

DEVELOPMENT PATHS OF CREATIVE CITIES: THE CASE STUDIES OF BIRMINGHAM AND POZNAŃ

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Abstract: The concept of the creative class, formulated by Richard Florida (2002) after its success in the early twenty-first century, has been criticized by many researchers. Despite criticism, the concept has become a benchmark for research focused on urban development. In the article, the author focused on the development of the creative class in two European cities – Birmingham and Poznań, and its role in the development of a creative city from the perspective of the path dependence concept. The author of the article tries to answer the following questions: 1) What social, economic or political conditions influenced the development of creative cities of Birmingham and Poznań? 2) How does the path dependence concept help explain the differences in the development of the creative class in the two cities studied?

Keywords: creative class, creative city, path dependence concept, Birmingham, Poznań

1 INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the twenty-first century the conception of creative class, created by Richard Florida (2002) became particularly important in urban research. The author of the conception defined the creative class as a group of people with common interests who think, feel and behave in a similar way, but above all have high salaries from their creative work (Florida, 2002). In doing their work, they have a positive impact on the economic performance of countries, regions and cities, making often significant changes that lead to the creation of creative cities. The conception was criticized by the academic world in the numbering publications (e.g. Hall, 2004; Peck, 2005; Markusen, 2006; Pratt, 2008). A response to the criticism was included in the 2014 work entitled “The rise of the creative class-revised: revised and expanded”, in which Florida provided revised views on the creative class. Despite critical comments on this conception, it is an important benchmark for research focused on the urban development.

According to Florida (2002) in order to create a creative city, the local authorities should implement strategies focusing on e.g. the tolerance toward people presenting other cultures, religions and nationalities, friendly public spaces, recreation areas and parks to attract creative class representatives. In many cases, however, it appears that despite these measures it is not possible to create a creative city at all or it is taking place in the long term (Hall, 2004). While in the 20th century there were opportunities for the development of creative cities almost continuously except for World War I and II in Western Europe. In Central and Eastern Europe this process was demolished by the outbreak of World War II and later the introduction of a communist system and a centrally planned economy for many years.

Arthur (1994) and Krugman (1995) point out that in the field of economic geography a conception of path dependence explains to what extent the historical transformations of local structures strengthen or hamper the development of the city. As the Gwosdz (2004) notes, this concept is formulated from different perspectives. In this article, the path dependence is defined as Mahoneyem (2000) as a sequence of time-ordered and cause-combined events, each of which is both a reaction to previous events and a cause of subsequent events. Event sequences are initiated by turning point, also known as critical juncture. Collier (1991) defines this point as the time of significant change, which may take a different nature (positive or negative critical juncture) in different spatial units of analysis and which is attributed to different effects. Thus, a sequence of path-based dependencies is present when we can distinguish the return points, in which one of the possible solutions is then captured by processes of cumulative effects. When one cannot identify alternative options or when the option one selected did not target a persistent trajectory, it cannot be concerned as the path dependence conception (Mahoney, 2001).

Krugman (1995) used the conception of path dependence to the research processes that are related to the benefits of agglomeration and urbanization, including the location of high-tech industries. In turn Boschma and Lambooy (1999) explained the location of knowledge-based economic activities and the problems of restructuring traditional industrial districts using this conception. Stryjakiewicz (2010) has recognized the ability of the conception to explain the processes related to a development of the creative sector in the cities of Central and Eastern Europe. In addition, the conception of the path dependence was used in the research related to the development of Silicon Valley (Keney and von Burg, 2000), Melbourne and Los Angeles (Frost, 2001), the cities of the old industrial district, i.e. the conurbation of upper Silesia (Domanski, 2000, 2003; Gwosdz, 2004) or Wałbrzych (Jaroszevska and Wieczorek, 2016)

Birmingham and Poznań are among those European cities, whose development trajectories have developed different economic models and varying levels of socio-economic development. Birmingham is an example of a city operating in an economy with a long tradition of free market and relatively small state interference in its operation. In turn, Poznań is a city where the operation of the centrally planned economy from the end of the World War II to the end of the 1980s has an important impact on the present situation. After the collapse of the Communist system, the city

has entered the path of very rapid social, economic and political change. Despite the considerable advantages of the population in Birmingham (2,607,437 inhabitants, World population review, 2020a) over Poznań (531,030 inhabitants., World population review, 2020b), both cities have developed a creative class as the basis for building a creative city.

