences, which means in economic profit as well as so to speak in development of culture as such. So, there is no need to question this (Interview 11).

As evident from the quote, the interviewed person took for granted that the individual sectors jointly labelled as cultural and creative industries had a positive impact on the society as such and this belief was used as a premise for further actions and arguments. It is of course debatable and by no means for granted that creative industries have a positive impact on society, because it depends on many more particularities in terms of modes of production as well as the final products, art objects, events etc. whose symbolic meaning is negotiated through discourse.

According to Howarth and Griggs (2015) the logic of fantasy naturalises the different relations of power and domination over subjects, this means that such beliefs were not only preventing subjects to think beyond or without what was taken for granted but also perpetuating an ideological closure. In the previous sub-chapter that concerned political logics, I focused on a politically-inflected signifying frame within which to show how social practices come into being or are transformed. Here, I focus on the means to understand why specific practices and regimes 'grip' subjects. Fantasmatic logics in case of analysing the creative economy discourse contribute to our understanding of the direction of change, what Glynos and Howarth (2008) call 'vector' of political practices, but also the 'inertia' of social practices, the tendency to keep things as they are, a resistance towards change.

The fantasmatic logics capture the way in which the subject deals with the radical contingency of social relations as a subject of what Lacan calls *jouissance*¹³ (Glynos and Howarth, p. 152). This part will show the *jouissance* of perceiving the CEE region as a not-yet completely developed country i.e. an exemplary manifestation of an imagined lack, a central concept in Lacanian psychoanalysis.

As has been discussed in the previous part in terms of the political logics of equivalence, what connected the diverse identities of the creative economy discourse was the aim to get closer to the "developed West" and separate from the identity of belonging to the "not yet developed" or "developing"

¹³ Lacanian term, it means self-transgressive enjoyment

Eastern Bloc. The metaphors deployed in these testimonies were for instance those that infantilised the country, by saying that it was learning to “walk on its own”, which was related to the transition to market economy, democratic political system, and whatever was perceived as a sign of modernisation. Other metaphors included those related to a journey and a linear perception of historical development, where some countries would be ahead of the game and others lagging behind, others seemed to be identifying commercialisation of cultural institutions with development in terms of the entrepreneurial activities being a sign of things “moving with times” (Interview 40).

In sum, whether in the context of social practices or political practices, fantasy operates so as to conceal or close off the radical contingency of social relations. It does this through a fantasmatic narrative or logic that promises a fullness-to-come once a named or implied obstacle is overcome – the beatific dimension of fantasy – or which foretells of disaster if the obstacle proves insurmountable, which might be termed the horrific dimension of fantasy. In this context it means that whatever was articulated as a route to development or “bringing things to the 21st century” (Interview 35), was imagined as a beatific scenario and on the contrary, whatever was articulated as hindering development served as a horrific fantasy.

Stavrakakis (2010) argued that “every society has to come to terms with the impossibility of attaining jouissance as fullness; it is only the fantasies produced and circulated to mask or at least domesticate this trauma that can vary, and in fact do vary immensely” (Stavrakakis 2010). In my analysis of the creative economy discourse, the trauma of impossibility of attaining fullness is visible in those speakers who believed that there is such thing as a superiority of the Anglo-American cultures and wanted to arrive to a state of fullness, when the Czech society will be “developed” and its latent potential unlocked. The fantasy of existence of latent potential and the desire to develop it is a perfect example of Lacanian jouissance – something is missing and we enjoy the impossibility of achieving an imagined fullness.

Interview 2, a cultural policy consultant from Prague argued that the society was hungry for freedom, but although it was using the term ‘democracy’ what people were doing was in fact “absolute freedom”, people were “doing whatever they wanted in the 1990s, but they weren’t building democracy, democracy is not about doing whatever you want, democracy on the contrary requires doing things responsibly and building a system together”. Another interviewee, a researcher and a former cultural policy consultant

believed that “the political elites did not sufficiently understand or did not understand at all the role of culture” and that “in the society there is still a lack of awareness of some kind of a positive role that cultural institutions and culture itself can bring” (Interview 10).

A founding member of creative industries cluster in Zlín mentioned that at the time they founded the initiative for Creative Cluster Zlín, it was very challenging because they “had a clear understanding that the environment is not sufficiently ready yet” (Interview 9). What she meant by that was particularly a fantasy of maturity that certain societies have gained at an advanced stage of development. Others, such as the Czech Technological Agency representative mentioned that the creative economy for him meant a “new way of thinking” and a “new way of leadership”, “new way of management from team to an organisation or even a state administration and city administration”, he further mentioned that the Czech Republic did not have this “on a very good level yet”. This means that he perceived that the creative economy and related concepts relate to a broader, more fundamental transformation of society (new way of thinking, new way of leadership and administration) which however, has not been properly achieved in the Czech Republic. Such view is interesting, because it was directly related to the specific features of policymaking and policing itself that the interviewed subjects considered as signs of development. One such example was a foreign policy consultant based in London, who believed that “there is something around the value of culture in there, that needs to be brought into the 21st century” (Interview 35). What she meant by that, which was also mentioned by many other foreign consultants was that the Czech Republic was somehow lagging behind the recent trends in cultural policy, such as audience focused approaches and what is called “evidence based” policymaking.

The common sense around development was based on many metaphors related to temporality and a specific relation to the future, one that predicts how things will be with unsubstantiated certainty. Fantasmatic assumptions based on an idea of development in time were most frequently constructed around two major points. On one hand, interviewees saw development as some kind of a journey or even a race, on the other hand, future seemed to be determined, predictable and somehow already decided. Both points are problematic and I will hereby explain why, together with showing examples of manifestations of common sense beliefs related to development and time. Many interviewees believed that the Czech society was “delayed by

socialism” and that the “deindustrialisation is happening 35 years later than in those Western countries”, Interviewee 3 further noted that what happened in the Czech Republic was “preservation of a world which has ended 25 or 30 years earlier in the UK etc” (Interview 3). This construction might be, in fact, correct, however, what matters is the unquestioned acceptance of the Western Europe being a role model for the future development of the CEE region.

A Ministry of Culture Officer noted that

we are constantly trying to catch up with Britain or Estonia, which today they are 20 years ahead of us, Estonia is almost 10 years ahead of us. We will never make it to catch up with them. It is impossible to walk 20 or 10 years' lead (Interview 27).

She used the terms “catch up” and “lead” which are part of the terminology used in sports and races and indicate a notion of the same route or a journey. She further commented that perhaps the Czech Republic should create its own “route” to the creative economy, which however might not “take care of all the issues from the start but might do the basics and somehow help things to be better grasped later on”. The important fact about the different journey is, however, that although the journey might be different, the point to which we are heading to is the same. The “lead” was according to her in “the understanding of the added value of the sector itself”, where the added value was in the economic and social impact of the cultural sector (Interview 27). Similarly to other interviewees quoted above, Interviewee 27 was convinced that the lead of Britain and Estonia was based on the public and political acknowledgement of the economic and social impact of the cultural sector. The fact that this was understood as signifying “a lead”, as a point in development to which other countries are heading towards demonstrates a concealed view of what it means to be advanced, matured and developed in the field of cultural policy.

Two other key agents in the creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic referred to the development and time similarly. One of the two interviewed Directors of the IDU believed that the discourse of creative economy is on one hand “dangerous” because it might move things towards instrumentalisation and quantification of value but on the other hand, she saw it is a “big challenge and opportunity” because countries could use it to “skip a certain phase” in a development, she used the Czech term “přeskočit etapu” which is, again used in sports terminology when speaking of stage races. She however was not an unequivocal proponent of the creative

economy approach in cultural policy as she believed that it could be dangerous if there is no “developed civil society” that to her was signified by established support for non-profit organisations (Interview 6). This means, that in her view, a level of maturity in civil society and non-profit sector was needed if creative economy was to be successful and serve well in the move forward on the imaginary route of development.

Unlike Interviewee 6, who hypothesised that developed creative economy can help countries to do a big leap forward on the imaginary road of development, Interview 31, a local organiser of CCI mapping from Olomouc said that “we have to walk the route ourselves anyways, because we can’t just jump forward”. He seemed to be aware that a simple copy-paste method of policy transfer does not work, but in his view it was a matter of people getting used to it, which “will take a little while” because “the society has to somehow mature into it” (Interview 31). Again, we see that the idea of immaturity versus maturity was related to the readiness of the society to accept such things as creative economy discourse. Rather than it being considered as one of many scenarios and approaches in policy, which may or may not be accepted through democratic processes of political engagement and policy negotiation, it was understood as a stage of maturity and therefore somehow self-justified and bringing unquestioned public good based on the logic that whatever is more mature is better than the immature or less mature.

One of the interviewed experts from Britain believed that the status of creative economy discourse in the UK is “so far ahead” that what was new 30 years ago was just being discovered in some Central and Eastern European countries (Interview 40). According to him, the way cultural ecology or cultural economy in the UK has been developed “in a much more sophisticated way”. The CEE countries, on the contrary, were “misunderstanding” the concept and were using it as a “blunt instrument” and still debating “what it includes or doesn’t include, how do you evaluate it and what the indicators are and so forth”. The interviewee believed that there is a certain “shallowness” and a “lack of depth of understanding of how this actually works” (Interview 40).

In the meantime, interviewees in the Czech Republic believed that a sophisticated system of monitoring and evaluating is necessary as a first step to an advanced stage of cultural policy reform according to the principles of creative economy. One of the two interviewed Directors of IDU, Interview 5, perceived a lack of a sophisticated system of more profound

monitoring and compared the CR with the Netherlands, where they had, according to her “a highly sophisticated” way of monitoring the impact of cultural activities. It was evident from Interview 16 that being able to “grasp” the impacts was a sign of more advanced development in cultural policy practice that existed in other countries but was not yet developed in the Czech Republic which was constructing the reality as having a prescribed route to move forward on.

A sophisticated system of monitoring and impact evaluation was paired with another fantasmatic belief, one that associated entrepreneurial behaviour of cultural institutions which was also associated as a more mature stage of development by many interviewed subjects and the Netherlands and the UK were used as particular examples by Interviewee 5 and 6, both of them directors of the IDU. Interviewee 5 narrated cultural policy reform in Netherlands in a way that pictured the government as “literally putting the cultural entrepreneurship as the main principal of the cultural policy” which caused the end of many independent theatre groups that did not want to adapt to the entrepreneurial mode of operating (Interview 5). She mentioned that this was a “solution” to a situation in which “a huge number of art entities were applying for grants and each was getting very little”. The Director at the IDU believed that “the scene however after some time is actually thankful, because the space got somehow cleaned up” (Interview 5). The other interviewed Director (Interview 6) said that the representatives of arts entities in Netherlands are not complaining about it today anymore, and say that this approach helped them to focus on audience development and that the way of combining their work with entrepreneurial activities or wherever they can generate profit is “absolutely taken for granted”.

The taken-for-grantedness of combination of entrepreneurial activities with the primary mission of arts entities is precisely where the hegemony of neoliberal thinking in cultural policy lies. The fact that the two interviewed directors of the IDU were presenting such example as a sign of maturity or advanced stage of development proves the fantasmatic illusionary image the Western countries have maintained. One of them said that such process has not happened in the Czech Republic yet, because the Netherlands had a different “start line” referring again to an idea of a common journey or a race.

After being confronted with such examples abroad, one of the two interviewed directors of the IDU mentioned that she was

very interested in the positive impact of the commercial sphere to the non-profit – some of the models such as ways of working with the

audience, with the donors, how to engage a community, which can contribute be it material or non-material way (Interview 5).

She further noted that “it’s not just about public funding, but creating a motivational environment” by which she meant incentives that allow organisations to behave and think entrepreneurially, collaborate with profit-oriented entities, and where a “system of loans exists” (Interview 5). She believed that if all these things are in place, “everything is done much more easily, because you can really get those results” (Interview 5). Such statements show a political way of thinking leaning towards a neoliberal politics, although the political views are not explicitly articulated and may be even condemned by the interviewee herself if confronted with a question whether she agrees with neoliberal reforms in cultural policy. What we see here, however, is how neoliberal values and ways of reasoning go beyond the conscious registers and sit within the common sense, taken-for-granted account on what is modern and that efficiency and results should be prioritised.

The metaphor of a journey was echoed also by the foreign consultants, namely Interview 39 alongside a certain sense of things being no longer sustainable, because they were “just too heavy” and “would become ludicrously expensive” (Interview 39). Interviewee 39, whose views echoed the Third Way politics was using the rhetoric of determinacy of development in words such as “there has to be a reform process” and by saying that “there is the realisation” (without acknowledging the subjects of such realisation) “that the old model is around museums and orchestras and heaven knows what, was looking backwards rather than looking forwards” (Interview 39). He used the terms related to the one-directional understanding of development as a journey from A to B, hence the “looking backwards” versus “looking forwards”.

Another British consultant said that the cultural policy reforms are “moving with the times” which is another sign of common sense understanding of linear development, where neoliberal reforms are taken for granted, unquestioned and considered to be somehow natural. By “moving with the times” he meant that a component of creative economy is recognizing that museums are running restaurants and businesses to generate own income, unlike in Central and Eastern European countries, which are “pretty far behind in bringing traditional organisations and institutions to the table” whilst the most entrepreneurial are the film making and design industries (Interview 40) .

The backwards-forwards dichotomy was also articulated by other interviewees, phrases such as “to move things forward” (Interview 36) were used when speaking about the status quo in Central and Eastern European countries, there the direction was always towards the “Western” model. One of the foreign interviewees, however, was not so convinced about the necessity of a total reform, he mentioned, for instance, that certain things that the communist regime enabled were unique and might have been beneficial to be kept. For instance, he mentioned the infrastructure of publicly run cultural houses which provided equal access to children’s afterschool education. He said that he and his colleagues, who were running workshops in the post-communist European states were saying “whatever you do, don’t close this down, don’t destroy it, it is really good. But everybody was saying generally – no, no, no, it is all the past, we are moving to the future” (Interview 36).

The whole feeling of certain countries being further on the imaginary journey of modernisation than others was also evident in the views of another British consultant, who said that Britain was “ahead of the game” and because “London being a very, very funky city”, he believed that a lot of governments around the world wanted to have London’s creative economy in their own country which was a reason why he was invited to “go around the world and talk about the wonders of the British situation” (Interview 38). His views not only demonstrated the perspective of a British consultant travelling around the world and being asked to teach others how to achieve what was considered success in creative economy based on the British model, hinting towards an unsubstantiated assumption regarding the cultural superiority of the Anglo-Saxon countries. It also shows a biased view of the city of London. The idea of funky city might be true for certain amount of privileged population, however, the crucial point in this debate is how can this funkiness be enjoyed by everyone, what does actually the word “funky” mean and what are the downsides of such funkiness, such as gentrification, precarious labour market in creative industries and culture, inadequate housing conditions of lower social classes in the less funky areas and instability of cultural workers leading to severe mental health problems and exhaustion.

