EUROPEAN CAPITALS OF CULTURE: WHAT ARE THEIR INDIVIDUALITIES?

Nataša URBANČÍKOVÁ

Department of Regional Science and Management, Faculty of Economics, Technical University of Košice, Slovak Republic
natasa.urbancikova@tuke.sk

Abstract
Cities are exposed to the competition triggered by rising European and worldwide interconnectedness and increasing mobility of human resources. One of the newer approaches to this competition is to adopt culture-led urban regeneration and development. Culture can be advocated as a tool for determining a superior city identity, regenerating the genius loci and advancing pride of place. The programme European Capital of Culture (ECOC) was originally designated as a sequence of one-year cultural projects in different cities in the EU. Over the last three decades, the European Commission has adopted several new principles by presenting the ECOC as a public policy initiative. This has highlighted a shift towards presenting culture as an economic driving force and imposing the active participation of citizens instead of only consuming arts and culture, leading to higher social cohesion and intercultural dialogue. This paper concentrates on creating a typology of ECOC cities based on a cluster analysis. The decomposition of the ECOC cities into clusters explains how different the ECOC cities can be and how varied the cultural policy projects can be implemented according to different contexts. This diversity can be demonstrated in the position of foremost cultural centres of European significance (Florence, Paris) and smaller towns with a historical and cultural heritage (Avignon, Pátra, Salamanca). Increasingly post-industrial cities are awarded the title of ECOC as they look for an entirely new identity, creating an appropriate culture-led strategy (Essen, Glasgow, Košice). This study provides a classification of ECOC cities into eight type categories, their relationship to UNESCO cultural heritage labels and several explanations of their geography.
Keywords: European capital of culture; Culture-led regeneration; cultural heritage; urban development.

1. INTRODUCTION

Since 1985, a decision has been made on the selection of the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) by the Council of the European Union on the recommendation of the European Commission. The European Commission together with the European Parliament selects one or more European cities to award them the title of European Capital of Culture for one year. The originators of the ECOC idea were the Ministers of Culture in Greece (Melina Mercouri) and France (Jacques Lang). The original idea of the programme back in 1985 was to create an example of European integration and culture in addition to promoting EU as an attractive brand to its citizens (Lewi, 2004). Culture has always been regarded as an essential building block of closer European collaboration. The rich diversity of the cultures and traditions together with common cultural values should bring European citizens together and form and define the notion of European culture and its values (Ifversen, 2002; Sykes, Zgodavová et al., 2017). In the first years of the ECOC programme, it was primarily foremost cultural centres and capitals of

countries which were awarded (Athens, Paris, Amsterdam, Berlin and Florence). For one year, the award-winning city was aimed at enhancing its cultural potential and promoting the European cultural dimension.

The stimulus to change the direction of the programme came in 1990. The post-industrial city of Glasgow used the ECOC project to change its image into a creative and cultural city. It used its cultural policy as a way towards urban transformation, having a significant and sustainable impact (Mooney, 2004). In the following year, the city experienced far more tourists and started developing its tourism. Following this, the ECOC programme slowly began adopting changes in the selection of cities as well as striving for the objectives of sustainable economic development, the creation of local networks, cooperation at the European level and the creation of new governance structures for culture. The programme has been increasingly emphasising the cultural and socio-economic implications for the city and the wider region, becoming a tool for urban development through an ECOC mega-event. For many cities, this initiative seems like a prospective way to become visible in the European Union and to show up or re-brand as a cultural city. The focus on re-branding and urban development has been relevant for many other post-industrial ECOC cities such as Liverpool or Košice (Hudec and Džupka, 2016).

Based on these developments, the European Commission has gradually changed its focus and criteria for selecting the candidate cities. The criteria for selecting cities in over 30 years have built up an interesting group of European cities. The awarded cities should theoretically meet the criteria that have led them to being appointed European Capitals of Culture. The assignment of ECOC projects to specific countries in specific years has helped to cover a wide range of EU countries. Unsurprisingly, the ECOC cities might show some heterogeneity after three decades of the programme and therefore the paper aims to examine what type of cities win the competition and whether some general contexts can be uncovered.

The aim of the paper is to analyse the nature of the cities that have been awarded the ECOC title by using the clustering method. Based on the clustering, this whole group of cities is categorized into several homogeneous groups based on several distinctive criteria. The cities are concentrated in common clusters based on their similarity in values of variable size, tourism, economic structure, the number of university students and the supply of art and culture.