The different development paths of the examined cities have led to different models of market economy and conditions for creative class development, that helps to build a creative city. Author of the article tries to answer two questions: 1) What social, economic and political conditions have affected the development of the creative city in the case studies of Birmingham and Poznań? 2) How does the conception of path dependence help to explain the differences in the development of the creative class in the two examined cities?

The article assumes, that the size of creative class is based in the employment in the creative sector, that is composed of the employees of the knowledge-intensive and creative activities. A detailed description of the sector is presented in the works of Musterd et al. (2007), Strykiewicz et al. (2009), Strykiewicz and Męczyński (2010) and Męczyński (2018, 2019). The article consists of three sections. The first one presents the introduction to the research conception and the aim of research. The second section covers the development of Birmingham and Poznań in the light of the path dependence conception. The third section presents a synthesis of the comparative analysis of Birmingham and Poznań.

2 DEVELOPMENT TRAJECTORIES OF BIRMINGHAM AND POZNAŃ IN THE LIGHT OF THE PATH DEPENDENCE CONCEPT

Birmingham

Birmingham is a post-industrial city in Western Europe. Second in the UK after London in terms of population (1,111,307 – 1 January 2017; Country Digest, 2017). The first mention of Birmingham dates back to 1086, from the Domesday Book, where Birmingham was identified as a small village (Bermingeham).

The history of the city's true socio-economic development and creation of the foundations for its creative class reaches the end of the 18th century. It is the beginning of the industrial revolution and a critical juncture, which has brought together the effects of the event in the city. At that moment the local creative class began to develop. When the economic development occurred in Birmingham at the beginning of the XIX century, its population grew from around 24,000 in 1750 to almost 713,000 in 1901. The city became the third largest city in terms of population in England and Wales, after London and Bristol (Cherry, 1994). The development of new technologies has resulted in a steady improve of the employee's qualification. In 1841, only 24.5% of working age males were assigned to semi or unskilled customs (Brown et al., 2007). By 1851, Birmingham's workforce posted of 14.7% of

working businesses who work as professionals and managers and 58.5% as dealers and skilled workers (cf. Brown et al., 2007).

Technological progress related to the industrial revolution, the friendly investment climate and the openness of residents toward immigrants from other parts of the UK and Europe, mainly from Germany, Poland and Russia, have influenced the favorable economic situation in Birmingham in the 19th century. Immigrants, who were experienced a new, socially and economically favorable conditions, triggered their energy and creativity. As the result, was the emergence of numerous new companies representing different industries (Briggs and Gill, 1952; Brown et al., 2007). The high number of entrepreneurs manufacturing a wide range of products (from precision jewelry products to high-quality pens to foundry goods) and the climate of openness to immigrants have contributed to the development of the term “The City of a Thousand Trades” or “The Workshop of the World”. Alfred Marshall formulated in 1890 the conception of industrial district on the basis of a study carried out among entrepreneurs from Birmingham. He studied small and medium-sized companies located in the city that specialized in the different chains of production and carried out complementary activities to other operators. From the point of view of laying the foundations for the development of the creative class, the growing expenditure of the city authorities in building urban libraries, swimming pools, schools and setting up parks in the city, was of major importance at the end of the 19th century. In 1900, Queen Victoria has established the Birmingham University (Birmingham City Council, 2017). This moment was another turning point, which triggered a sequence of events related to the development of the academic character of the city. At the same time, improvement of the local workforce qualifications helped to establish in Birmingham automotive industry, that was very modern at that time (MG Rover plants in Longbridge were set up in 1905).

The outbreak of the World War I and World War II has not significantly changed the development trajectory of Birmingham, as was the case in most European cities, including Central and Eastern European ones. After the World War II, the car industry in the city has become more important in terms of the expansion of its mass production (151 000 employees employed in the automotive industry in 1961; ONS Labour Force Statistics, 1971). The employees involved in car manufacturing included both low and high-skilled workers. The latter used their knowledge to create innovative and attractive designs for new car models (see Wiederman, 2008).

In the mid-1970s, the global crisis with rising fuel prices has led to a breakdown of the automotive market. This moment for Birmingham was the first negative turning point since the beginning of the 19th century, which triggered sequences of negative phenomena. Unemployment in the city increased significantly to over 18% in 1984 (Spencer, 1987). Consequently, the socio-economic situation has deteriorated. The polarization and social delamination, the effects of which are still currently visible, have become an important problem. It was only at the beginning of the 1990s. the local and regional authorities have taken decisive action by introducing programs to reduce unemployment rate and to halt the adverse effects of it. The introduction of the programs was a positive turning point. In addition, local government started the