From the above text, it seems that many interviewees understood development and its lack as one of the driving forces of their attitudes towards creative economy. Notably, certain fantasmatic notions were evident in the way the interviewees understood that systems of monitoring as signs

of maturity together with entrepreneurial behaviour of cultural organisations. A particularly strong fantasmatic accounts were evident in the understandings of future and predictions about how it will be, which are intertwined with adopting neoliberal reforms not as a result of a political ideology, but as a natural course of development and modernisation. Other powerful fantasmatic beliefs were held about the cultural superiority of Anglo-American cultures and the construct of the West in general, about the hidden potential of places and people and about the notions of efficiency, entrepreneurship systems of monitoring versus the demon of state bureaucracy. The following section looks at the widespread idea that there is no alternative to economic justification of the value of arts and culture.

5.3.1 No alternative to economic justification and numeric indicators

Interlinked with the fantasy of linear development, the idea of quantitative measurement was perceived by many as the only way of justification for funding. Interviewee 20, a representative of the Czech Technological Agency, said that there was a risk in not having enough human resources, because the creative economy discourse and policy approach requires a new way of thinking and knowledge, which unlike Germany and England, the Czech Republic doesn't have established yet in terms of research institutions and data collection, although there were attempts to change it at the IDU and the Statistical Office (Interview 20). He further referred to German officials, who "have it completely in their control" and "who know exactly what to do, unlike us, we don't know it yet" (Interview 20).

Numbers were, according to one of the interviewed Directors of the IDU "the original reason", why they started talking about creative economy because the data about the "power" of the cultural sector were missing and it was believed that it can be "proved actually always only by some numbers" which was seen as necessary for getting funding from the public institutions as well as other types of funding bodies (Interview 5). The idea that it is "necessary to know how to calculate" (Interview 9) the financial impact of the CCI was a widespread opinion in relation to convincing political representatives. Interviewee 9 believed that "only in the moment when it starts being interesting economically, the political representatives start being interested in it and start supporting it", she further declared a belief that "if it wasn't economically interesting, if it wasn't talked about it bringing, I don't know 4.7 % GDP, then no one would deal with it, right? Unfortunately, it's still money that generates money (Interview 9). This view was shared by many others,

including the Deputy Vice-Prime Minister, who said that “only if we speak about creative industries as a whole, there is a chance that it will start to be taken seriously” (Interview 30). The „only if” means that there was not a perceived alternative, that there was a certain belief that there is no other way to do so, as well as a fantasmatic conviction that if certain steps are taken towards understanding culture and arts differently, a desired scenario will follow.

A Ministry of Culture Officer, Interviewee 26, believed that because performing arts will never have a significant economic impact, it does not have the power to become a political theme for any politicians. A cultural policy consultant, Interview 3 said that “economy is the most successful religion of today” and a cultural manager and a Director of a successful new circus venue in Prague Holešovice said that he “did not know for what reason, but the Czech Republic was a country of economists, because everything was assessed from the perspective of the economy”. The thesis that the Czech Republic was an exception among other countries about its focus on economy was based on his belief that many top-level politicians as well as presidential candidates were always economists and that somehow the economy perspective was more prominent in the Czech Republic than in other countries. A cultural manager, as theatre director from Prague believed that “after the 1990s everything started being calculated in monetary value and of course, it is very hard to convert cultural value to money, so it took a little while until someone came with this” (Interview 21). For her, the main turning point was in flipping the metaphor of “culture as a beggar” around and saying that it is in fact an investment. What I named “beggar’s tin cup” metaphor occurred throughout several interviews, in which culture was rendered in an extremely precarious position of a “beggar”, “scum”, “leech”, only consuming the public budget, without contributing to it. These interviewees, believed that the creative economy brought “suddenly a change of perspective, it is no longer about the fact that culture always has to go around with the tin cup and ask for some subsidies” (Interview 19). The new way of justifying value created, according to these interviewees an argument that

the creative industries, they are also industries, not just losers, they also create some values that can be calculated, measured and so on. [...] it's not that they only take money from our wallets, these people also have some benefit for our society – they're not just idlers.
(Interview 14)

And created a counterargument to those, who would use accusations that culture and arts only consume public resources. By quoting the Czech president, as talking about the non-profit sector that they are “a bunch of leeches” (Interview 12) a Prague-based cultural manager said that this is a wide-spread opinion acknowledging that Zeman is a popular president. However, these views when they referred to the politicians and funders’ view rather than representing their own beliefs. The discourse of creative economy was an opportunity to change this position rhetorically and created a language in which it seemed to be possible to lift their area of interest from the imagined bottom of the social space to a more dignified position within the society, one that contributes and generates economic wealth instead of merely consuming it. It is necessary to critically engage with this metaphor, since it seemed to be a circumstantial premise on which the interviewees based their practical reasoning.

The metaphor of a beggar resonates strongly with the metaphor of a parasite, which has been a subject of the critical discourse studies and considered to be an ideological construct, especially in analyses of political metaphors used in ultra-Right contexts (Musolff 2016).

According to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), “agents choose certain actions over others not just in view of the goal, but also because they find themselves in particular circumstances. The context of action restricts the range of actions that can be thought of and the choices that can be made” (p. 44). The interesting thing about the presented testimonies was, that neither of those interviewees actually thought of culture in terms of the “beggar’s tin cup” metaphor, they were mostly the advocates of culture, and yet, this is what was presented by them as a general public opinion and therefore a valid premise on which a support for the creative economy discourse was justified. In my view, number of the interviewed cultural and arts professionals were supporting the discourse of creative economy because they found themselves in precarious circumstances, which they in fact constituted by, perhaps unconsciously, accepting narratives of hegemonic, capitalist and particularly neoliberal worldviews that have perpetuated social deprecation of less economically productive citizens or spheres of activity and demanded “reciprocity” as Fairclough (2000) argued in his analysis of the language of the New Labour and particularly Tony Blair.

The fantastmatic belief that numbers are the only way to prove things was related to what Interviewee 8, a pioneer of the creative economy discourse, said about her intentions. She said that based on the artists “emotional cries

for the necessity to support culture” she realised it is necessary to bring “factual arguments, data, figures, something which is objective and can be used as a solid argument”, she further declared that she wanted to “build something that could support the cultural sector indirectly and create conditions for the state to better support the arts or open a bigger discussion about how to do it” (Interview 8). She further declared that it was a “pragmatic” way of thinking and that one must not forget the ultimate value of culture, because it is very easy to be simplified and overlooked for the economic arguments and “in that moment the substance is slipping out of your hands” (Interview 8). This shows, that even people, who believed that culture has a substantial intrinsic value still believed that “a solid argument” was presented in numbers and “objective” facts and therefore submitted to the ideology of positivist thinking and evaluation systems communicating value through figures, allowing for easy comparisons and quick assessments.

However, another pioneer of creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic, Interview 1, declared that “it is a complete utopia to try to calculate anything” but he still believed that “there was no alternative” and therefore even “activist groups” in cultural policy were interested in the data collection and quantification methods. He further stated that one of the things he feels guilty for was the way the discourse of creative industries developed in the Czech Republic. He said that he did not want his book *Creative Industries: Opportunity for New Economy*, the first book published in Czech on the theme, to be published for a second time, which is why he quit his relations with the IDU, who published his book in second edition without his approval. As he declared, he realised that “it is really nonsense and that the figures are all lies”.

One of the major contradictions that I have identified in the fantasmatic logics was that the interviewees were sceptical about the economic evaluation as well as aware that things could be too simplified and the actual intrinsic value of culture overlooked, but at the same time, they were either actively advocating for the creative economy discourse and promoting the monetary quantifications, or they kept quiet and accepted it as a fact and a necessary way to cope with given conditions, rather than one of many ways to deal with the issue of expressing cultural value. One of the two interviewed Directors of the IDU, Interview 6, said that although she “did not like the evaluations and think that they are not needed” she simultaneously believed that “everyone wants them and everybody wants to hear the

figures” and continued by declaring that “you can submit the numbers distorted, not distorted, interpreted... and they can be interpreted in many ways” (Interview 6). Instrumental in the debate about measuring the impact of culture, she believed that “this is not the way, but the society here as well as in the West is geared towards the evidence and the arguments, it is not possible to do it in culture, it really won’t get us anywhere” (Interview 6). Simultaneously, her work and research projects run under her leadership in the IDU were pioneering the establishment of the discourse.

Interview 21, a Prague based theatre director believed that the Directors of the IDU “intuitively know” that calculating value of arts and culture in numbers is a “necessary evil” [nutné zlo] which they must “get through”. This means that certain things regarding calculation of value were seen as inevitable, unavoidable, necessary, and accepted without resistance by some, particularly those in the high-level institutional roles and their meaning interpreted as instrumental to get funding. This was a widely spread argument, interviewees, who represented the cultural sector articulated such view in similar ways (Interview 21, 12, 22 and 13). Interview 21 further noted that “if they would not get through it, they might not get the European funding, for instance, or they would not be able to argue in a way that the other side that expects it understands it”. Here, we see that there was a certain tendency to submit to the “other side” meaning the funding bodies, rather than resist the demand and create a language that would be understandable and simultaneously represent the cultural and arts sector in a way that corresponds with its means of expression and values it promotes.

Interview 22, representing a visual arts organisation in Prague used a metaphor of a “fight that has been lost” and the impossibility to “convince people that arts and culture has value for its own sake”, he continued that “you are not able to use the quality of art or its indispensability in life as an argument, but you have to argue that tourists will come, that they will sleep in hotels etc.” He believed that the creative economy discourse was made up “out of necessity” (Interview 22) because there seemed to be no alternative. Interviewee 13, a Chair of a visual art association and an artist said that those institutions that wanted to survive had no other choice than to define themselves new, so there was nothing else left than to grasp the vocabulary of cultural industries and further continued that all cultural policy in city and state level has to be done according to the “Brussels dialectics” (Interview 13). Here again, we see that there is a reasoning that shows a

certain adoption of the given state of things, certain taken-for-grantedness and a conviction that there is no way around it.

A Ministry of Culture Officer noted that “it is fantastic to argue that culture has to be supported because it can’t support itself from its own income” but on the other hand “you have to be accountable to the voters, the population, the tax payers” and further believed that such argumentation is only acceptable for only “a few percent of cultural production”, because “very few people go to the galleries, very few people go to theatre” (Interview 27). The economic argumentation was therefore seen as a way to explain the value of culture to wider range of population. In contrast, an Official from Brno City Council and a former cultural activist believed that if the creative industries terminology and quantifications of value did not exist, “nothing would really happen and we would use different terminology” (Interview 29).

The ability of certain types of cultural events to draw the political attention, based on attendance numbers and a first-sight visible engagement, was a frustration strongly shared by interviewees from the field of visual arts. The then Chair of a visual arts professional association declared that the discourse of creative economy “generates problems” because it favours those, who present themselves as “creative industries” which adds what he called “political points” meaning adding to the political PR of individuals, politicians, businessmen and others. Other consequences led to the situation in which events with high attendance and visibility were given a priority over those, which communicated a critical content, but could not demonstrate a remarkable public engagement.

Another level of contradiction appeared in the interviewed subjects’ relation to the institutional structures. It has been showed how regardless of the subject’s disaffection to the quantification of cultural value, many of them submitted to such demands associated with the funding bodies. The following section shows how those, who represented the institutions and the state institutions themselves were perceived by the interviewed individuals.

5.3.2 The heavy “state bureaucracy” versus the agile private sector

In continuation of analysis of the language of common sense, where ideology has its strongest grip, the way interviewed subjects illustrated their perceptions of cultural policy system in countries of CEE was particularly revealing. Words such as “heavy”, “dusty”, “ludicrously expensive” were used when referring to the cultural policy system that “needed a reform”

(Interview 39), on the contrary, private sector or private-public partnerships and more entrepreneurial activities were presented through a healthy body related metaphors such as “healthy”, “agile”, “strong”, “doesn’t ossify”. Interview 39 referred to the creative economy policy approaches as aiming at the cultural sector that is “always changing”, talent is seen as a “big resource” and “it provides pathways for development for aspirational talented people” (Interview 39). From the point of view of Interviewee 39, what he understood as necessary was that the ecosystem “does not ossify, it is not frozen to some sort of reduced national, cultural proposition”, it seemed that he saw the modernisation of cultural policy and entrepreneurial reform of cultural sector as somehow a countermovement to a nationalist and conservative cultural institutions and policy strategies. This is interesting, especially if one considers that many Czechs understood the creative economy as a “return to traditions” and somehow associated the creative economy as an opportunity to a national or city revival and branding. Such contradictions and confusions were manifold and, in fact, diverting attention from the cultural content and meaning, which might but might not be motivated by nationalist thinking.

The following quote manifests the glorification of entrepreneurship and blurring the boundaries between business and non-profit activity, as seen by a consultant in creative economy from Britain. On the other hand, it shows that the interviewee condemned the existence of antagonistic positions in the cultural sector and presented them in an “either-or” rhetoric, a choice between the beatific and the horrific fantasy, where the beatific is a sweet spot between the aggressive commercial culture on one hand and inward facing cultural sector on the other:

I mean, in terms that generates active audiences, active participation, creating and making. And in turn, if you get the education mix right and skills mix right, you get a level of entrepreneurship. And you have a good regulatory landscape and you have this strong, hungry, domestic cultural market. So, it all flows, they all flow into one another. Otherwise, you just get this strangely anachronistic culture sector that is inward looking. Or you’ll get a more, on the one hand, you are going to get this vulgar... you will only have this kind of zealous commercially driven creative industries sector, which is all about advertising, revenue, and things on the other hand. So, there is a sweet spot where you can have it both ways, I think. And that is

what, I guess, what we kind of work to support and nurture (Interview 39).

One of the interviewed Directors of the IDU used similar vocabulary regarding the cultural policy and grant making systems in the Czech Republic, she said that the system is “cemented”, and administration “conserved” and was not adapting to new art forms. She believed that a small number of alternative art initiatives, such as Farm in the Cave theatre company should be supported “without thinking” because they work on an international level and travel abroad, on the other hand, theatres such as Prague City Theatres “should be forced into something more” in terms of their entrepreneurship and self-sufficiency, because they “have enough audience”, as she mentioned.

Relations between the government and the people in the creative sector were commented on by many interviewees, one of the contradictions involved in many people’s testimonies was that although the celebrated entrepreneurship and praised efficiency of private sector, many of them at the same time wanted the state to provide more support in terms of legal affairs and funding, to guarantee state strategies in cultural policy, but at the same time they condemned state control and believed that the employment conditions in state run institutions was killing innovativeness and was demotivating. Many of the Czech interviewees maintained beatific fantasies about state-organised policy frameworks that would guarantee support for culture and arts, and the relation between people and arts, because that way “the state actually reinforces itself” but at the same time they wanted to maintain the arts as a critical space, “an innovative laboratory, which opens questions, puts themes on the public debate agenda, which really helps cultural development” (Interview 2) . The same interviewee said that “the State sets the rules” but in the case of the Czech Republic “it does not set them enough, in terms of the proactive support in terms of having a policy and really realising it, not only just legislature, because I think we have some kind of a system of laws but they all have holes, there is not even a Law for Culture” (Interview 2). Many of the interviewees from the cultural sector wanted the State to develop a legal framework that would guarantee a mandatory state support of the cultural sector, but at the same time, they were against the government’s control over the management of cultural institutions. The reason why the interviewees wanted the State to set the “overarching spirit” for the cultural sector, rather than individual jurisdiction

for individual sectors, in terms of legislature and policy, because the local politicians in various Czech cities “do not know what to do” (Interview 2) .