2. CULTURE-LED DEVELOPMENT AND ECOC CITIES

Cities are exposed to the competition triggered by rising globalisation and increased mobility of human resources. However, the economic growth of territorial economies (e.g. cities) is primarily run by factors over which local institutions have little influence (Cheshire, 1999). The position of cities is also specific

according to their heterogeneity of resources, especially human resources, as they have a unique ability to mobilise these resources more efficiently than other territorial and administrative levels (Liefooghe, 2014). Economic, social, environmental and cultural development is only possible if it is possible to attract resources and global talent. Urban space is needed to encourage people to interact and participate in civic life. A city will not achieve by only developing its physical aspects. Indeed, the city is more than the only its physical environment, what matters is the interdependence and cooperation of institutions in the city, such as the involvement of universities in urban life, their cooperation with local businesses and other interconnections at the human level (Landry and Bianchini, 1995). The mainstream of economic development considers the current economy as knowledge-driven (Johnson et al., 2002). Florida (2002) has added that the primary source of competitiveness is not only in owning knowledge but in generating creative ideas and products of this knowledge. He emphasises the role of the creative economy as the driving force behind creativity. In the past, the urbanisation and economic growth of cities had mainly been initiated by the growth of industrial production. Today, the development in developed economies is mainly based on services (Rehák, 2014). A key factor of economic growth is the presence of a creative class in the city as well as the heterogeneity and openness of the environment, cultural and social diversity, the technological superiority of the companies present, the mutual tolerance of the population and the incidence of respected universities (Florida, 2005, Peet and Hartwick, 2015). Creative workers find employment in the cultural and creative industries. Their rise is accompanied by social, cultural and technological changes which results in a higher demand for cultural products such as new forms of entertainment, amusement and inspiration (Blahovec, and Hudec, 2012).

Globalisation has made it possible to promote and spread culture-led urban regeneration. Hence, culture is advocated as a tool for determining a superior city identity, regenerating the genius loci and supporting pride of place. While culture is not a panacea for all city problems, in mastering an urban strategy, it can contribute to a change in the urban trajectory and bring real change in the economy and urban society. The process of de-industrialisation has led to a social interest in old industrial heritage areas as places of cultural heritage. The value of urban history was recognised in the nineties when the recovery of the industrial activities in those areas was clearly not conceivable (Duarte and Sabate, 2013). However, industrial heritage has become a source of economic revitalisation, reinforcing the city identity and also becoming a tourism product. This understanding of the developmental nature of culture has only recently been recognised and the economic mechanisms are linked to either the potential of cultural and creative industries (Lazzeretti et al., 2008; Slach and Boruta, 2012) or to the relationship between cultural activities and participation and the recovery of post-industrial cities (Miles and Paddison, 2005; Romão, 2017; Scott, 2017). Art and culture can make a significant contribution to the restoration of cities in the context of hosting major events; the experience of Glasgow (1990) or

Liverpool (2008) is well known. However, untapped potential exists in the coordination between organisers, tourism organisations and the artistic community.

At the beginning, the primary objective of the ECOC was to promote and emphasise the richness of European cultural diversity, encourage intercultural dialogue and open new spaces where the cooperation and understanding of European citizens could be strengthened. This has been very visible in the selection criteria of the ECOC cities until now. In between however, the goals of the ECOC have evolved. The EU has adopted the principles of presenting the ECOC as a public policy initiative, highlighting the current move from a purely cultural approach to presenting culture as an economic driving force (Griffiths, 2006). This supports the active participation of citizens rather than only consuming arts and culture, resulting in the reinforcement of social cohesion and progress in intercultural dialogue (Šebová et al., 2014). The ECOC programme uses a kind of quota sampling, based on a national competition. Thus, the cities awarded represent some of the best cultural cities in a country. The competition for the ECOC title is growing and the rules of the bidding process are changing and becoming more challenging. A guide for cities preparing to bid in 2020-2033 (European Commission, 2014) states that the size of a city is not a relevant selection decision criterion. However, there is considerable misunderstanding about the programme's goals. Firstly, the ECOC is not a label such as UNESCO or European heritage (European Commission, 2014). Indeed, the presence of cultural heritage is not a precondition at all and a city is awarded the title based only on its future programme for the ECOC year and beyond. Secondly, the connection between the cultural programme and tourism is somewhat tricky. This is not a tourist-led project by definition although an increase in tourism in the city is expected as the project is aimed at raising the city's international profile through culture. Thirdly, as a European project, any city awarded has to accentuate both the common European cultural values and the cultural diversity. Unlike mega-events in sports, the ECOC is a cultural project which is not aimed at bringing hundreds of thousands of visitors to the city for a couple of weeks. Rather, it is focused on its citizens, artists and cultural operators. ECOC cities are a subject to challenge how to demonstrate a long-term commitment and legacy of social and economic impact.