programs supporting the development of international business tourism (e.g. development of hotel and conference facilities in the city), cultural activities (e.g. creation of a new and attractive offer of theater and opera performances in existing facilities) and environmental protection (e.g. green public space projects, development of green public communication; Barber, 2006; Brown et al., 2007, p. 7) revitalization programs have been launched to revitalize the degraded areas of the city center. To this end, representatives of the local creative class were involved, in particular architects, landscape architects and experts in the field of artistic events. The implementation of these programs has helped to stimulate the entrepreneurial spirit among the inhabitants of the agglomeration who have continued the city's design traditions. The activities based on the historical heritage of the city were used to promote two projects to revitalize the city center. The first one of them, was the Eastside district, where the companies involved in television and music production and visual arts were concentrated around the designed park area. The other was the Jewellery Quarter, one of the largest clusters of jewelry and goldsmiths' products. In this district, more than 400 players from the jewelry industry were located, producing a gloomy 40% of the total national production of jewelry (Brown et al., 2007). Despite the implementation of programs to support local entrepreneurship and investment in the period 2000–2005, a series of bankruptcies took place in the large automotive companies such as m.in. Rover IN Longbridge, LDV and Alstom (Chapain et al., 2010). These events were a continuation of the unfavorable processes, that started already in Birmingham in the mid-1970s. of the 20th century. As the result, there has been a significant decrease in the number of jobs (8.7%). A further reduction in employment occurred in 2008 due to the global financial crisis.

In response to the worsening socio-economic situation in Birmingham in the second decade of the 21st century, local authorities have proposed another program to support investment by large international and national companies, including those belonging to the creative sector. The program has brought the city's attractiveness, which has become one of the most important investment areas in the UK. The authorities have supported five categories of activities: 1) advanced engineering, 2) business, professional and financial services – BPFS, 3) technical and digital, 4) life sciences, 5) food and drink. The first four categories of activities were directly related to the creative sector. The local authorities' support helped to increase employment in companies located in and around the city's agglomeration, m.in. in Longbridge, a site previously occupied by The MG Rover factory, which was the Longbridge Technology Park and Innovation Center, where several dozen specialists were recruited. In Jaguar Land Rover Ltd. manufacturing facilities – Solihull, Castle Bromwich and Gaydon increased the number of engineers by 2800 people. Thanks to the support provided by the city authorities, it was possible to create in the agglomeration of Birmingham a cluster of more than 600 companies related to the biotechnology industry, employing several hundred specialists.

The support provided by the local authorities to the five categories of activities as well as the implementation of other programs (e.g. Birmingham's Creative City of 2001, the West Midlands Regional Cultural Strategy of 2001, the 2007 Culture

Strategy) and the favorable economic climate have allowed the trend of declining employment to be stopped. Over 25,000 new jobs were created between 2010 and 2013. Some of the them were generated by the entrepreneurs (e.g. architects, software developers), who were running micro and small businesses located in the residential and commercial quarters of the city center.

Despite the socio-economic problems, that have emerged in the development trajectory of Birmingham city since the mid-1970s, creative class was developing and accounted for 25.9% (almost 134,000 people) of the total workforce in 2017 (Table 1). Many of the creative class representatives were representing the knowledge intensive activities (15.6% of the total workforce in 2005 and 19.4% in 2017). This was mostly due to the academic character of the city, that was established at the beginning of the 20th century, once the Birmingham University was founded. The character of the city was also reflected in the high employment dynamics in the activities related to the R&D and higher education between 2005 and 2017. A key factor in the development of this type of activity was the growth in employment in the biotechnology sector. The main contributors were the growing research units, including centre of excellence, medical clinics (e.g. University of Birmingham Medical School, Queen Elizabeth Hospital), and the BioHub laboratory center, which houses start-up companies where medical research is conducted (the BioHub Birmingham, 2018). At the same time, a high level of employment in law and other business services was recorded in 2017. These activities have traditionally facilitated craft and retail businesses since the 19th century. At the same time, the importance of these activities in the city was strengthened by the influx of entrepreneurs, e.g. from London. These people worked in law and other business services and decided to move from the state capital due to the availability and attractiveness of office facilities in Birmingham.

A much smaller group of creative class representatives, compared to one working in knowledge intensive activities was employed in the creative activities in Birmingham. In 2017, the main employment activities were architecture and ICT services (in both cases the employment rate was 1.7% of the total employment in the city; Table 1). One of the reasons for this high percentage of people working in architectural firms was the increasing number of investments related to the development and design of premises in the revitalized quarters of the city. Examples of large urban projects involving a large number of architects and urban planners that were carried out in Birmingham at the beginning of the 21st century are e.g. Life Sciences Campus Birmingham, shopping center (Lakeside Center) and a high-speed rail project started in 2016, linking Birmingham with London (High Speed 2 – HS2; Birmingham Live, 2018).