A common fantasy among the Czech interviewees related to the authorities and their (in)capabilities was expressed through the belief that if the city, regional or state government applied the right steps and tools towards unlocking the potential of creative industries, their place would simply thrive. A British consultant and a writer (Interview 38), whose work significantly shaped the international creative economy discourse said, however, that the “UK is very unusual” and the CCI “are not booming in most countries”. He continued by saying that policies and government interventions are not going to make creative economy “suddenly happen” if it is not “booming” already, as it was in the UK in the 1990s. He further condemned the idea that countries can build it on what they think is “tremendous heritage and a tremendous culture”, which he said is a common misconception. In his view, crafts, for instance, was seen in many countries as a basis for the creative economy, but his idea was rather negative – “I say – No! No country has ever made any money out of craft, forget it, there are no examples, it will not work. (Interview 38)

Contrary to what many of my interviewees believed and why many consultants in creative economy were and still are being hired by national and city authorities, in his view the governments and authorities did not have a significant impact on creative economy, because he understood the concept as “business” rather than “culture” and that “government is crucial and can do some things but it should not start with government” (Interview 38). He believed that well developed creative industries already existed in the UK before the concept of CCI was created and therefore it was a common misconception around the world that other countries could be as successful as the UK. He mentioned that from his lecturing practice all over the world he saw that “most countries exaggerate their capacity to develop their own creative economy” either for “linguistic reasons” or “cultural reasons or because just doing business in the city is unbelievably difficult, “you can’t rent property, you can’t set up a company, you can’t export, there is corruption” (Interview 38). He further noted that

it is very tough for me because I am promoting the creative economy and I can’t turn around and say, guys, this is... (LAUGHTER) this is really hard and what you are doing is not going to work. And you are far too ambitious (Interview 38).

He commented on his conflicted position because many other consultants and creative economy experts “make their money out of academia, which is government-funded, or consultants whose main clients are government or government agencies.” or “are all in the British Council, they are all in this business of saying basically – this is a sort of government lead and supported activity” (Interview 38). The motivation of the experts’ advice to be addressing the governments, which were at the same time their biggest clients was evident in his answer.

Both among the Czech and the foreign experts was a widespread common-sense belief that the private sector is somehow healthier, more creative, more motivated than the public system. Often it came up that the private sector is always more efficient, which might be true, on the other hand, it is a widespread neoliberal ideological belief that efficiency and systems’ optimisation towards it is among the most important values and ultimately desirable status of things regardless of being just and inclusive. Some interviewees even believed that precarious conditions and competition related struggles are helping with generating original and innovative ideas. Beliefs such as “the necessity is the mother of invention, you know, you try new stuff when you need to”, held by the former Director of British Council in Prague (Interview 34) resembled a statement of the President Miloš Zeman from October 2020, that “artists have created their best works when they were hungry” as a reaction to the situation of crisis in the cultural sector during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The metaphor of a beggar, a somewhat precarious trope, who parasites on the society without contributing anything into it was a widespread fantasmatic belief, which proved that the economic language and instrumentalised views of culture and arts were a strategy to change such views. A foreign expert based in the UK also believed that also the ministries of culture were “usually marginalised and relatively unimportant and thrown a few financial crumbs” and these institutions were usually led by ministers, who are appointed largely not because of any particular skill they might have, but some party-political arrangement to keep opposition parties happy, which caused that these ministers were “very rarely really powerful” (Interview 40). He further reasoned that these ministers are often “ambitious” and use the Ministry of Culture as a step in-between before moving on to the economic departments that are perceived as the “main stage”. The economic argument, therefore, “based on prosperity, economic prosperity, based on political ideology which doesn’t anymore favour softer issues like

quality of life, or whatever except the economic terms” is deployed to persuade governments, who themselves had to adopt this language, because if we are talking only about culture, then “people’s eyes become shut to the possibilities”. This again, shows a strong ideological grip, which says that either one adopts the economic language as a strategy, or the decision makers are not willing to listen. Similar beliefs were held regarding what was seen as a problem of parasiting on the society, the interviewees believed that “culture remains as a weak domain” always “at the end of the tail” compared to other “powerful ministries in terms of the decisions of the Government” (Interview 21). These beliefs were accepted as a fact, as a common sense understanding of the weak position of culture and its institutions, instead of one of many possible scenarios within radical contingency of social relations.

A creative industries organiser from Zlín saw an opportunity for culture to “gain certain confidence” through its economic self-justification because it “always seemed to be a bit of an outsider and the society did not understand it as something that is important, but now when we are paying attention to it, everyone realises that culture itself generates money and it does not matter is it’s performing arts or design” (Interview 9). A consultant involved in the Government Office at the time of the interview justified her activity related to creative economy as “trying to get culture out of oblivion from the level of scumbags who get a few crumbs that are left from the budget to the dimension of being a key domain in a bigger whole and of bigger meaning, which has not only the artistic values, but also the economic values” (Interview 18). This is, of course a perfect example of biased thinking, based on gaining legitimacy through economic value, a typical capitalist ideological position.

She further believed that those, “who really work” understand that things have to have both economic and artistic value and that the “product has to be worn by someone, has to be exhibited somewhere or someone is supposed to buy it” (Interview 18). Values, such as critical interrogation of social relations and existing power dynamic of capitalist system, subversive function of art in generating a social and political change through building critical discourse, empathy and awareness through mediation of injustice and trauma of those who are invisible in the society, among many other vital roles of art and culture in the society, simply did not seem to occur worthy in understanding value of culture and arts. Those who were critical towards the economisation of value were condemned and demonised as hindering

beatific scenarios. Only what Interviewee 18 called “nice numbers” by which she meant economic indicators were worth serving as an argument for the state administration.

The beatific dimension of fantasy promising “a fullness-to-come once a named or implied obstacle is overcome” (Howarth and Griggs, 2015) here was the idea that arts and culture will gain more prominence, more money, more power and finally free itself from the imaginary, ideological notion of a parasite. The politics of assigning such meanings, however, were left unquestioned and this ideological notion was also attached to the act of complaining by those, who were not happy about the current situation in arts funding. For instance one of the two directors of the IDU said that operating according to the principles of profit-oriented sector in non-profit arts organisations has “only positive impact” on artistic and cultural practice and that “there are various organisations who know how to work that way and take it totally automatically, such as the BERG orchestra, which is completely self-sufficient and is not complaining about the way it is financed” (Interview 5) she added that many arts organisations are “forced to do it, because they have to find more money”, which did not occur as problematic.

The notion of a poor and hungry artist creating the most innovative works and praising the arts organisations which were not complaining about being forced to actively seek funding and generate self-sufficient income and mix the economic value with the aesthetic were largely spread beliefs of many interviewed participants. A Deputy Vice-Prime Minister at the time of the interview phrased his conviction as follows:

A Czech artist has to be poor as a church mouse [kostelní krysa] and if he is not, he will be pushed out by the others, right? He won't be accepted by the scene. Here, an artist immediately means a martyr. Which does not have to be like that, as you may well know from the Western UK context, for instance. This necessarily does not have to be true. Here, the poverty is at the same time something like a certificate of authenticity (Interview 30).

Surprisingly, similar opinions were somehow maintained not only by those in administrative positions, but also by some of the interviewed cultural managers, who had a strong reputation of lobbying and advocating for the arts. It was notable, that even people who worked in the independent cultural sector, such as Interviewee 23, believed that “who selects art as their profession, can't expect security, it is a choice they made”. Such beliefs show a strong ideological bias, which shows a deeply embedded

acceptance of precarity as something like a guarantee of productivity and authenticity. Interviewee 23 was harshly critical about the state institutions and their employment policies in a sense that the artists employed in the state or city PBOs “were not used to work like us, evenings, weekends”, she further said that she “would like the artists to have security, to get an employment contract, but employment contract for the rest of your life?!”. She seemed to be outraged by the fact that some actors in state institutions have permanent contracts and believed that in such conditions the art groups could not really prosper.

It was evident that, again, the Western neoliberal canon served as an unquestioned role model even for those, who were themselves precarious and worked tirelessly at evenings and weekends as a norm. Interviewee 23 was promoting precarious ways of contracting condemned by artists’ unions elsewhere, in fact short term contracts, which have been exhausting for many people working in cultural industries all over the world, the instability related to short term contracts and so on. She believed that the state institutions are “terribly inefficient in terms of the economic and organisational matters” but “another thing is the artistic” and believed that people, who have the security of a permanent employment contract are not interested in improving their skills, travelling internationally for residencies etc., “they are really not interested, they have their security and that’s enough for them, it is really sad, really sad, this is really a death of the art for me”. She maintained that the insecurity invokes “creativity and innovation” and that artists should never have a 100% security for the rest of their life.

The heavy ideological belief that having to work hard for making one’s living was motivational and was in fact helping artists to perform better was shared by several other interviewees, such as the Ministry of Culture Official (Interviewee 26), who believed that people who work for the state know that they will get their money, therefore they “don’t have to worry about what they produce”, which is “demotivating”. The constructed ideological common sense fantasy that anything that is secure necessarily implicates laziness was indeed echoed by many others, who held such views not only about artists but also the public officials, who were frequently blamed in a way that described them as lazy and incompetent, and through metaphors such as “wearing pyjamas and slippers” at work, “sitting there for 30 years” and “not knowing a single word in any foreign language” (Interview 10) or not wanting to change anything because they were “cosy in their situations” (Interview 35). Often, such pictures were directed towards women, never towards men

and connected to certain notions of “backwardness” in rhetoric deployed in favour of modernising, catching up with the West and adopting neoliberal reforms.

5.3.3 Predictability of the Future - Future without Public Funding

One of the researchers involved in the Mapping Projects by the IDU believed that “sooner or later” there will be some “crazy right-wing government” and public funding for culture was going to be cut like it was in Western Europe. Therefore, in preparation for this she saw a necessity for cultural organisations to learn how to generate their own income or engage with private donors (Interview 28). Although she was herself not a proponent of the budget cuts, she maintained that the development in CCE will unconditionally follow the path of the Western Europe as a matter of fact, a given reality rather than one of many possible future scenarios which are, according to post-structuralist ontology applied in this study, radically contingent.

Across the interviewees there was a prevalent belief that “to live from the idea that to support art without any data or arguments is just not sustainable” (Interview 5) based on what was evident at various levels in Europe. Not only predictions about unsustainable public funding but also beliefs that governments should pay more attention to creativity, because it will be the “most significant, central point of the debate about transformation of the society and economy in the upcoming years” (Interview 14) were held and rooted in a fantasmatic belief of the future being pre-determined and predictable rather than dependent on political engagement of people. Such beliefs show a rather ideological view of future in which innovation and technological progress plays a central role in transformation of the society. These beliefs, however, don’t refer to the radical contingency of social and political relations or, for instance, the mere fact that innovation might not necessarily be the most crucial phenomenon needed for transformation of the society.

The future transformation of the society is, of course, dependent on many factors and subjects, it can be imagined and negotiated among subjects and political actors differently following, for instance, ecological sustainability-driven politics or de-growth scenarios. Political agency is something that must not be forgot when thinking about future. In Foucauldian thought, power is relational and therefore, there is no such things as a pre-determination of future. Change is dependent on collective enactment of resistance and protest.

5.3.4 Hidden potential of places and people, fantasy of “a place to be”

Fantasmatic time related constructions were especially powerful, when the interviewees reasoned based on a latent potential or idealised visions of their cities becoming “a place to be” as the interviewed former Director of British Council in Prague framed it. The idea that there is a hidden potential, which can be unlocked was a typical and particularly powerful fantasmatic belief that was underpinning actions and advocacy for creative economy discourse throughout the interviews. Fantasmatic because it existed mainly in the minds of those who imagined it existing and it was driving decisions and behaviour, however chimeric a concept of a hidden potential can be.

Lacan’s notion of *jouissance* is again strongly present in such thinking. This is particularly because the notion of a hidden potential means that whilst the given situation remains the same and is not ideal, there is a hope for something better to happen once sufficient steps are taken. This hidden potential, however, has as many forms and manifestations in the imaginary realm as the number of subjects thinking about it. And even then, there can always be more things done, potential can be always developed better or differently and it will never feel like it’s fully used, never reach a fullness or completeness, because it is simply unthinkable that a place or a person does not have a further potential or that it’s been entirely exhausted.

The term “potential” [potenciál] appeared 57 times in 19 out of 31 interviews. The most used adjectives collocating to the word were “huge”, “big”, “economic” which shows that the understanding of a potential was usually based on a value for money and in terms of economic development. Especially people from outside Prague argued that their cities have a “substantial potential” like in Brno, where according to Interviewee 10 there were “a lot of students, start-ups, many creative people”, however, “the city just does not know how to value this” and believed that one of the reasons for that might have been because the officials involved at the local government level are closed up and don’t let anyone to “tell them how to do things, they won’t be able to read anything in English or German” (Interview 10). What he described was exactly a situation in which the public officials were blamed for not being educated or internationally informed enough to be able to realise that there was a potential and therefore develop it. Having someone to blame for an unfulfilled potential is of course, an important part of the self-transgressive enjoyment or *jouissance* as Lacan calls it.

A Zlín-based creative economy advocate, Interviewee 9, believed that creative industries were a strategy to drive economic development by the return to traditional crafts and design history of the city. She mentioned that thanks to the London based consultant Lia Ghilardi, they were “reassured” that the potential is still there. Evidently, she believed that if the right procedures are taken, there might be a success and the city will improve itself. The problem with this is, however, that since the potential is undefinable, it would be very difficult to then determine specific steps leading to it. The services, which consultancy companies offer to governments are, however, about developing a potential and consulting on the steps leading to its full development. The authority of British experts was indeed very convincing as has already been discussed in the social logics part above.

A notable rhetorical device was the contrast between the industrial production symbolised by the derogative metaphor of a “country of assembly lines” and the beatific, “country of high added value” standing behind the post-industrial, knowledge-based, creative industries, where according to Interview 8 the key selling points was the design, intellectual property licences and where the “rest of the world” would be “looking up towards Europe”. These two counterparts, the heavy machinery image versus the design, new, creative industries were a classic example, where the modern was distinguished from the old, and where the old was seen as a threat, a horrific fantasy versus the beatific promises of the “added value” (Interview 18).

Among the beatific fantasies were also certain attributes that were assigned to the creative industries, based on the stories of the “successful case studies and successful cities” disseminated by foreign experts. Or fantasies that thanks to the creative economy discourse, the Ministry of Culture will change its approach towards the non-profit independent initiatives and see them as “the core” of creative economy, and therefore worthy the investment of public funding, which was a well pronounced argument paired with a belief that nurturing creative economy was somehow linked to overall societal well-being. This relates to what the next section is going to explore – the positive attributes of people who worked in the CCI.

5.3.5 Inherent positive attributes of creative industries professionals and practitioners

As has been briefly mentioned in the social logics of the creative economy discourse, among the most common beatific fantasies was the assumption that those, who work in creative industries have a positive influence on

society and public space. The interviewed Czech participants thought that the creative industries “have a specific benefit” for the society, which is “in the public interest, such as inventiveness, innovativeness, social responsibility, creativity” and overall generating “added value”, a belief held by a person, who was one of the founding members of Creative Prague initiative. He continued by stating that “the sector is not afraid to take risks” and “at the same time it is very sensitive to its own environment, in which it does its business” (Interview 2). Those, who promoted the creative economy discourse believed into a broader involvement of creative industries entrepreneurs in their surroundings paired with a “maximum focus on new ways of working, new solutions [...] looking over the horizon and not making profit from well-established methods” (Interview 2). People working in the creative industries were often associated with taking care of not only physical development of the locality, but also the social development where the creative entrepreneurs “not only want to make money, but also to contribute something to the society” (Interview 2).