In addition to a vibrant cultural program, European Capitals of Culture can also bring prosperity and quality of life to awarded cities. Culture has gradually integrated into the long-term social-economic development of many ECOC cities. Moreover, cities also benefit from regeneration and new cultural infrastructure, higher and international knowledge of the brand, increased tourism and a better image in the eyes of the inhabitants where the city is a source of pride. In that light, participation in the ECOC can help to achieve many policy goals at the regional and national level.

Clearly, cities do not apply the same culture-related urban initiatives with the aim of rebranding and looking for a new culture-led economic path. It makes sense to differentiate between the different

cultural policy models, considering disparate cultural events and their impacts in close connection to the historical-societal context and broader goals of urban economic policy in a city.

When considering the context in which ECOC mega-events take place, the same strategy is unlikely to deliver the same results in different conditions. The conditions of foremost cultural centres of European significance (Florence, Paris) are entirely different from smaller towns with a historical and cultural heritage (Avignon, Pátra, Salamanca) or post-industrial cities looking for an entirely new identity when creating an appropriate culture-led strategy (Essen, Glasgow, Košice). This is why this paper concentrates on creating a typology of ECOC cities based on cluster analysis and similarities, making a better evaluation.

3. METHODOLOGY AND DATA

The ECOC cities are to be examined regarding their similarities and differences in essential criteria, so that clusters can be created on the basis of their mutual proximity. The cluster analysis includes 51 cities that were awarded the ECOC title in the years 1991-2014. Cities with a high population were excluded from the analysis. Large cities, because of their size and distinction, would have formed categories with only one representative in the cluster analysis (Brussels, Istanbul, Paris, and Prague). In addition, the objectives of the ECOC have changed over the years, and similarly large cultural and touristic mega-cities no longer match the title. The selection of variables in the cluster analysis is based on the EC selection criteria (European Commission, 2014). It is apparent that many of the candidate cities would like to highlight their cultural forwardness, combined with current or desired tourist attractiveness. The corresponding variables selected for the clustering represent two domains of supply of culture and tourism performance - the number of museum visitors, number of theatres, number of bed nights per resident population and number of bed places in tourist accommodation. In the case of this model, one could expect a cultural strategy proposal aimed at developing the current potential of heritage, art, and culture. On the other hand, post-industrial cities can build their cultural strategy to change their development trajectories by using industrial heritage, giving new impulses and creating an arena for young people. Therefore, the second group of variables accentuates the industrial economic structure (share of industry in total employment), the unemployment rate and the number of university students in the total population.Although it is stated in the bidding manual that the size of a city is not a selection criterion, it is evident that it is currently second-tier cities who are gaining the opportunity to become visible in the European context. Additionally, a change in image is easier to achieve in smaller cities than in metropolitan ones. At the same time, shaping a cultural strategy is indeed a different matter in a city with more than a million than in a city with fewer than 100,000 inhabitants. Therefore, the size of the city is also added to the variable list. Based on this, specific proxy indicators have been used

for differentiating the ECOC cities based on cultural heritage and environment, tourism attractiveness, structure of the economy and population as follows:

- The number of museum visitors per resident population;
- The number of theatres per 100,000 inhabitants;
- Number of bed places in tourist accommodation establishments relative to the size of the resident population (per year);
- The number of overnight stays in tourist accommodation establishments;
- The share of industry (C-E categories of NACE 2 rev.) in total employment;
- The number of students in the total population;
- The city population.

ECOC cities have a general public image of cultural or creative cities similar to UNESCO heritage. This naturally causes the variability in the selection of cities by considering the cultural and historical disposition on one hand and the cultural, economic development intentions on the other. However, the goals of the programme are different to a large extent and the following research questions can be formulated. Can we put cities into different categories according to the cultural, economic and social background? Are there any geographical factors putting ECOC cities together?

Most of the statistical data has been obtained from the Eurostat Urban Audit database. Unfortunately, there was a lack of data in the database so it was necessary to look for missing data from different sources and verify their values. This was most often from the databases of national statistical offices and ministries of culture. In all cases, the data originate from the years 2015-2017. The statistical sources on cities are somewhat limited and the primary data sources (e.g., number of inhabitants, number of visitors to museums, number of theatres, number of tourists in the city, number of employees) had to be supplemented by additional research in national statistics, reports on arts and culture and local tourism statistics. After processing and verifying the data, a cluster analysis aimed at identifying groups of cities with similar properties was processed in IBM SPSS. The following table (Table 1) contains a correlation matrix of the correlation index values. There is a slight correlation (0.55) between the number of museum visits and overnight stays. However, the two variables used to capture the influence of overnight accommodation is not necessarily related to only cultural and leisure tourism but also to business and shopping trips. As such, it is justified to use both variables for overnight stays - the number of beds available (tourism capacity) and the number of overnight stays (reality). Their correlation of 0.639 is lower than expected. The third expected correlation is related to the number of inhabitants and the number of students.

The value is not high and justifies the choice of the educational centre factor.

TABLE 1 - CORRELATION MATRIX OF THE VARIABLES USED IN THE CLUSTER ANALYSIS.

Spearman's rho	Population	Theatres	Museum visitors	Overnight stays	Industrial employment	Students ratio	Bed places	Unemployment rate
Population	1,000							
Theatres	-,387**	1,000						
Museum visitors	,576	,096	1,000					
Overnight stays	,092	,031	,551**	1,000				
Industrial employment	-,158	,005	-,289*	-,373	1,000			
Students ratio	,023	,021	,129	,043**	-,017	1,000		
Bed places	-,191	323*	,421**	,639	-,134*	-,011	1,000	
Unemployment rate	-,077	,075	-,387**	-,096	-,247	-,000	-,048	1,000

4. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The choice of variables sought to distinguish cities from the population's demand for culture. The theatre is designed more for local residents, mainly because of using the local language and also in the way that it symbolises classical culture for the people. The number of tourists is related more to cultural monuments or business tourism. These two variables are indeed not correlated, r = 0.096, and therefore have a different meaning in cluster analysis.The correlation diagram, as a tool for the descriptive statistics, points to the formation of clusters based on their similarities such as the cluster of high culture cities with low tourist traffic (Figure 1) or the other cluster of cities with a high industrial employment rate but relatively low tourist capacity (Figure 2). The cluster analysis allows all the variables to be taken into account and to identify clusters of cities based on their similarities. This makes it possible to draw conclusions about typical categories of ECOC cities.
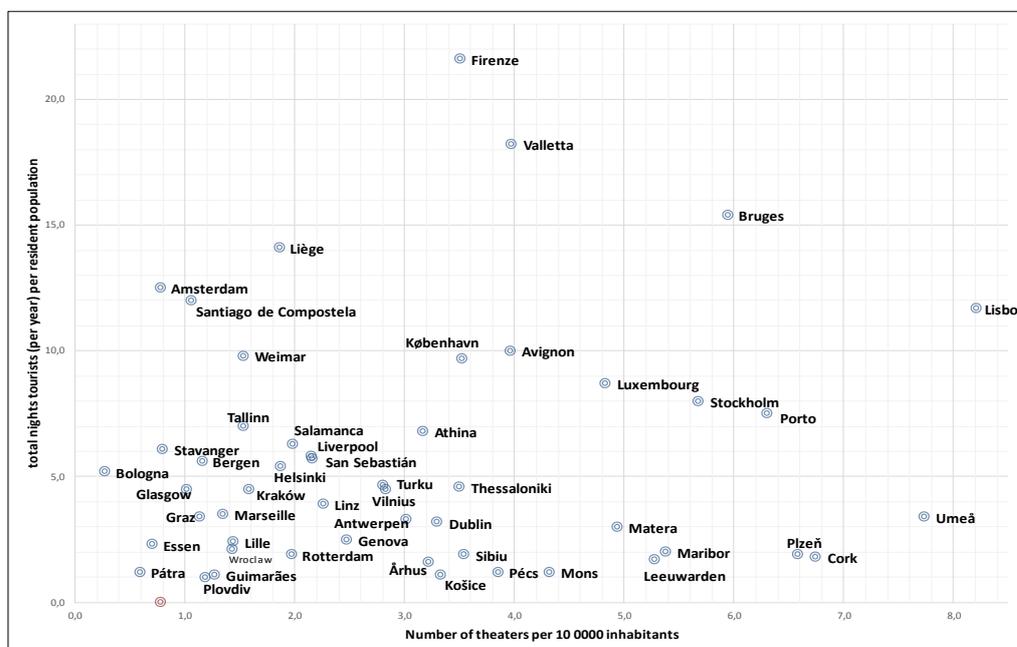

FIGURE 1 - THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NUMBER OF THEATRES AND NUMBER OF AVAILABLE BEDS.