Others, who promoted the discourse of creative economy locally, such as Interviewee 7, who started a creative incubator in Pilsen, believed that in the cities the industries can “help new things to start” or “create a place, where people will live well” (Interview 7). This is a rather problematic fantasmatic construct, since its concept of what it means “to live well” does not engage in a debate of structural reforms of social policies, labour policies, housing policies, homelessness and various forms of social exclusion, structural racism, systematic destruction of nature and so on, which must be considered when thinking and talking about living well.

An interviewee from Olomouc said that “creative industries have a huge outreach into the public space and simply, to those people it really matters what will it be like to live in Olomouc” and were “strongly attached to the locality” unlike large international corporations that care only about their own business without being interested in what is going on in the city’s public space. He also believed that creative workers had special attributes assigned by an explicitly expressed doubt that “plumbers” would have the same consciousness and sensitivity towards the public space and urban environment as “advertising companies”, “architects”, “theatre people who want the public space to be alive” and overall linked these workers with the notion of “care” (Interview 31). The problem with this view is the judgemental gaze towards working class people such as plumbers as well as the

unsubstantiated assumption that people who work in creative industries care about their environment.

The same interviewee, however, noted that from the perspective of politicians, it is very difficult to justify the support of CCI to voters who are at the edge of mere survival. He said that it is “complicated and difficult” and “that’s why the concept is so hard to grasp” (Interview 31) . He knew that the “architects, the graphic designers, the theatre people, visual art people” belong to a “similar group of people, who somehow match in terms of thinking, mentality, and economy”, but there is “a different sort of people, who do not belong there and to whom it is very difficult to explain the concept of CCI”. He then noted that

maybe it does not even makes sense to be trying, because and this again relates to the macro-things, but if we are talking about the non-existent middle class, if we are all terribly poor, if a salary does not come for two months and we have nothing to eat, because we only have savings for 2 months and not 10 years, it kind of does not makes sense (Interview 31) .

This means, that even people, who were the most enthusiastic about creative economy and its discourse knew that it is exclusionary in some ways, that it does not appeal to people, who suffer from poverty and that it does not make sense to try to get them on board with creative economy (which however does not mean to give up artistic and creative practice), because it simply does not respond to their needs, such as reasonable income and secure working conditions. This issue is of course also the case in those countries that were taken as role models, however, in the Czech Republic the problems related to instability and overall material conditions being more precarious than in wealthy countries (the average salary being drastically lower than in the neighbouring countries, whilst the rents in the capital cities might be comparable). Nevertheless, as has been already mentioned above, the role model countries were still mentioned as somehow setting the scene and providing an image of desired state of things, although some interviewees did not believe we could ever catch up. To complete the picture with what they were actually aspiring to, the following part focuses on the common bias around cultural superiority of the Anglo-American cultures perceived both by the interviewed Czechs as well as the foreign experts.

5.3.6 Cultural Superiority of the Anglo-American Cultures

Following Stuart Hall's work in cultural studies, I have found his essay *West and the Rest* particularly relevant alongside his interpretation of Gramsci, whose work on hegemony, common sense and historic bloc has been essential for my theoretical framework. Hall declared the "West" a "historical, not a geographical construct" (1992) and further elaborated on the fact that the construct of the West allowed to "characterise and classify societies into different categories - i.e. "western," "non-western" and that the West is also

an image or a set of images which condenses a number of different characteristics into one picture. It calls up in our mind's eye - it represents in verbal and visual language - a composite picture of what different societies, cultures, peoples, and places are like. It functions as part of a language, a 'system of representation' (I say 'system' because it doesn't stand on its own, but works in conjunction with other images and ideas with which it forms a set: for example, 'western' = urban = developed; or 'non-western' = non-industrial = rural = agricultural = under-developed.) (p. 21)

Hall further continued that the concept of the West also provided a standard or a model of comparison, where "non-western societies can accordingly be said to be 'close to' or 'far away from' or 'catching up with' the West" and further, the construct of the West "provides criteria of evaluation against which other societies are ranked and around which powerful positive and negative feelings cluster, it produces a certain kind of knowledge about a subject and certain attitudes towards it. In short, it functions as an ideology" (1992, p. 186). For Hall, the construct of the West was "a tool to think with" which set "a certain structure of thought and knowledge in motion" (Hall 1992, p. 186). It is particularly relevant for the fantasmatic logics to use Hall's theory of the West as an ideological construct, because we are concerned where and how does the ideology 'grip' subjects.

Throughout the interviews, it has been evident that unconscious ideological bias was on both sides – the Czech as well as the foreign consultants. For instance, a UK based consultant, Interviewee 36 understood the relation between people from the post-communist countries and the developed West in the early 1990s as people from the CEE visiting the UK or France and "realizing the world worked considerably differently" and that "it was a revelation" (Interview 36). By "the world" he of course meant the Western world, which shows a significantly ideologically formed common sense about what constitutes the world. Revelation of course, is not a neutral term here, it

means that there was a process of uncovering something that might have been unknown before, a change towards understanding “the world”. A London based writer, whose work on creative economy has been influential globally explicitly called the US “by far away, the most innovative creative country in the world by a long, long way”. Britain, in his view, had a “huge potential and correctly so for its creative industries” thanks to its 400 years’ tradition “since Shakespeare started to write”, believed that “we in the UK do well in everything” and “cities such as “London, Manchester are the most creative places in the world” because there were people who are the best in the world (Interview 37).

The quote shows a rather revealing example of a bias in terms of cultural superiority of the Anglo-American cultures. He continued by disclosing his beliefs that the UK is by far the best and is ahead of everyone else in terms of its creative industries although of course, there is no reason to think that way, if one considers other indicators of creativity than economic success. He believed that thanks to “iconic people” such as the Beatles, the West End Theatre, young British artists, Tate Modern, National Gallery, British museum, Vivian Westwood, J. K. Rowling, Britain “has got the reputation for being funky” (Interview 37). And therefore, according to him, the UK got also “famous for the model” of creative industries whilst “Tony Blair was very charismatic. Chris Smith had the idea and Tony said, yeah, great, let’s go with it. And they invented the labels” (Interview 37). The recognition of the imbalances between accumulation of wealth interlinked with the colonial history of Britain and various extractivist violence of foreign investment in Global South, simply did not occur to the interviewed experts and a rather biased view around Britain’s wealth and success was presented, justified by somewhat naturally talented population, the right kind of cultural education and affinity towards taking risks and experimentation.

Simultaneously, many people in the Czech Republic spoke about the UK, its cultural policies, its creative industries with a great deal of admiration and their beliefs signified that they saw the UK among the most advanced. For instance one of the two interviewed Directors at the IDU said that “if Brits are not going to achieve this, no one will” (Interview 6) when she spoke about quantification of value of culture. She further believed that in terms of developing the creative economy, when British experts were hired, like in the case of Estonia, “it got all rolling on its own!”. Interview 1 spoke about the Anglo-Saxon cultural policy as “more modern, more up-to-date cultural policy trends” in contrast with the “traditional” German one. He further reasoned

about the creative economy discourse as “sexy” because it flipped the narrative against seeing culture and arts as “consuming” public budgets and instead enabling them to say that they were contributing to the public budgets instead. Interview 9 based in Zlín mentioned that they were “going abroad to follow the foreign models” because “experience was in England, not here” (Interview 9).

There was an evident misconception that people abroad or those, who were in contact with “the abroad”, as it is commonly said, “knew what was going on” more or in contrast to those in the Czech Republic. It is of course true that people, who are interconnected internationally might have a better knowledge how policies work in other countries and can share experience or draw on comparisons, on the other hand, it does not necessarily mean that their knowledge, judgement or sensitivity towards local environment is better or superior or that they know how to apply such knowledge in a way that is adequate to particular local context.

Interviewee 8, who worked for the Open Society Foundation and later became a key figure in integrating the concept of creative economy and related vocabulary in cultural policy documents said that the foundation was organising meetings of all country coordinators from Central and Eastern Europe, where “they invited various people from Europe and America, to tell us what is going on”. She added that networks were interconnected in Europe at the time and that people who sat in the Open Society Board were also at the board of EFAH, the predecessor of Culture Action Europe, which has been “recongised by the EU as one of the most unique resources for expertise in cultural policy” in close contact with the decision makers of the European Union. The wording of the sentence which says that people from Europe (by which it was meant the Western part of Europe) and America were invited to tell the coordinators from CEE what was going on shows clearly an adopted bias that people from the Western part of the world know more than those from the rest of the world. Similarly, Interviewee 3 commented that she never really thought about why and how the discourse of creative economy emerged in the Czech Republic, but that concrete people, who were “in contact with overseas knew what was going on” brought the “know-how” and in collaboration with the IDU started bringing the knowledge to the country. She believed that this process was not facilitated by the Ministry of Culture, but rather, depended on those “solitaires of the 90s” by whom she meant influential cultural managers, who travelled abroad and were leading figures of the sector.

An interesting fantasmatic belief was evident in the way several interviewees related to the public administration of Western countries and which was largely praising their governments as knowing what they want and acting strategically in contrast to the incompetent, random and corrupted Czech public administration officials and politicians. In line with the Western-supremacist thinking, policy approaches that were already happening in the West were sometimes automatically taken for granted and adopted in the CEE. A former programme manager in the Aspen Institute, Interviewee 14 declared that the debate about interconnection of business and culture was already taking place in the West and therefore her and her colleagues at Aspen decided to take it as a theme they wanted to focus on (Interview 14). The quote explicitly says that the Aspen Institute in Prague was motivated to include discussions concerning creative economy because such debate was “already taking place in the West”, meaning the West was perceived as a trend setter.

Another British consultant mentioned that “lots of stuff tends to happen” around the presidency of European Council,

when countries have that, they think, oh my god, what are we going to do? Oh, let's do the creative industries, because that is easy to talk about. And they seem modern, there is a bit of that going on as well. That's what Estonia is doing at the moment (Interview 39).

By which he meant that many countries use the rhetoric of creative economy to show that they are up to date with what is going on in the West. A former Director of British Council mentioned that although he “wouldn't say Czech Republic was sorts of lagging behind, some of the places were, there seemed to be some more interesting things happening, say in the Baltics, you know, quite a lot of interesting stuff happening in Latvia, Estonia” (Interview 34), which means that some countries were perceived as scratching on the surface of creative economy, whereas some others as actually having policy reforms going on.

An Estonian creative economy expert and a former Under Secretary of Culture stated that “informally all the EU countries that maybe are a slightly behind in thinking about creative industries” wanted him to come and share experience because as he said, they were “some of the best students” and “structurally we did excellent” and that the “Estonian model itself was very inspiring” (Interview 33). The use of the metaphor of a school, namely the use of the term “best students” shows that the implementation of creative economy was a learning process, a process in which knowledge was passed

on from teachers to students, rather than a process of mutual exchange or an authentic development of policy based on local needs.

Some of the interviewees blamed the Czech “system” for not being able to produce as much successful knowledge production as the US or the UK, which have many more patented inventions and “Nobel Prize winners clustered around Oxford, and they are really on a different level than we can imagine here” and thought that the key was the “settings of the system” (Interview 13). Others thought that creative industries in the Czech Republic were behind in “team work”, “language skills” and “management” and although we produce great artists, it is not enough of them (Interview 27).

Others believed that the Anglo-Saxon cultural production was far in front of us because of overall technical production that raised the benchmark for all national cultural institutions that were not able to keep up or produce similarly technically advanced works and therefore losing in the competition with British Royal Opera or the Metropolitan Opera that were live streamed all over the world and perhaps providing even “a better experience” on screen than the Czech National Theatre in reality (Interview 8). An interviewed Ministry Official believed that we can never be as good as the Anglo-Saxon countries because of the “historical development”, “number of inhabitants” and “language”.

Nevertheless, from the point of view of foreign consultants, the lagging of proper implementation of creative economy discourse in CCE countries was seen as a “misunderstanding”, as Interviewee 40 put it, but “very present in most state and regional and local policy documents, ever present but misunderstood and not studied, used in a very rhetorical way, terminology is thrown out, which is quite fashionable”.

As has been shown throughout this sub-chapter, a lot of bias and fantasmatic beliefs around the superiority of Anglo-Saxon cultures was internalised by the interviewed people. Although the foreign interviewees based in Britain did not necessarily think that way, they were aware of economic differences between the two countries and knew that it would be very difficult for what some of the Czech interviewees called “catch up” meaning, get on the same level of strength of the creative economy. It has to be noted that what was narrated through a journey, or a race and Czech Republic being delayed by historical development, was, in fact an issue of inequality in economic terms. Notably, what the foreign interviewees called a “misunderstanding” was in fact an attempt to starting a discourse of change, which however did not have a real underpinning.

5.4 Conclusions of Chapter 5

In this chapter, I aimed at articulating the logics of critical explanation to my major research question in three separated sub-sections adopting the Glynos and Howarth's (2008) framework.

Starting my analysis with a focus on the social logics (5.1), I explored social practices as they were described by the agents of the discourse of creative economy in the Czech Republic and the foreign experts, who were involved in establishing and shaping the discourse. Together with the social practices, I also focused on the self-identifications of the social actors involved in the discourse (5.1), which showed the perceived identities of creative economy actors. There seemed to be a mismatch between the views of foreign experts and those, who carried the discourse in the Czech Republic. Whilst the foreign experts believed that the motivations and identities were mainly self-interest of young creative industries professionals or researchers, the Czechs, who promoted the discourse characterised the actors more as motivated by public good, wanting to help culture and arts and described them with terms such as visionaries, idealists, enthusiasts and local patriots. Those, who saw the discourse more critically believed that those, who were involved were mostly people who had their own professional interests in research, policymaking, funding consultations etc.

The social practices as described by the Czech interviewees revolved around educative, explanatory and enlightening activities (5.1.1), where the main aim was to make others understand the discursive narratives as adopted from abroad, rather than a sensitive, participatory enquiry for defining the new language and meaning of new terminology among the local discourse agents and realities. This confirms the critique of many scholars e.g. Schlesinger (2016), Peck (2005) who criticised the toolkit approach, where a pre-determined approach designed by foreign consultants was followed in diverse locations leading to uniform thinking about what constitutes our understanding of culture (Flew 2012, p. 4). Contrary to what Prince (2009) described as "policy assemblage" by policy experts and field professionals, the Czech case revealed that although policy making might be a subject to local negotiations, the process preceding the policy agenda was rather one-directional passage of knowledge from foreign experts to the Czech policy agents. Although there was not a pre-defined script for policy transfer, the knowledge transfer was not a reciprocal, two-way process where local policy actors would be able to critically reflect aspects of the creative economy discourse that wouldn't fit into the Czech context, simply

because these experts were perceived as more knowledgeable and holding a position of giving a blueprint for policy making based on their international experience. Simultaneously, the research study confirms Prince's (2009) thesis about creative industries policies being rather transnational policies which are created thanks to transnational infrastructure of conferences, research institutes and networks of scholars and policy consultants.