Clustering is the method of classifying objects (in this case cities) into several homogeneous groups (clusters). The k-means method belongs to the partitional clustering category. At the beginning, the number of clusters k has to be identified. The Elbow Method was run using a k-means clustering algorithm in the same dataset for a range of values k from 1 to 10 to minimise the total intra-cluster variation. The sum of squared errors (SSE) calculated for each k confirmed the ideal number of clusters k=8. The k-means algorithm was subsequently used to find the eight clusters among the 51 cities by calculating the distance between the centroids of clusters. The statistics are considered opportunistic in the way the algorithm attempts to form clusters that do differ. Euclidean distances have been chosen for calculating similarity by taking   eight attributes (variables) into account. The algorithm finds such a partition of the objects that the value of the objective function is minimised, defined as the sum of squared distances of the objects (cities) to their cluster representatives – centroids. The application of the k-means method led to the creation of eight clusters with the following number of places in each group (Table 2). Two richer clusters (cluster 5 and 8) can be seen which comprise 12 and 11 cities, respectively.
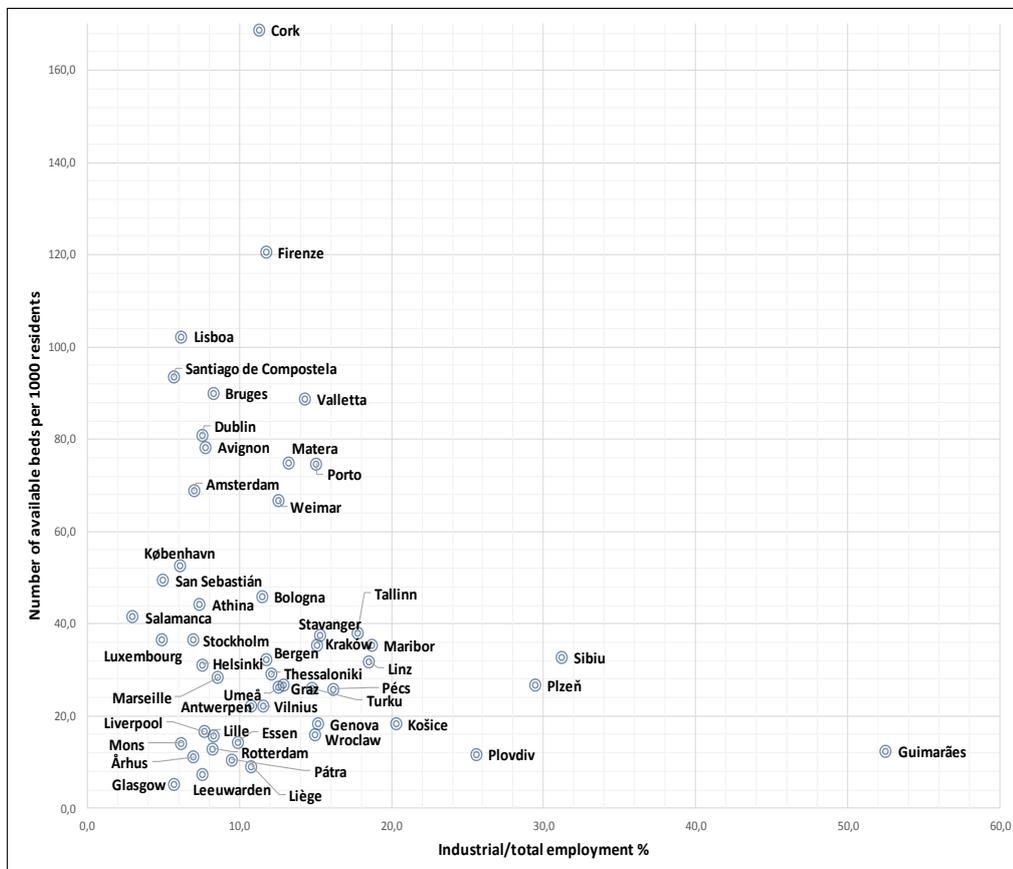

FIGURE 2 - THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SHARE OF INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT AND NUMBER OF AVAILABLE BEDS.

TABLE 2 - NUMBER OF CASES IN EACH CLUSTER

Cluster number	Number of cases
1	2
2	5
3	8
4	2
5	12
6	5
7	6
8	11
Valid	51

Source: Output from the program IBM SPSS Statistics

The assignment of cities to individual clusters based on their similarity to relatively homogeneous groups is shown in Table 3. Specific variables are involved in determining the clusters on the basis of their dissimilarity. At first sight, the size of the city, the share of industry, tourism significance, or the number of students can be seen as dividing measures. The justification for the differentiation of clusters is possible based on Table 4. This represents the typology of cities based on the cluster centroids in their mutual relationships as well as their position to the eight examined attributes, in terms of the variable average values.

TABLE 3 - AFFILIATION OF THE CITIES TO CLUSTERS

Cluster	Cities
Cluster 1	Amsterdam, Kraków
Cluster 2	Antwerp, Dublin, Lisbon, Liverpool, Vilnius
Cluster 3	Athens, Essen, Genova, Glasgow, Helsinki, Copenhagen, Rotterdam, Wroclaw
Cluster 4	Lille, Marseille
Cluster 5	Avignon, Guimarães, Linz, Pátra, Pécs, Pilsen, Porto, Salamanca, San Sebastian, Sibiu, Turku, Valletta
Cluster 6	Aarhus, Bergen, Graz, Košice, Thessaloniki
Cluster 7	Bologna, Florence, Liége, Plovdiv, Stockholm, Tallinn
Cluster 8	Bruges, Cork, Leeuwarden, Luxembourg, Maribor, Matera, Mons, Santiago de Compostela, Stavanger, Umeå , Weimar

Source: Output from the program IBM SPSS Statistics

TABLE 4 - PARAMETERS OF THE CLUSTERING VARIABLES

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Population	779135	509403	606182	1089343	176784	281496	385792	*100815*
Number of theatres	*1,18*	3,89	2,02	1,39	3,27	2,46	2,33	**4,41**
Museum Visitors	**7,40**	4,96	2,73	*,43*	3,00	1,85	6,49	4,06
Total nights tourists	8,50	5,73	4,40	*2,95*	5,28	3,26	**9,48**	5,92
industrial employment	11,07	8,77	9,39	*8,45*	**18,12**	12,75	14,08	10,62
Students ratio	**15,33**	11,88	10,38	7,71	11,25	13,35	11,63	*10,03*
Unemployment rate	*5,45*	8,08	9,66	**16,65**	12,03	8,40	7,85	10,03
Available beds	52,15	48,86	24,42	*22,05*	41,56	23,40	43,67	**59,27**

Source: Output from the program IBM SPSS Statistics.

The previous cluster analysis gives the opportunity to capture eight types of ECOC cities.

Cluster 1 - European Cultural metropolis: both Amsterdam and Kraków belong to the largest cities in the sample with the largest number of museum visitors and corresponding high hotel capacity. The atmosphere of the city is made up of a large number of students and they also maintain a sufficient industrial economic base. The cluster is formed by two prosperous cities with excellent branding and a low unemployment rate.

Cluster 2 - Business and leisure centre: these five cities have an above average population and high accommodation capacity although short stay visitors. In addition to a very high number of students, this type of city has a character of business, administration, entertainment and iconic monuments.

Cluster 3 - Fully-fledged centre: these are the greater metropoles of the country which fulfill all the important functions - economic, social, administrative, educational and cultural. No city attribute is distinctive or neglected.

Cluster 4 – Large post-industrial city: the cities of Lille and Marseille are the largest in the sample which have experienced a transition from their industrial past. They have the highest unemployment and are less attractive for living and tourism when compared to the other clusters.

Cluster 5 – Smaller city with historical past: located slightly off the beaten tracks, they are historically significant cities, highest in industrial employment, smaller in population with tourism potential.

Cluster 6 - Second-tier regional centre: six mid-sized cities located in North or South-East Europe, closer to the European periphery than its core, important regional cultural and economic centres.

Cluster 7 – Bigger cultural and education centre: the largest group is made up of the smallest cities, attractive because of their history and culture. The cities are located in the North or South of Europe, are of high European cultural and economic importance, have attractive monuments and are popular with tourists and students.

Cluster 8 – Smaller attractive cultural centre: the largest group is made up of the smallest cities, attractive thanks to their rich history and culture and are widely visited by tourists.

The cities represent different histories and evolutions, environments and culture. The decomposition of the ECOC cities into clusters according to their similarity explains how different the cities are that have been ECOCs in the past. This study does not provide an explanation of how the cities have been able to utilise the chance and resources of their development driven by culture. However, in accordance with the cluster analysis results, it provides answers about the variability in the types of ECOC cities. The classification into eight types of category provides information about how much the selection of

candidates may vary. Indeed, the selection of ECOC cities differs from the UNESCO cultural heritage labels although this type of city can be found among the winners especially in clusters 5, 7 and 8 (Avignon, Bruges, Guimarães, Florence, Matera, Porto, Salamanca, Santiago de Compostela, Tallin and Valletta). Yet, a few of them can also be found in other clusters (Kraków, Graz), testifying that cities build their power and prosperity also on things other than historical-cultural foundations.