Some of these practices were described in metaphors of bodily practices such as massaging, opening eyes or pouring 'enlightenment' into others' heads. The role of the IDU was significant in driving the social practices, as well as local policy actors, who were key in spreading the discourse by organising events, running mapping activities, lobbying local governments. Significant part of the social practices was to bring people from various cultural and creative industries together, those, to whom it previously did not occur they could have shared policy related interests. The activities that were bringing people together were mainly events related to the Mapping Projects of IDU, conferences, symposia and various public discussions organised around the support of creative economy.

Foreign experts, as they were called by most Czech interviewees, played an important role in the process of the creative economy discourse diffusion as they were celebrated as role models with authority, in some cases also as celebrities, and appreciated for their rhetorical skills, being able to clearly articulate and master public speaking (5.1.2). It was revealed that the Czech interviewees also used the experts as a leverage in practices of convincing local governments and raising the profile of organised events. The foreign experts articulated their activities as mostly one-off workshops, speaking, lecturing and consulting, many of them believed their Czech counterparts needed constant mentoring and a fundamental cultural policy reform, including setting up intermediary organisations between the cultural and creative sector and the state to bypass the bureaucratic procedures in public administration and develop creative economy. The participation of foreign experts was, as evident in the political logics (5.2.6) supported and sometimes facilitated by British Council and followed activities of foreign initiatives established after 1989 when the CEE region opened up to learning from the West, confirming the thesis of Tafel-Viia et al (2015) and Rindzevičiūtė et al (2015) and the case of policy change in Lithuania, who wrote about the convergence of the global strategy of British Council promoting creative industries and the self-interest driven activities of local

actors working together with trans-national organisations such as Open Society Fund.

As I have shown in the Political logics (5.2), among the Czech interviewees, there was a strong leaning towards making the case for arts and culture by people, who believed culture and arts are invaluable for the society and therefore deserve appropriate legal and economic environment.

Strengthening the position of culture at the national level by presenting “solid arguments” to the funding bodies, politicians and ‘technocrats’ seemed to be the strategy to make the case. Regardless of this strategy being criticised by cultural policy scholars as a result of neoliberal politics and the turn towards New Public Management (for instance Belfiore 2012, 2009, 2004; McGuigan 2005, 2009, Schlesinger 2016, O’Connor 2016), the notion of value quantification, as a core part of the creative economy discourse, happened to be accepted by various cultural professionals as a persuasion strategy, as discussed in the section Fantasmatic logics (5.3). These interviewees, however, did not necessarily signed up for support of the discourse of creative economy, neither they were particularly enthusiastic about the actual concept of CCI, but used it as an instrument to achieve their goals. These arguments were based on success story narratives shared by foreign experts, including those who worked closely with Chris Smith and who took part in discursive events organised by local initiatives, sometimes supported by the British Council as per the social logics (5.1.2).

The circumstances of which those, who used the creative economy discourse instrumentally such as art professionals and IDU associated figures, were for example the fact that the actors perceived a lack of funding in the field of their activity, a precarious position of culture within the public sphere and consequentially, the difficulty they faced in explaining and justifying their work to politicians and funders, who did not seem to understand culture at all. These circumstances can be illustrated for example on what I have identified as the ‘beggar’s tin cup’ metaphor, as introduced in the Fantasmatic Logics, where the cultural sector’s and the Ministry of Culture’s positions were seen as precarious and therefore in need of help in strengthening their positions. As a result of the post-communist economic and political transformations, particularly the strong right-wing governments that introduced budget cuts for culture, there seemed to be an internalised belief among the interviewed cultural professionals that there was no alternative to the economistic proving of the public importance of arts and culture practicing what Gray (2002) would call “policy attachment”

Beyond this deterministic view of the reality, however, there might be other possibilities that remain hidden to those, who gave up on seeking them out or even using their creative skills to draft, invent, construct them. My goal in this thesis has been to understand where the proliferation of the discursive elements took place and therefore understanding the hopelessness and resignation to argue with more non-quantifiable impact of arts on the society is an important finding. It proves that if some of the interviewed people saw a chance to use different types of arguments and be heard, they would not opt for the creative economy discourse and language.

Answering the major research question *Why and how has creative economy discourse emerged in the cultural policy field in the Czech Republic?*, the Fantasmatic Logics in its sub-chapter investigated the ideological grip of the creative economy discourse through several entry points, based on the analysis of arguments and metaphors. First, there seemed to be a firm belief that economic indicators are the only way to prove the merit of culture and arts. Second, many people from both the Czech and both foreign interviewees seemed to maintain a neoliberal view of State versus the private sector, where the private sector was framed in positive, effective, desirable, modern way against the State which was seen as heavy, dusty and old-fashioned, creating dichotomies as a political strategy, described by Mouffe (1998) in the Return of the Political. Many interviewees, who argued in favour of creative economy discourse adopted a belief that the future will develop in the same way as it did on the West regardless of the radical contingency of social realities and potential alternatives imagined and built by robust political action. Based on the success stories they learned from those who promoted creative economy, they believed that there was a hidden potential in their localities or people that needed to be unlocked and, creative economy discourse was promising to do so by relatively simple ways, regardless of considerations situated in economic and political realities and needs of these countries and people. This seems to be a clear adoption of the rhetoric popular authors such as Howkins, Florida and Landry, deploy in order to appeal on urban and national governments as discussed on p. 22 as part of the Literature review of this thesis.

Chapter 6

Conclusion: Understanding the discourse of creative economy and its dissemination in the Czech Republic between 1999–2017

This thesis has explored the processes and logics of the spreading of the discourse of creative economy in the Czech Republic. It has done so by post-structuralist discourse analysis (PDA) approach addressing the question: *Why and how has creative economy discourse emerged in the cultural policy field in the Czech Republic?* Specifically, it has looked at the way the discourse existed in national and city-based policy documents and analysis of the argumentation structures of policy actors such as cultural workers, national and local government officials, policy consultants and researchers, referring to the sub-questions:

Q1 How do the policy actors frame the creative economy discourse?

Q2 How does the discourse exist within the cultural policy documents in the Czech Republic?

Q3 What are the logics of critical explanation of the existence of creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic?

In order to answer these questions this thesis has followed a series of interrelated steps, following the PDA structure as outlined by Glynos and Howarth (2007): Problematisation, Retroduction, Logics, Articulation, Critique and is structured as such.

Problematisation (Chapter 1 and 2 – Introduction and Literature Review) has reviewed literature in the international (2.2) and Czech (2.3) environment that showed the main existing narratives of the discourse and their problematic sides. It showed that within the Czech literature, critical approaches were limited and focused mainly on highlighting marketisation and economisation of cultural sector. Most of the grey literature on creative economy was published by the IDU, which proved to be the most influential promoter of the discourse itself in the early stages of the discourse diffusion, specifically between the years 2006-2015. Retroduction (Chapter 4 - Sources and Framing) drew on thematic analysis of policy documents and interviews with Czech interviewees and showed the main lines of framing the creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic and answered Q1 *How*

do the policy actors frame the creative economy discourse? As per the analysis, the definitions used in the policy documents (4.1.1) were mostly derivatives of definitions used in the DCMS Mapping Documents (2001) while the interviewees framed their understanding of creative economy as a new approach to arts and culture within a larger ecosystem of profit-oriented and non-profit activities (4.1.2.1), visualised often through the con-centric diagram as developed by David Throsby and used later on by the UK Work Foundation (2008). Proving that the Czech policy documents directly adopted a 1:1 definition from the UK and visual elements such as the con-centric circle diagram is one of the main findings of this thesis highlighting how much UK sources proliferated into cultural policies of other countries.

Another important part of this thesis contribution outlined in Chapter 4 lies in showing how the framing of the creative economy discourse through the acknowledgements of “added value” was understood differently by people with different goals and values but worked as a common rhetoric strategy. This proves that the creative economy discursive elements functioned as a tool and were used instrumentally, serving different purposes and the interpretation of their meaning varied. In the retroductive process of outlining tentative hypotheses of the discourse spreading, I also focused on the moments in which the interviewees encountered the creative economy discourse. The sources of knowledge and moments varied (4.1.2) but were almost in all cases linked to the opportunities that emerged after the country got access to the European Commission’s exchange programmes and transnational networks to which the subjects had access after the Czech Republic joined the EU in 2004. Answering the Q2 *How does the discourse exist within cultural policy documents in the Czech Republic*, as evident in detail from Chapter 4, the discourse existed mostly by acknowledgements of the quantified economic impacts of arts and culture (citations from EU focused reports such as KEA were used in the national policy documents, before the figures existed in the Czech Republic), by established plans for further mapping, research and measurement of financial value, such as the Satellite Account of Culture established in 2009 and also by planned negotiations and joined programmes together with the Ministry of Industry and Trade. In the city-based policy documents, the main narratives revolved around establishing roles of a coordinator and supporting the initiation of creative hubs and research activities (4.1.3.2).

Constructing the final conclusions, I consider the main explanatory answers to Q3 *What are the logics of critical explanation of the existence of creative*

economy discourse in the Czech Republic? to be found in Chapter 5 Logics of Critical Explanation.

This chapter provided a detailed account on the social, political and fantasmatic logics of the studied discourse. In the following final section, I synthesise main points from this thesis and articulate critique of the main argumentative structures that were used throughout the logics in order to answer the major research question: *Why and how has creative economy discourse emerged in the cultural policy field in the Czech Republic?*

6.1 Articulation and Critique

After introducing the logics of creative economy discourse in the previous chapter and moving closer to answering the major research question *Why and how has creative economy discourse emerged in the cultural policy field in the Czech Republic?* I will answer it through arguments that were underpinning the creative economy discourse in the Czech Republic. These were:

1. Argumentation based on making the case for culture and arts funding by adopting the language of accountability and measurable impact as well as the idea of interrelations between non-profit art and commercial activities;
2. Innovations in traditional industries with the use of artistic input or cultural heritage techniques and skills to create high added-value products and contribute to economic growth;
3. To advocate for policies on city level that would retain talent and stimulate job opportunities for creative industries workforce and cultivate public space; and
4. To publicly contest and modernise policymaking and funding distribution systems in a former post-communist country towards evidence based, transparent, deliberative and participatory policymaking.

Majority of participants presented examples of precarious work, instability and disillusionment in a language that reflected constant struggling. Many of the interviewed participants, who argued for using the economic reasoning as an advocacy tool gave examples of constantly operating in improvised

conditions for years and four interviewees described the conditions leading to the cultural professionals finding themselves exhausted and tired of insecurity even after 25 years of working in well-established arts institutions, confirming what many academics have described as the main characteristics of working in the arts (for instance Kunst 2012, O'Brien 2016, McRobbie 2015).

Such views were widely shared throughout the interviewed professionals and artists or freelancers who worked for independent cultural non-profit organisations. One of the two Directors of the IDU believed that "there is so little money that everyone feels to be at the level of amateurs, rather than professionals" and although the precarious work testimonies described by many resemble the situation in other countries, the working conditions were seen as incomparable with the Western Europe. Not only in cultural sector, but the entire Czech labour market was and still is, at the time of writing, very precarious in comparison with other countries. According to the report of the Czech Moravian Confederation of Trade Unions, "thirty years after the start of the economic transformation, the level of hourly wage is less than a third of the level of our developed neighbours" and that maintaining the current increase rates, it would take 80 years to "catch up with salaries of our closest neighbours" (ČMKOS 2017).

The presented testimonies as well as comparative studies of working conditions in the Czech labour market show that the circumstances in which cultural workers found themselves played an important role in adopting the creative economy discourse. On the other hand, as some interviewees argued the notion of politicians "not understanding culture at all" is a difficult premise to validate. Although it certainly demonstrates the common frustrations of cultural professionals and their communication with politicians, which may justify a plea for change, it may not necessarily mean that politicians did not "understand" culture, but for example that they had different priorities. Adopting language that politicians and funding bodies would supposedly understand, does not guarantee success or change in policy agenda. For example, one of the interviewed theatre directors declared, it is not guaranteed that such strategy would work with everyone and according to her experience, professionals in cultural sector found themselves in an awkward situation when they "slowly learned to argue this way" over the years and happened to be confronted by a critique from the field as well as politicians themselves questioning their motivations to use economistic arguments. Such consequences led either to a certain

disillusionment through the cultural actors' impression that even though they tried to speak the data-driven and evidence showing language, nothing has really changed. These are new findings that validate Gray's (2002) critical analysis of potential pitfalls of policy attachment in which cultural sectors proactively demonstrate their utility in economic terms, seeking to align with policy priorities to access resources and enhance their political significance.

As has been mentioned throughout the thesis, those, who profited were the existing film industry and already established large festivals with high attendance numbers, which managed to successfully lobby the Ministry resulting in a new grant programme for festivals. For majority of the interviewees, this rhetorical strategy worked in theory, rather than having an impact on their lived reality, in fact some of them believed that these developments shifted the funds elsewhere from other grant programmes. A strong critique towards the creative economy discourse that was maintained by both two interviewed visual arts professionals and none of the interviewed cultural professionals, whose work was anchored in cultural initiatives had a consistently positive relation to the discourse of creative economy. They either distanced themselves from it as shown in the Political Logics (5.2), criticised it explicitly or had a rather ambivalent relationship to it and used it instrumentally.

According to some interviewees the discourse of creative economy brought a redefinition of the perspective on the cultural sector and what it includes as per Flew's (2012) analysis of creative industries, but at the time of my field work the changes following a real implementation policy measures were perceived as rather minimal. The older generation of my interviewees believed that public funding must be allocated to culture as a public service like education or health care, not as an industrial sector, which seemed to be taken for granted. A potential change in perspective in the future did not seem to have occurred to the older generation of my Czech interviewees, although they were aware that in other countries, such as Britain, the discourse has been shifting the public funding structure. The younger generation, however, anticipated further cuts in public funding and suggested that entrepreneurial approach will be necessary as a pre-determined future scenario. These were interviewees, who were all involved in policymaking and policy consultancy and believed that the consequences of the creative economy discourse were dependent on individual people, such as politicians or policy makers, some of them admitted that if the discourse took a wrong turn, it would be a potential disaster (meaning that

the funding of non-profitable arts could be cut). The fact that such risks were admitted by those who actively promoted the creative economy discourse seemed to be showing their reluctance to deal with possible consequences that might be causing a transformation of the public funding and changing public funding conditions of cultural activities and actors towards more neoliberal political realities.

A particularly unique view on the consequences of creative economy discourse was mentioned by a visual art professional and a Director of a foundation for contemporary art in Prague, who has been active in the scene since the 1990s. In his view, the language of creative economy has shaped the language of art itself and led to the withdrawal of artistic statement as a variable in the funding mechanisms and debates. The interviewee believed that in a struggle for funding the only way for artists was to become part of the creative economy discourse, adopt its language and “pretend” that it is art that it’s at stake, whilst in fact the actual variables are indicators of economic growth and development.