Figure 4 shows the ECOC cities that are color-coded, based on their membership in the clusters. The markers on the map are of different colors, stressing the cluster affiliations of the cities.
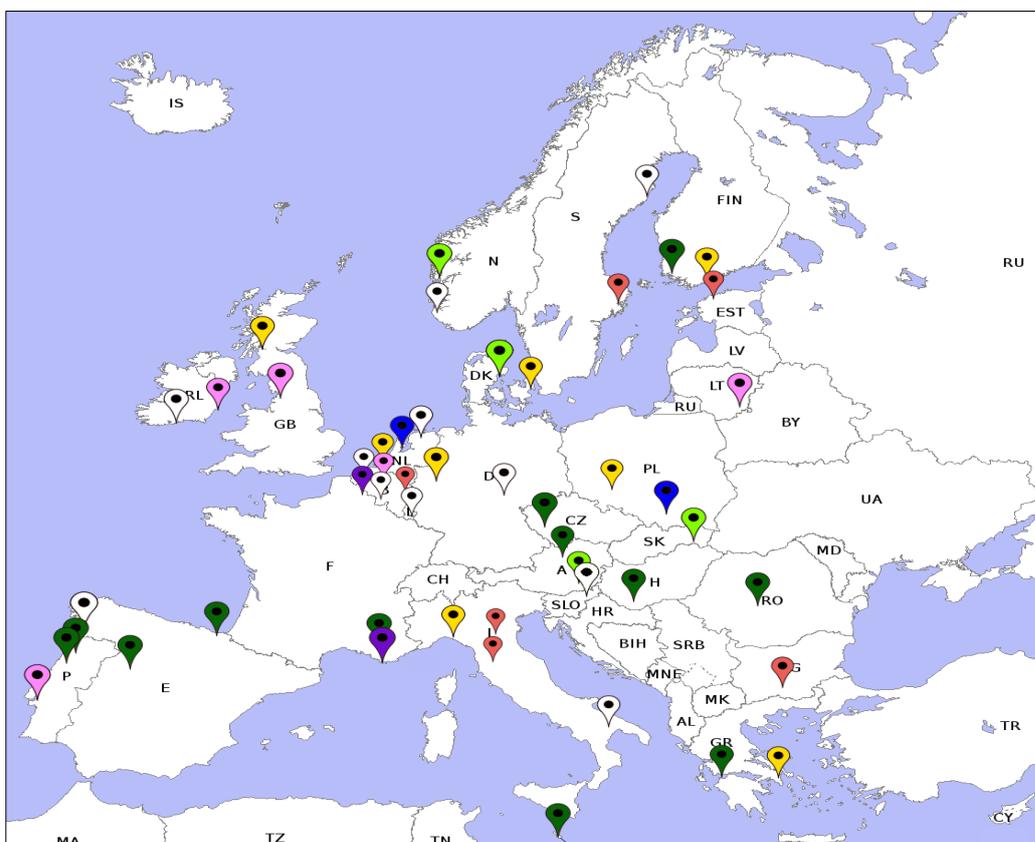

FIGURE 4 - THE GEOGRAPHY OF CLUSTERS OF THE EUROPEAN CAPITALS OF CULTURE.

5. DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

In order to understand the meaning and importance of the largest cultural programme of the European Union, an explanation of how the programme and objectives of the ECOC projects have been set up in connection to the cities' situation and what changes in urban development the project has brought to them in the long-term is required (Falk and Hagsten, 2017). The aim of the programme is also to discover new cities of culture which can gain international attention thanks to their originality and previously unknown uniqueness. Another option for the candidate cities is to promote openness, Europeanism and diversity or to design and implement an ambitious cultural strategy which can

transform the industrial past and focus on rebranding. The cluster analysis confirms the Guidelines of the European Commission's selection criteria which is present in the descriptions of the clusters.

The last question to be explained is how the clusters are geographically located. The business and leisure centres are located in the Northeast of Europe (Cluster 2, pink marker) on the line from Dublin to Vilnius. The fully-fledged centres, those that are not typical cultural metropoles (Cluster 3, yellow marker) can occur anywhere in Europe. The same is true for the second-tier regional centres (Cluster 6, light green marker). The large post-industrial cities (Cluster 4, dark violet marker) are untypical in the sample.

A shared understanding of cultural cities is related to cultural heritage. Smaller cities with a historical past are located in Cluster 5 (dark green marker) which means more in the lower part of southern Europe. Cluster 7 (red marker) is formed by the bigger cultural and educational European centres including Florence, Bologna and Stockholm. Finally, the largest Cluster 8 (white marker) is formed by smaller attractive cultural centres. The smallest cities, attractive thanks to their rich history and culture and widely visited by tourists, can be found in any part of Europe. They represent the choice of "less well known" cities which have a chance to become attractive and European if they utilise the ECOC title well.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

REFERENCES

Blahovec, R., Hudec, O. (2012). Employment Analysis in the Creative Industries in Slovakia: Spatial and Temporal Evolution in the Years 2001–2010. *Region Direct*, *2*, 58-89.

Cheshire, P. (1999). Cities in competition: articulating the gains from integration. *Urban Studies*, *36*(5-6), 843-864.

Duarte, F., & Sabate, J. (2013). 22@ Barcelona: creative economy and industrial heritage–a critical perspective. *Theoretical and Empirical Researches in Urban Management*, 8(2), 5-21.

European Commission, (2014). *European Capitals of Culture 2020 to 2033. A guide to cities preparing to bid*. European Commission, pp. 34.

Falk, M., Hagsten, E. (2017). Measuring the impact of the European Capital of Culture programme on overnight stays: evidence for the last two decades. *European Planning Studies*, 25(12), 2175-2191.

Florida, R. (2004). *The rise of the creative class and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. Basic Books: New York

Florida, R. (2005). *Cities and the creative class*. Routledge.

Griffiths, R. (2006). City/culture discourses: Evidence from the competition to select the European capital of culture 2008. *European Planning Studies*, 14(4), 415–430.

Hudec, O., & Džupka, P. (2016). Culture-led regeneration through the young generation: Košice as the European Capital of Culture. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, *23*(3), 531-538.

Ifversen, J. (2002). Europe and European culture-a conceptual analysis. European Societies, 4(1), 1-26.

Johnson, B., Lorenz, E., & Lundvall, B. Å. (2002). Why all this fuss about codified and tacit knowledge? *Industrial and corporate change*, *11*(2), 245-262.

Landry, C. and Bianchini, F. (1995) The Creative City. Demos, London.

Lazzeretti L, Boix R. and Capone F. (2008) Do creative industries cluster? Mapping creative local production systems in Italy and Spain. Industry and Innovation 15: 549–567.

Lewi, G. (2004), Europe, une mauvaise marque?, Paris, Éditions Vuibert.

Liefooghe, C. (2014). L'économie de la connaissance et de la créativité: une nouvelle donne pour le système productif français. *L'information géographique*, *78*(4), 48-68.

Miles, S., Paddison, R. (2005). Introduction: The rise and rise of culture-led urban regeneration. *Urban Studies*, 42, 833-839.

Mooney, G. (2004). Cultural policy as urban transformation? Critical reflections on Glasgow, European City of Culture 1990. *Local economy*, *19*(4), 327-340.

Peet, R., & Hartwick, E. (2015). *Theories of development: Contentions, arguments, alternatives*. Guilford Publications.

Rehák, Š. (2014). Kreatívna trieda a kreatívne mestá. Teoretický koncept a jeho limity. *Sociológia*, *46*(5), 599-619.

Romão, J. (2017). Are Creative Cities Good Places for Creative People? Notes on the Social Conditions for Cultural Production in Contemporary Economy. *Quality Innovation Prosperity, 21*(1), 49-60.

Sacco, P., Ferilli, G., & Blessi, G. T. (2014). Understanding culture-led local development: A critique of alternative theoretical explanations. *Urban Studies*, *51*(13), 2806-2821.

Scott, A. J. (2017). Urbanization, Work and Community: The Logic of City Life in the Contemporary World. *Quality Innovation Prosperity*, 21(1), 9-30.

Slach, O., Boruta, T. (2012). What Can Cultural and Creative Industries Do for Urban Development? Three Stories from the Postsocialist Industrial City of Ostrava. *Quaestiones Geographicae*, *31*(4), 99-112.

Šebová, M., Džupka, P., Hudec, O., & Urbančíková, N. (2014). Promoting and financing cultural tourism in Europe through European Capitals of Culture: a case study of Kosice, European Capital of Culture 2013. *Amfiteatru Economic*, *16*(36), 655.

Sykes, O. (2011). Introduction: European cities and capitals of culture–a comparative approach. *Town Planning Review*, 82(1), 1-12.

Zgodavova, K., Hudec, O., and Palfy, P. (2017). Culture of quality: insight into foreign organisations in Slovakia. *Total Quality Management & Business Excellence*, 28(9-10), 1054-1075.