The widely perceived precarious position of culture was also part of the political logics and the argument of those, who were interested in innovations in industrial sectors by interconnecting them with crafts and artistic input rather than the goal of cultural workers, who wanted to establish suitable legal and economic environment for arts and culture. According to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), “arguers can explicitly invoke an audience’s known values in support of a claim for action, and ground their argument in these known commitments, as part of a rhetorically effective strategy” p. 46). Similarly to those, whose goal was to advocate for culture and the arts and used the discourse of creative economy instrumentally, others used the promise of improving culture and arts’ position to persuade the wider cultural sector to identify with the CCI concept and agree on joining other, market-oriented sectors in a common endeavour of defining and implementing policies that would presumably lead to better economic prosperity of the ‘whole’, competitiveness and national economic growth.

These participants were part of a working group for the CCI that operated at the Government Office between 2014 - 2018 under the leadership of the Vice Prime Minister Bělobrádek. Their value and goal premises had very little to do with establishing legal and economic environment for culture and arts based on a belief that the state has an obligation to support these activities for their intrinsic value. Instead, as one of the interviewees

declared, their goal was “development in general” or making the Czech Republic “a country of high added value” as they called it.

In the Fantasmatic Logics (5.3) I explored in detail the idea of “development in general” and how it implies a particular linear view of development and presumes that there is a common consensus about what ‘development’ means. Certainly, the concept of development within the neoliberal capitalist worldview imagines a different scenario than development under a political alternative, for instance a radical socialist one. This argument was based on trans-political rhetoric strategies of modernisation as deployed in the Third Way politics and in their appeal on consensus (for more detailed account on this Mouffe 1998, Fairclough 2000 and many others). Here, the claim for support of the creative economy discourse and particularly the CCI was based on the potential to generate high economic value, but simultaneously lift the country’s international reputation, away from the notions of industrial society embodied in the “country of assembly lines” metaphor.

The value premise within this argument was enveloped in the belief that there was an economic potential in people’s artistic craft skills, and culture in the broad sense of tradition and relation to matter that could improve the national reputation by producing high added value cultural products based on “perfection” and “craftsmanship” and that this could earn the Czech Republic respect from other countries. The problem with this argument was that it contained an implicit unsubstantiated assumption that the Czech Republic was not yet respected by others and a series of steps and reforms needed to be done to earn such respect. It was the connection between prestige, aesthetics, quality and monetary value that under this argument was the means to achieve the goal of economic development. As part of this argument, the main point of connecting art and industries was based on a financial value of the final product and respect was to be earned through economic success.

As presented in the Political Logics (5.2), the notion of interconnection seemed to be the most important power dynamic within the discourse, strongly relating to the political logics of the Third Way as described and analysed by Fairclough (2002). Evaluating the argument that promoting the development of creative economy, specifically the industry innovation through artistic creativity, can lead to making the Czech Republic “a country of high added value” and improve its international reputation and economic competitiveness is, in principle true, if this judgement is based on the logic of applying success stories from around the world, such as the UK etc.

However, the success of the UK's creative economy has to be seen as a combination of factors from which a significant one is the country's wealth and proliferation of English language around the world gained through its colonial history. Rather than acknowledging the impact of colonialism on today's reality and the existence of historically gained white privilege, the interviewees believed that the success of Britain being a "global brand" was thanks to centuries of sustained combination of the literary tradition and an entrepreneurial spirit.

The English language and Britain's cultural capital paired with the long history of entanglement between culture entrepreneurship and arts in Britain were setting very different conditions for the development of creative economy than in the CEE countries, where the history of the relation between culture and entrepreneurship followed a different trajectory. In the history of the Czech Republic culture has had a strong political, ideological function. In the country's 19th century, due to the country's subordination to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, cultural activities were a primary driver of nation building and practices oriented at political independence at the time (Rambousek 1926, Ludvová 2009). The ideological, political function of culture has been further reinforced by the experience of four decades of totalitarian regime. In those years, culture and arts were used as a political tool of both dissent and the communist propaganda. Merging arts and commerce in the Czech Republic therefore does not have such a continuous historical tradition as in Britain. Using the creative economy success stories to make the Czech Republic a "country of high added value" is complicated by the historical and cultural complexities and existing economic situation.

Czech economy was at the time of research data collection according to Křeček (2018) largely oriented at production of sub-supplies and parts, which were exported to other countries and a "low added value" of this type of production was linked to a number of economic problems (Křeček 2018). In 2017 when the data collection for this thesis was conducted, the average hourly rate in the Czech Republic was 10,1 EUR, four times less than in Luxemburg and Denmark, three times less than France and Germany and two times less than Italy and Spain (Křeček 2018). Křeček explained the low wages by linking them to the structure of Czech economy, which according to him was created by foreign investment that after the 1989 enabled a fast transformation of the country's economy. The key sectors of economy, however, are not owned by Czechs, which leads to a large drain of capital out of the country. He further declared that in terms of GDP, the Czech

Republic was one of the worst in the entire EU. According to him, the foreign capital very rarely invests into development and innovations, which relate to high added value and in the Czech Republic, there were more frequent investments into factory production, based on cheap and qualified workforce.

The premise that the Czech Republic was a country of assembly lines was a true premise deployed by Martin Cikánek (2011), one of the main propagators of the creative economy discourse and played an important role in the fantasmatic logics. It seemed to be reinforcing the belief that there was a hidden potential that could be unlocked when the right steps are taken.

The creative economy discourse was offering successful scenarios and strategies, some of the interviewed participants believed that investment into creative industries is part of the means to achieve the goal of changing the situation as per literature and grey studies written by popular and widely cited authors Howkins (2007), Florida (2002) and Landry (2000). Although the argument of “high added value” was primarily focusing on national level, a variant of the same argument was also used on the city level in a smaller scale and in more concrete terms.

The goal of developing urban areas outside Prague, in which several of my interviewees were based was a strong argument when finding answers to understanding why has the creative economy discourse proliferated in the Czech Republic. In line with urban regeneration theories deployed by popular consultants, such as Charles Landry’s concept of creative city (2000), Richard Florida’s creative class theory (2002) Markusen’s and Gadwa’s creative placemaking (2010), many of those I interviewed were convinced that the CCI can help their cities flourish. Despite critical remarks in the academic literature denoting the creative industry and creative city growth predictions being “fundamentally weak” and based on “fuzzy notions of creative class, innovation and cluster processes and benefits” (Evans 2009), many of my interviewees saw the creative economy discourse “opening up” the cities’ potential. As explained in the fantasmatic logics, the reasons presented here were mostly reliant on the perception of lack and a fantasy of fulfilment, when certain strategies are adopted.

Those interviewees, whose desired future scenario was the development of the urban environment in which they lived, seemed to have a strong belief and trust in the CCI’s beneficial effects and linked the concept to a wider agenda of urban development, including cultivation of public space, starting new things, use of old buildings and preventing the departure of professionals in creative industries to Prague or abroad. The interviewees in

the regional cities Zlín, Olomouc, Plzeň and Brno wanted to create more job opportunities and a cultivated, cultural environment aesthetically affecting the public. In both Zlín and Olomouc existed initiatives associated with universities that called themselves Creative Cluster, collaborated with the IDU in carrying the CCI mapping activity and wanted to continue the support for CCI on the local level, because they believed that CCI are sectors that can “accelerate” the region or the city economically, which they believed could not be done by big administrative buildings or big manufacturing corporation.

They believed that the city government had a duty to create good conditions, or at least not to prevent creative entrepreneurs from functioning well, because otherwise the city was risking that creative people would move to Prague because they could not find a satisfactory career development opportunities. To prevent “brain drain” the city had to create such conditions that there would be a reason not to leave. They seemed to have an affective attachment to the cities where they lived and despite precarious working conditions in the CCI as described by many critical voices (for instance Kunst 2012, O’Brien 2016, McRobbie 2015) were hoping that the urban areas and local job markets can flourish if more professionals working in the CCI stay in the cities. They were dissatisfied by how the Government Office was centralising their agenda on Prague, which motivated them to foster creative economy discourse locally.

As presented in the Fantasmatic Logics, many of my interviewees believed that individuals working in the CCI had the ability or interest in cultivating the environment, often linking them with notions of care. Others maintained that the creative economy discourse helped to modernise the perspectives of local authorities, because they began to perceive the urban environment in a new perspective and the discourse was seen as helping local authorities to open their eyes, see the city as a place of creativity and pay more attention to public space. Notions of “opening up the view” were widely present in the testimonies and as discussed in the previous parts, framing the discourse in a language of openness, interconnection, innovation as opposed to whatever was perceived as old ways of conduct, mainly bureaucratic and incompetent local government, played an important role in the diffusion of the discourse of creative economy in the country.

In Chapter 2 – Literature review, I have problematised the urban regeneration efforts linked to the concept of creative city and creative class and demonstrated how such strategies have been contested in various

cases around the world through engaging with critical academic literature. The critique has been mostly based on governments resorting into soft strategies and bypassing or neglecting the more profound changes that would address social and economic inequality, exclusionary workforce dominated by the privileged white social classes, displacement and growing gentrification of what is often called regenerated areas (e.g. Peck 2005, O'Brien 2014). Notably, although the urban regeneration might lead to what the interviewees regarded as “cultivated public space”, on the other hand, displacement, poverty, social exclusion and various forms of injustice cannot be ignored and would have to be addressed alongside the local governments’ attention to development of small businesses in creative industries.

The goals, which the interviewed city actors were aiming to achieve by advocating for the support of CCI, for instance, improved cultural infrastructure and well-maintained public space, stopping the migration of young people and professionals to bigger cities were, however, reacting to problems largely related to the processes of new socio-spatial differentiation and its impact on quality of life in Czech mid-size and small cities. The problems they wanted to target were mostly the processes which were not present (or studied) under socialism, including suburbanisation (Ouředníček 2007; Špačková and Ouředníček 2012), inner city revitalisation (Temelová 2007), gentrification (Sýkora 2005), homelessness (Temelová et al. 2015), counterurbanisation (Šimon 2012), and reurbanisation (Ouředníček, Šimon, and Kopečná 2015).

Various forms of social and spatial inequalities might negatively influence quality of life in specific locations and discriminate particular social groups, mainly individuals and families with lower social and spatial mobility (Ouředníček & Temelová 2011), marginalisation of the Roma population has been considered the most urgent process of the socio-spatial differentiation in the Czech Republic (Novák et al. 2007). Novák et al (2007) argue that 47 % of the processes that impacted the socio-spatial differentiation in the Czech Republic have been socio-economic and demographical changes during the transformational period. Economic transformations such as disintegration of local industrial and agricultural entities, spatially unequal foreign investment and gradual trans-national integration of the economy and increasing competition caused the polarisation between the dynamic metropolitan areas and slow development in peripheries or smaller cities and villages (Novák et al. 2007). Notably, according to Novák et al (2007),

although the most intense drivers of socio-spatial differentiation were caused by economic transformation, these processes are understood as “inevitable and natural changes, which according to most experts are not necessary to be regulated significantly” (p. 37).

In the testimonies of the interviewed professionals, the general economic transformation, spatial inequality and its impact on quality of life as well as the regulatory agency of the national and local governments towards the economic transformations did not seem to be acknowledged. Instead, support of the CCI was suggested as a potential remedy to the negative impacts of socio-spatial differentiation, depopulation and its negative impacts on availability of work and public and private services in the mid-size cities.

Maier and Franke (2017) argued that socio-spatial differentiation, increasing inequality and its negative impacts on quality of life have been related to the nation-wide urban development policies, which allowed for rapid development of Prague and its surrounding areas and slow development or gradually worsening quality of life in the rest of the country. According to Macešková et al. (2009), such developments should be addressed by the European social cohesion policies as well as nation-wide social and labour policies in close collaboration with particular regions, cities, towns and villages. So far, social policies were according to Macešková et al. (2009) focused on individuals, rather than spatial aspect of social exclusion, regional policies are not sufficiently differentiated for the small-scale differences and needs of specific localities, spatial inequalities are also insufficiently reflected in public policies. According to Ouředníček (2007) socio-spatial differentiation has been also caused by privatisation of property, which has enabled the public institutions to “wash their hands” from dealing with housing problems. Confronting the logics of creative economy discourse diffusion with these views, adopting policies that support creative economy as ways of improving quality of life in Czech cities are not a guarantee of improvement and have to be accompanied with robust socio-spatial policies and re-consideration of the laissez-faire approach to economic development. Czech human geographers have argued that application of Western theoretical concepts in Czech urban context is problematic, since certain aspects of the Czech cities, such as the outer reaches, have no parallel in the Western cities (Ouředníček 2016). Also, smaller cities in the CEE countries are very different from capitals and as Ouředníček and Pospíšilová (2016) declared, these spatial units have been on the margins of post-socialist urban research.

Cultivation of the public space and improving the cities' national and international reputation through creative economy was one of the goals of the participants based in smaller cities. For a rather more specific account on these issues, a deeper debate would be necessary about what a "good reputation" means and what is the role of tourist attractions, lively cultural infrastructure and high percentage of creative class as a city's workforce.

One of the two interviewed visual art professionals commented on such initiatives by pointing out that in the efforts leading to concrete application of the creative economy in urban areas, such as in Prague, there is a lack of attention to the problems of the existing initiatives and organisations, where large number of professionals have been pushing the field for years and years without any support and instead the discourse focuses on constantly creating new things and new projects. Similarly, other interviewees remained sceptical about large creative centres. One such case was, for instance, Creative Centre in Brno, planned in a heritage building of a former prison, which polarised the public into the supporters and those, who were against it. The issue with such centres was described by several interviewees as having a problem with finding the right type of content/programme and activities, which, in my opinion is symptomatic to the problematic grouping of activities with often conflicting missions and principles. This is somehow in contradiction to the urban regeneration theorists, who propagated investments into creative industries infrastructure, hubs and development projects such as Florida and Landry.

The unintended consequences of this argument might be, based on critical literature (Rich 2019) further neglecting urban urgencies and continuing socio-spatial differentiation. To realise the desired outcomes regarding improving the job market and urban environment in mid-size Czech cities, specific type of tools should be defined for specific areas, where support of small local businesses, emerging entrepreneurs in crafts and agriculture, including those from creative industries might be one policy tool among many others. As Macešková et al. (2009) argued, a reconceptualisation of a nation-wide politics of regional development, which according to the author "as a consequence of the EU's cohesion policy has lost its significance and is rather empty of content" is necessary together with the national government's acknowledgement of variable level of quality of life throughout the country and addressing them properly within nation-wide politics of healthcare, public transport, entrepreneurship support as well as social policy and adopt measures to dedicate necessary attention to the inhabited

areas in less geographically accessible areas of the country (differentiated public transport subsidy, specific basic public services provision, selective support of small businesses in traditional industries etc.). Developing cultural and creative industries might be one of many ways, how to support a rather small number of people who live in smaller cities and towns and it would be mistaken to think that creative economy can solve problems of socio-spatial differentiation, confirming Peck's (2009) critical thesis about creative class and reforms that seem radically social but rather confirm to maintaining the status quo and target interests of elites.

As evident throughout the thesis, the support for creative economy was often coming from dissatisfaction with status quo of various subjects – funding and working conditions in arts and culture, the structure of national economy and supposedly low reputation, the lack of creative jobs and dilapidated public space in regional cities etc. As was shown through the Political Logics (5.2), an important motivational factor for creative economy discourse was the dissatisfaction with policymaking and political cultures in the country and in local governments. One of the underlying assigned qualities of creative industries individuals was the “cultivation of environment”. It must be noted that the expression “environment” is hardly used in the Czech language in reference to environmental or ecological matters, it is rather used to refer to the public space in general, but also in the meaning of what English language terms “milieu”, a social environment or, in Foucault's terms, a *dispositif* (Foucault 1980, p. 202).

There has been a strong sense of frustration with the way the environment was, which was often referred to as in need of ‘cultivation’ of the processes of public spending, policy agenda setting, but also in terms of cultivation of the physical public space. Those, who have been involved in the facilitation of the creative economy discourse were in favour of seeking some form of evidence-based policymaking, which they saw as a sign of modernisation in policymaking and a potential remedy to prevalent corruption, clientelism and authoritarian manners on all levels of governance. There seemed to be a shared belief among the discursive formation in the Czech Republic that evidence-based approaches imply more transparency and democratic governance. The frequently spelled out complaints were directed towards politicians and authorities' representatives, which they saw largely as incompetent, having insufficient knowledge about the real issues in cultural sector and being put in their positions politically. The frustration was embedded in the absence of data and evidence to back up decisions as well

as absence of a dialogue between the public (as seen by the cultural professionals) and both local and national authorities, who were seen to be making decisions based on their own judgement, which was seen as not transparent enough, undemocratic and unjust. The circumstances on which the support for creative economy discourse was deployed under this argument were articulated and shared across the spectrum of my interviewees. This particular aim to change the bad policymaking seemed to be closely linked to the Lacanian concept of *jouissance*, the desire to change and fulfil something that is missing, in this case the lack of trustworthiness of policy authorities (I discuss this concept more in detail in *Fantasmatic logics* in Chapter 5).

A substantial part of the political logics was the aim of the younger generation of policy actors to separate themselves from the past which was associated with corruption scandals and misconduct due to lack of legal and economic support structures in the cultural sector. After seeing the evidence-based Anglo-Saxon cultural policy approaches, mediated through the creative economy discourse, it seemed to be the right thing to do in order to make public spending in the field of culture more transparent. One of my interviewees named the situation in the early 1990s as a “complete policy vacuum”, meaning that a public dialogue in policy agenda setting and funds allocation did not exist and therefore politicians could not be held accountable for their decisions and actions (or inaction). The reason for missing cultural policy in the 1990s and perceived lack of structural conditions for public support of culture and arts was mostly the stigma cultural policy was carrying from the days of bolshevism. The discourse of creative economy was then seen as having helped with the emancipation of the notion of cultural policy and its purification after the year 2000.

This relates to IDU’s Mapping Projects that were seen as creating cross-disciplinary connections and conversations of those, who had never met before. The Mapping Projects enabled gatherings of various stakeholders and opened a series of public round tables to discuss policy approaches across the CCI, often perceived as for the first time and therefore enabled a form of public deliberation on a wide range of topics, thanks to the all-encompassing, flexible nature of the concept. In that sense, creative economy discourse was a proxy to starting a dialogue with the local and national authorities not only about cultural policy but public policy in general.

Similarly, one of the major researchers at the IDU said that the main point of doing the Mapping Projects was to map the needs and find out what the

sectors needed to improve the existing conditions. The creative industries mapping exercise was therefore on one way a proxy to a change in policymaking through research of concrete needs of the sectors as well as brining stakeholders together. It is, however, important to mention that even before the Mapping Projects started, the activity around creating the Blueprint for More Efficient Support of the Arts in 2007 – 2013 (MKČR) was a new way of participatory policymaking and it was the first time that a policy document was made in collaboration with the cultural sector actors rather than internally at the Ministry of Culture. In some views and regional cities, people, who were pushing the agenda of creative economy were simultaneously driving a form of public contestation and opposition¹⁴ to the existing regimes of public policy.

The creative economy discourse was seen as embodying certain qualities such as knowledge, openness, transparency, sharing, quality, research and innovation and people, who worked in CCI were seen as innovators and trendsetters of cultural development just like the theatres in the 60s. This perspective is valuable, because it demonstrates that the discursive elements of creative economy were used as means to achieve policy change, but simultaneously, not all intermediaries completely 'bought into it' and used it instrumentally, similarly to those, who used the rhetoric of economic reasoning as means to make the case for culture and arts. My analysis throughout this thesis revealed that some of those, who facilitated the creative economy discourse with the goal to achieve deliberative and a more transparent policy process were in fact in favour of some features of the existing cultural policy framework, such as the existence of state funding and a state run network of institutions (although for the neoliberals this represented the last remnant of socialism to be eliminated) but wanted to fix some of its problematic parts. Besides problems with missing data to ground decisions, funding injustices and the lack of dialogue across the sector and public institutions, they also believed that the relevance of underground culture was somehow losing against the new creative industries that better reflected contemporary society and were more open to the widest groups of society.

¹⁴ As noted in the Chapter 4, this is the first cultural policy document in which the term „creative industry“ is mentioned thanks to its „growing importance“. This document was also mentioned by Interviewee 1 that it has been a game changer in the creative economy discourse.

Although the discourse of creative economy was perceived as linking the market-oriented and non-profit fields and potentially carrying significant risks, such as gentrification and social exclusion, these interviewees believed that some form of balance, or, in political terms, a Third Way, could be achieved and were not against merging political adversaries. Everyone agreed that they did not want to lead the cultural institutions in the traditional, often conservative and elitist way and wanted to somehow modernise the cultural sector, but the political frontier was drawn exactly between those, who still wanted to maintain the strong state funded institutions and thought that it would be dangerous to get out of this model and those, who preferred more neoliberal cultural sector based on large amounts of private funding and more Anglo-Saxon policy model that they considered de-politicised.

Direct political control over institutions funded by public resources is specific to the funding systems which do not have an arm's length model of public funding, therefore although not entirely unique for the Czech Republic, it is specific for certain funding systems. Most interviewees, however, were not calling for any drastic neoliberal reforms embodied in less state power and a transformation of public institutions to private ones, but rather for what they perceived as democratisation, modernisation and diversification of income streams in cultural institutions by making the state or city public benefit institutions more entrepreneurial or seeking private funding from donors and overall pushing the large institutions to generate more income themselves rather than receiving a lump sum depending on political will.

Critically evaluating if the proliferation of creative economy discourse can lead to more deliberative and transparent policy process, the context of the social and political practices, in which it took place must be considered. If, in principle, the discourse could lead to more democratic policymaking is depending on whether a substantial dialogue was established and whether the actual governments were open to engage in such dialogue and, as Fairclough (2000) identifies, whether the public consultations led to action instead of serving as mere managerial and promotional processes. In the case of IDU, although the aims seemed to be sincere around bringing people together, mapping their needs, galvanizing collaborations and mobilizing their participation in cultural policy process, many interviewed cultural professionals remained sceptical about the real change and impact.

The idea that the endeavour of brining professionals to consensus proved as challenging and rather impossible and, as many interviews revealed, they often faced resistance from the local governments, who preferred to make

decisions without the communities and therefore the results of public consultations were not implemented. This is not to say, however, that any form of public contestation or assembly cannot lead to political changes and it is necessary to distinguish between assembly as a form of “an inherent act of resistance against the lack of care that a given regime provides to these bodies” Staal (2017) and forms of public consultation organised by governments or their institutions to legitimise their governance without a clear intention to integrate the presented demands. As evident from the study, the forms of public meetings organised as part of the IDU seemed to have a rather partisan character, since the leaders or their close collaborators were simultaneously openly critical of the Ministry’s practices, and aiming at certain changes by involving particular type of experts, although they were, in fact, part of the Ministry’s structure as a PBI and therefore directly subordinated to the Ministry’s power hierarchies and could not in fact change anything except for giving advice or produce written reports.

The circumstances in which the interviewees found themselves need to be considered. Instances of nepotism, authoritarian decision-making, corruption scandals have been widespread and articulated in reports of non-governmental organisations, such as Transparency International (2020), but also academic literature, for instance (Ágh 2013, 2016; Klíma 2015, 2016, 2020; Hale 2015, Hanley 2016, Rupnik and Zielonka 2013, among others). Klíma 2020 writes that “post-communism constitutes a distinct political system in the sense that the determining role in the formation of new democratic regimes in the 1990s was played by informal networks and the informal side of politics” (p. xiv).

Klíma provides a detailed analysis of how post-communist informal networks or informal politics have affected, subverted and seized relevant parties, which he refers to as “party capture”, and through them also the main pillars of the political system, identified as a form of “state capture”. According to Klíma (2020), not only political parties were subjugated but consequently also the executive and legislative power, the judiciary, public prosecution service, police and public media. At the root of the frustrating circumstances declared by my interviewees was, what Klíma (2020) terms ‘clientelism’. According to Klíma, an extreme, large-scale clientelism led to the systemic privatisation of public decision-making by informal and non-transparent networks, which according to him also helps to explain “the electoral

turbulence over the last two decades, but mainly the overall tendency of democratic backsliding in the Czech Republic and other CEE countries”.

Those who used the creative economy discourse as an instrument to change policymaking in the country were building on a true premise based on the political practices in CEE countries after the fall of communist regimes. Therefore, the creative economy discourse, proclaimed as operating on managerial and business principles, supposedly accountability, auditing and evaluation, efficiency, evidence-based policy, reciprocity, all promoted by the rhetoric of modernisation of New Labour, as analysed by Fairclough (2000) would in principle seem to be a reasonable argument and an instrument of change towards a more transparent mode of operation. The intended consequences were the social practices of accountability, transparency and expert and evidence-driven policymaking. However, the systemic clientelism, as described by Klíma seemed to be a problem deeply embedded in the public infrastructure, which, I would argue would require more radical changes to the operational modes of the entire political system.

The unintended consequences, however, are potential transformations in terms of neoliberal public management practices and instrumentalisation of arts activities, increasing pressure on the publicly funded arts institutions in terms of generating their own income and new stress on the measurement of the arts' impacts in clear and quantifiable ways – which characterises, what Belfiore (2004) termed “audit society” that has proved “a tough challenge for the sector” in the UK.

In this concluding part, I aimed to summarise the findings presented through the thesis and articulate its contribution. As has been evident from the analysis, the answer to the question *Why and how has creative economy discourse emerged in the cultural policy field in the Czech Republic?* is multi-layered and entangled in the social, political and fantasmatic logics of creative economy policy discourse. These include personal motivations and interests of discourse agents, peculiarities of working in cultural sector, precarious working conditions and funding in cultural sector and overall status of neoliberalisation of cultural policy in the country. There were, however, structural conditions such as economic inequalities between countries and fantasmatic imaginary of development under the ideological grip of neoliberal capitalism and cultural hegemony of the Anglo-American cultures that keep serving as a role model for many cultural practitioners around the world.

6.2 Final points and original contribution

The original contribution of this thesis lies in its conceptual framework in which I approached creative economy as discourse rather than economy in a transactional sense or as policy applied in practice. Applying a discourse theory in a study of creative economy has not been done before and it allowed me to study the subject before any concrete policy implications took place, understand the origins of the discourse and its initial forms as well as motivations, circumstances and rationale of people, who pioneered it, shared the initial knowledge and pushed it forward in the earliest phases of the process of policy agenda setting.

The study of the Czech case demonstrates how the initial phase of creative economy discourse spreading implied great variability in understanding new terminology and different interpretations of its meaning which allowed people with different goals, values and agendas to adopt the same language, create a sense of common ground and put forward a potential for collective negotiation of policy change. The implications for policy scholars are that the moment in which novel discourses in cultural policy enter a field might generate terminological confusion that for a certain time obstructs clear understanding of political agendas. This is evident from the analysis in the second section of Chapter – 5 – Political logics (5.2).

The previous chapters have shown that although most of the interviewed cultural workers disagreed with economisation of culture, they nevertheless adopted the conviction that justifications of public spending must inevitably follow the neoliberal capitalist logic and put economic impact on the forefront. Therefore, they adopted and promoted creative economy discourse as a language and a tool to articulate cultural activities hoping to strengthen their case for public funding and/or improve the process of policymaking in general by pushing governments to more accountability through measurable impacts and evidence-based policy process that they associated with creative economy discourse. The analysis also revealed that if circumstances in which cultural actors found themselves were different, namely the precarious realities of arts funding such as lack of overall amount of public money dedicated to the arts sector and lack of transparency in funding related decision-making, many of them would not be promoting the discourse of creative economy. They regarded it as merely instrumental in public funding advocacy and change rather than politically sound and in line with their values.

The cultural actors associated creative economy with the practice of cultural policy in the Anglo-Saxon countries, which they regarded as a more developed, culturally advanced role model and inevitable part of the process of "catching up with the West". The thesis reveals how the involvement of English-speaking experts functioned as a persuasive element for the post-communist country policy actors and that the prestige of bringing policy approaches from "the West" appealed to them to the point that they used their participation as a leverage in negotiations with local politicians. The perceived cultural capital of the Anglo-Saxon cultural policy makers, consultants and experts had played an important role in spreading the discourse as well as internationalising the cultural policymaking by inviting foreign experts to take part in research and local cultural policy planning.

The arguments outlined above explain why the interviewed subjects adopted the discourse of creative economy, but this thesis contributes to the cultural policy research field also with understanding of the motivations and circumstances in which the interviewed subjects found themselves. The thesis presents how the lack of funding, precarious working conditions as well as frustration over the policy process, nepotism and lacking transparency in public funding served as main drivers of those, who promoted the discourse and how these were connected to what could be at times seen as a resignation to resist the neoliberal approach to cultural policy. Another important factor was the beatification of creative industries workers, their perceived moral compass and relations to notions of caring for public space and overall beneficial impact on communities. These views were maintained by some of the strongest supporters of the discourse without actually having sufficient evidence at hand.

The Czech case demonstrates that cultural actors in a country with a historical trauma of totalitarian communist government adopted what they considered trans-political policy approaches embedded in the creative economy, focusing on evidence and fact-based policy discourse to avoid politicisation of cultural policy and culture. Politicised cultural policy was perceived as a risk due to the history of ideologically charged cultural policy and institutional culture under decades of communist government. The managerial approach to public services such as value quantification and quantified impact were seen as a way of staying somewhat apolitical, data driven and evidence based and this appealed to those, who wanted to disconnect from the country's communist past and prevent politicisation. This

of course even though staying apolitical in governmental policymaking is contradictory.

6.3 Limitations and Future Research

As a final remark of this thesis, I would like to acknowledge several limitations and suggest future research. I have identified several limitations of different kind. First, it has to be considered my fieldwork and data include available information until the year 2017. Since then a lot of new developments in creative economy discourse have taken place. However, due to limited time possibilities, I was not able to follow up and update my data with new information such as new policy documents or interviews with new important discourse agents. I believe the findings in this thesis are, however, still valuable, since the questions are directed particularly at the early stages of the discourse diffusion (why and how the discourse proliferated).

It would be insightful to update my research data with new policy documents that have emerged from activities related to creative economy at the Ministry of Culture and include the latest cultural policy document *National Cultural Policy for the years 2021-2025* issued by the Ministry of Culture in 2021. It could be, also interesting to do follow up interviews and understand, how the interviewees related to the creative economy discourse after the COVID-19 pandemic, which has exposed many precarious aspects of creative labour (related to freelance, project-based work, depending on social interactions).

Another set of limitations comes from my professional background in non-profit arts and related positionality and unconscious biases. I have been working as an organiser in non-profit arts for the past 10 years and my views have been significantly shaped by this experience. To mitigate this, I have done my best to approach my research in a reflexive way, questioning my own beliefs throughout to limit projecting my subjective political views onto the interviews.

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List of Abbreviations

CCI - Cultural and Creative Industries

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

CEE - Central and Eastern Europe

CR - Czech Republic

DCMS - Department of Culture Media and Sport

IDU - Institute of Arts - Theatre Institute

MKČR - Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic

PDA - Post-structuralist Discourse Analysis

PBO - Public Benefit Organisation

TAČR - Technological Agency of the Czech Republic

UTB - University of Tomáš Baťa

Appendix A

List of policy documents

Blueprint of Cultural Policy in the CR - Strategy for efficient State Support of Culture, (Konceptce kulturní politiky v ČR - Strategie účinnější státní podpory kultury) Ministry of Culture, 1999

Cultural Policy (Kulturní politika), Ministry of Culture, 2001

Blueprint for More Efficient Support of the Arts in 2007 – 2013 (Konceptce účinnější podpory umění na léta 2007–2013), Ministry of Culture, 2006

Blueprint of a more effective operation of the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic in relation to abroad for the years 2013-2018 (Konceptce účinnějšího působení Ministerstva kultury České republiky ve vztahu k zahraničí na léta 2013 – 2018), Ministry of Culture, 2013

Integrated Strategy of Support of Culture Until the Year 2020 (Integrated Strategy of Support of Culture Until the Year 2020), Ministry of Culture, 2015

Blueprint of Support of the Arts in the Czech Republic for the years 2015 – 2020 (Konceptce podpory umění v České republice na léta 2015–2020), Ministry of Culture, 2015

National Cultural Policy of the Czech Republic 2015 – 2020 (Státní kulturní politika České Republiky na léta 2015-2020), Ministry of Culture, 2015

Strategic Plan of the City of Olomouc, (Strategický plán města Olomouce), City of Olomouc, Department of policy and development, 2017

Blueprint for Cultural Policy of the Capital City of Prague 2017 – 2021, (Konceptce kulturní politiky HMP 2017-2021), City of Prague 2017

Strategic plan for culture and creative industries of the city of Brno, (Strategie kultury a kreativních odvětví města Brna), City of Brno, Department of Culture, 2018

Blueprint for the development of culture for the years 2009 – 2019, (Program rozvoje kultury na léta 2009 – 2019), City of Plzeň, 2009

Strategic plan for development of the city of Zlín until the year 2020, (Strategie rozvoje statutárního města Zlína do roku 2020) City of Zlín, University of Tomáš Baťa, 2012

Appendix B

List of Interviews

B.1 Pilot study – November 2016 – 3 interviews, Czech Republic

- Two cultural policy consultants and colleagues (interviewed separately), specialists in public cultural policy, who at the time worked for the city authority of the city of Prague, the Institute of Planning and Development, and who at the time were leaders of the planning phase of the Prague cultural strategy for the upcoming 5 years
- A former principal investigator of the IDU research project, author of the first book ever published in the Czech Republic about creative industries, who at the time was a managing director of one of the major Czech orchestras

B.2 Round 1 – January 2017 – 8 interviews, Czech Republic

- A public officer from the Department of Culture from Prague City Council
- A public officer from the City of Prague Project Management Department
- Dean of the Faculty of Multi-Media Communications and also the Chair of a new Creative Cluster in a mid-sized city called Zlín (Eastern part of the country, 75 000 inhabitants)
- An art historian and a former consultant in cultural management, not working in cultural policy or art management field any more, active mainly in the 1990s – 2010
- Director of IDU, 20 years of experience in cultural policy, worked for years at the Ministry of Culture as a Head of Department of Arts
- Head of the Arts Institute Department of IDU and the Principal Investigator of the two long-term research projects focused on creative industries
- A cultural policy consultant, Head of Arts Department at the Soros Foundation in 1990s – 2003, influential opinion maker and close collaborator of the Arts Institute Department of IDU, advisor of Ministry of Culture
- A founding member of a newly established creative incubator in Plzeň (mid-sized city at the West of the country, 100 000 inhabitants), within the framework of European Capital of Culture 2015, also a collaborator

of Arts Institute Theatre Institute, involved in the creative industries mapping project (2011 – 2015)

B.3 Round 2 – April 2017 – 10 interviews, Czech Republic

- A theatre director, a Head of the Association of independent theatres
- A former leader of the Creative Placemaking programme at the Aspen Institute Prague, promoting the concept of creative placemaking
- Head of an Association of Fine Artists
- Head of the project of a Creative Centre in Brno and a public officer in the cultural department of the city hall
- Freelance cultural manager and consultant in creative economy, active in creative industries mapping and establishing a creative incubator in Moravia
- Head of the Association of writers, a writer and editor of a major publishing house in the country
- A founding member of the Digital Economy Institute which promotes the concept of creative industries alongside the concept of so-called digital economy
- A former director of the National Theatre, involved in projects of the IDU as a writer and speaker at conferences
- An author of several publications about creative industries, director at the Technological Agency of the Government of the Czech Republic
- A theatre director, a member of various committees, chair of the Association of the professional theatres

B.4 Round 3 – May 2017 - 10 interviews, Czech Republic

- A director of the Centre for Contemporary Art
- A cultural manager, theatre director, former artistic director of the Plzeň 2015 European Capital of Culture
- A public officer at the Ministry of Culture, involved in the creative industries agenda
- A cultural manager of an orchestra, recommended and presented as a successful case of a well-functioning arts organisation
- A public officer at the Ministry, leader of the creative industries agenda
- A public officer at the Ministry of Culture, involved in the Open Method of Coordination group activities
- The key investigator in the IDU project, an author of a study of methods for calculating economic impact of arts and culture

- A public officer in Brno, Department of Culture, former cultural and public space development activist
- A key member of the government's Committee for Research and Development, department of Creative and Cultural Industries
- A founding member and leader of the Creative Olomouc initiative

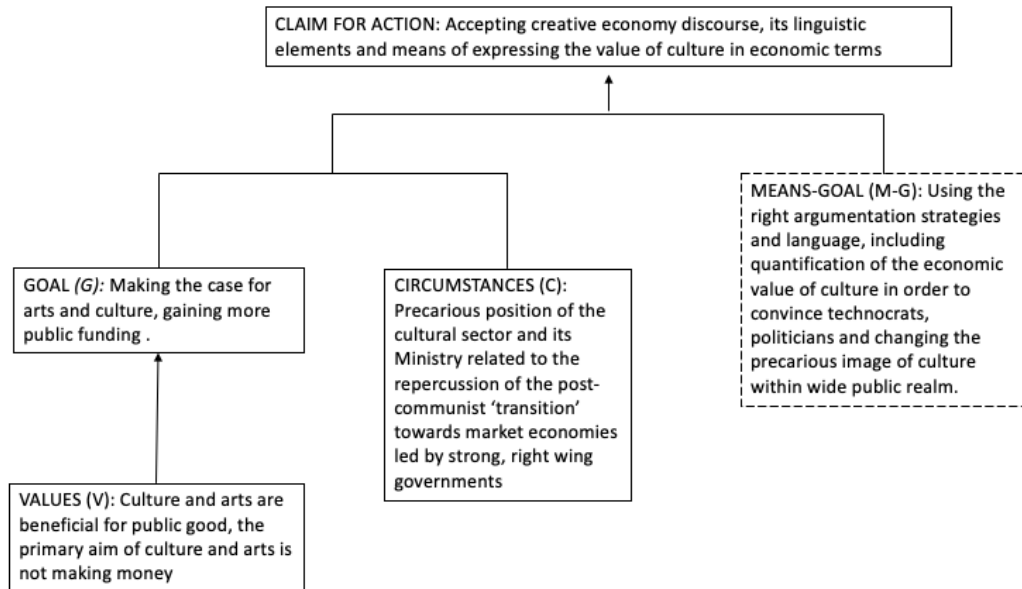
B.5 Round 4 – 10 Interviews, UK

- Franco Bianchini, cultural policy scholar, UK
- Ragnar Siil, creative economy consultant, former Under Secretary of Culture, Estonia
- Nigel Bellingham, Country Director, British Council in Romania, former Country Director in Prague
- Lia Ghilardi, creative masterplanning consultancy, UK
- Gerard Lindstone, Director of the Institute for Creative and Cultural Entrepreneurship, Goldsmiths University
- Martin Smith, special Adviser at Ingenious Group, Creative Industries Advisory Group (CIAG)
- John Howkins, a leading strategist on creativity and innovation, author of Creative Economy: How People Make Money from Ideas, UK
- Tom Fleming, a leading international expert on the creative economy, cultural and arts policy and creative cities and regions
- John Holden, Associate at the independent British think tank Demos
- Bob Palmer, Expert consultant (former Director of Culture, Cultural and Natural Heritage, Council of Europe, Strasbourg)

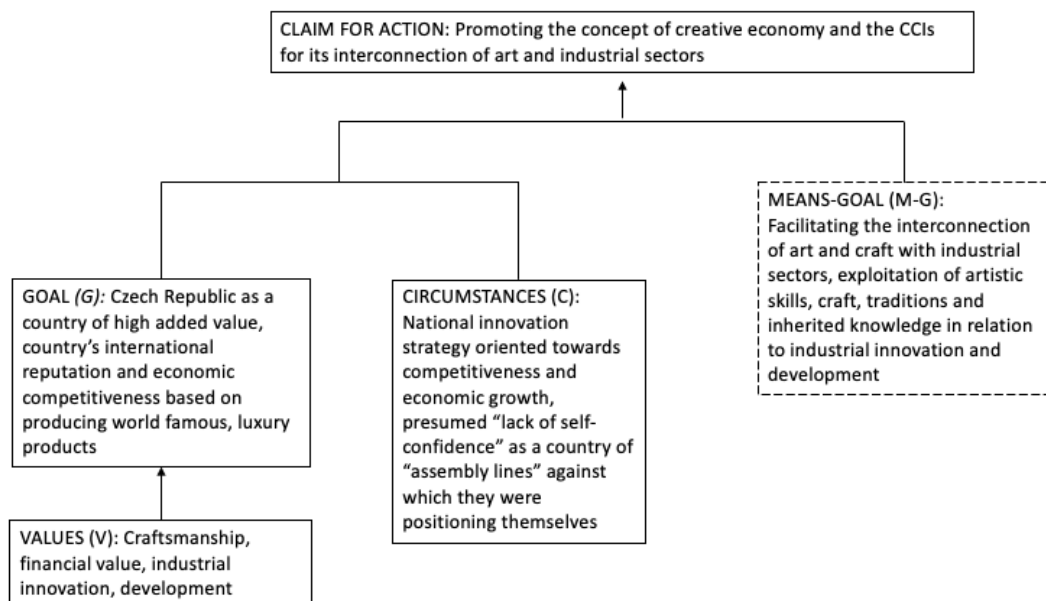
Appendix C

Argument Structures

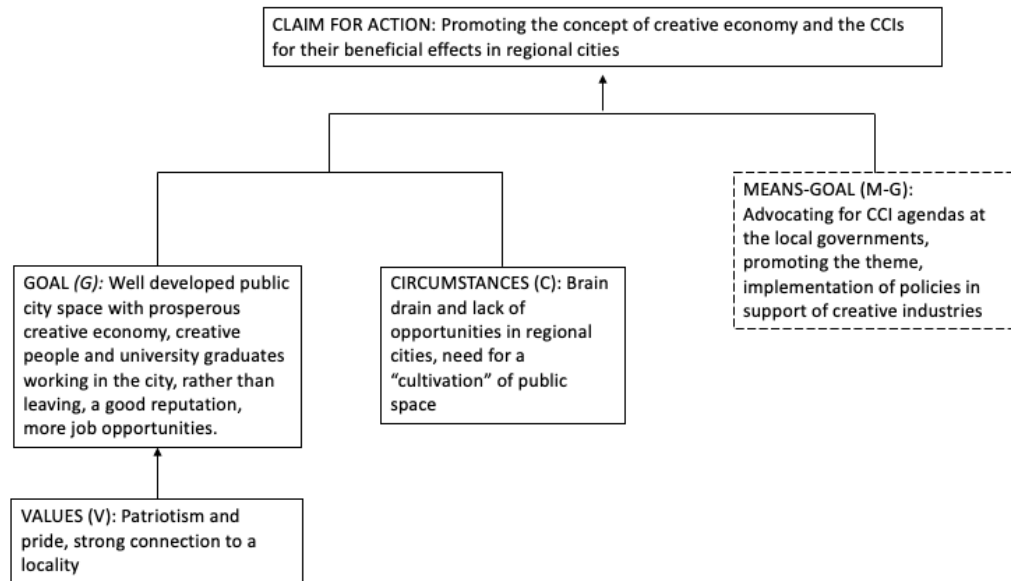
Argument 1 - Making the Case for Culture and Arts



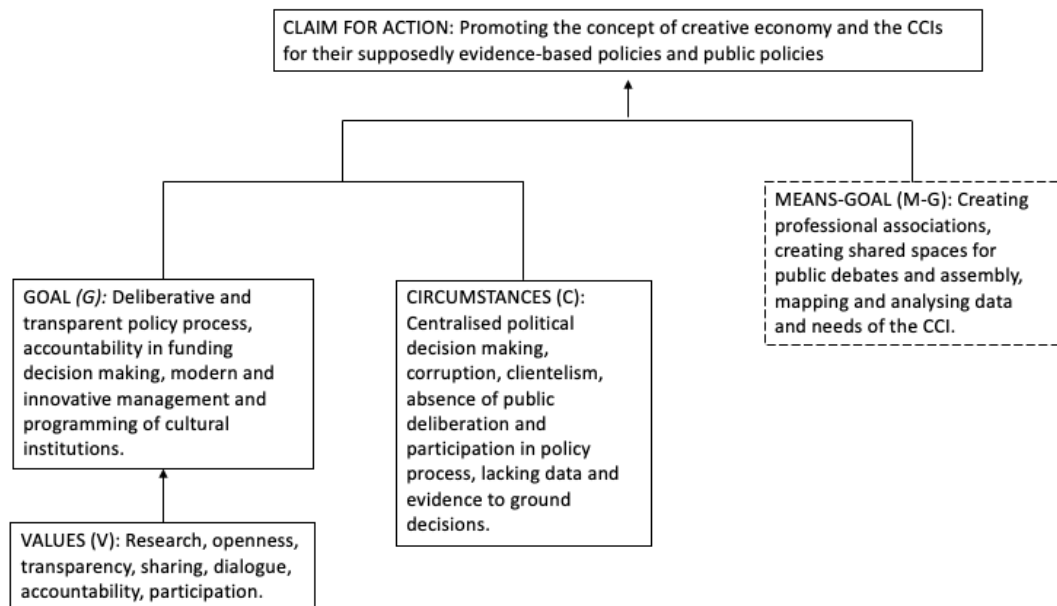
Argument 2 - Czech Republic as a Country of High Added Value



Argument 3 - Creative Jobs in Cities & Well Developed Public Space



Argument 4 - Deliberative and Transparent Policy Process



Appendix D

Overview of Definitions of Cultural and Creative Industries in Cultural Policy Documents