In turn, the high employment rate in the ICT services between 2006 and 2017 was mainly linked to the development of computer game companies. It is difficult to associate such a high employment rate in these activities with events that have taken place in the past. However, this might be a new critical juncture in Birmingham's development trajectory, as the city and the West Midlands region area are considered as a center for the development of ICT companies in the UK. In 2015, 20 out

of the 280 computer game developers in the UK were located in the city itself (Oakley, 2018).

Between 2005 and 2017, employment in the more traditional firms, that manufacture jewelry increased by more than 51%. They were located in the Jewellery Quarter, creating cluster of over 1400 entities (Birmingham City Council, 2017). They have been playing a significant role in the economic development of the city for the centuries.

Table 1 Structure of employment in the creative sector of Birmingham in 2005 and 2017

Creative sector	2005		2017		Change 2005-2017 (in %)
	Number of employees	Percentage of total employment	Number of employees	Percentage of total employment	
Creative activities					
Advertising	1522	0,3	2250	0,4	47,8
Architecture	6346	1,3	9000	1,7	41,8
Arts/antiques trade	6680	1,3	6300	1,2	-5,7
Crafts	627	0,1	950	0,2	51,5
Video, film, music and photography	992	0,2	898	0,2	-9,5
ICT services	4995	1,0	8990	1,7	80,0
Publishing	809	0,2	799	0,2	-1,2
Music and the visual and performing arts	2457	0,5	3150	0,6	28,2
Radio and TV	1497	0,3	1350	0,3	-9,8
Total	25925	5,2	33687	6,5	29,9
Knowledge intensive activities					
Financial intermediation	24331	4,9	35000	6,8	43,8
R&D and higher education	13646	2,8	22050	4,3	61,6
Law and other business services	39085	7,9	43000	8,3	10,0
Total	77062	15,6	100050	19,4	29,8
Total – employment in the creative sector	102987	20,8	133737	25,9	29,9
Total employment in Birmingham	495329		517000		4,4

Source: Own research based on Brown et al. (2007) and data from the Birmingham city council (2017)

Poznań

The second of the surveyed cities is Poznań, one of the oldest Polish cities and the fifth in terms of the number of inhabitants in Poland. The city, alike Birmingham, has been an important economic center for centuries. It was located on the

main trade routes in this part of the continent and was playing an important role as the administrative center, due to the location in medieval town center the secular authorities and spiritual hierarchs at Ostrów Tumski (Catedral Island). In the sixteenth century, the town had its first academia – Lubrański Academy. Unfortunately, the later political situation and the partitions of Poland have prevented further development of the academy and the establishment of a university.

The favorable direction in the development of the city was stopped as a result of Poland's partitions. In 1793 Poznań, together with entire Wielkopolska region, was incorporated into Prussia and became the largest town-stronghold on the eastern periphery of the state. The city's incorporation into Prussia was critical juncture with the negative sequence for the development trajectory of the city and its creative class. This restricted city's growth potential for more than 80 years, since any town-planning and economic projects had to be accepted by the Prussian authorities. Unlike Birmingham, more than a century of partition of the country and the lack of a local university has significantly reduced the possibility of development of the creative class. The attempts at Germanization undertaken by the occupant in the second half of 19th century had failed and Polish society turn to organization work, involving first of all self-organization in all walks of life, from the church through science and culture to the economy. At the time Poznań became an import center of Polish scientific and political might.

The possibilities of laying the foundations for the development of the creative class were only introduced with Poland's regaining of independence in 1918, which was a positive critical juncture. The city entered a period of political, economic and social change. The establishment of a university, known as the Poznań University since 1920 was particularly important for the development of the creative class at that time. University attracted scientific staff, including numerous professors, doctors, doctors from other academic centers in Poland, e.g. from Warsaw, Lwow and from e.g. Berlin and Munich (Bajerski, 2016). The positive critical juncture in development trajectory of Poznań, resulting from Poland's regaining of independence has created a wave of favorable projects. They demonstrated the organizational capacity and creativity of the city's inhabitants. One of such undertakings was the organization of international fairs in 1925, preceded by a national exhibition in 1921. It presented the economic achievements of all regions of liberated Poland.

In the first years of independence, migrations of the population were taking a place. They led to a fundamental transformation of Poznań's ethnical and social structure. Intelligence from Małopolska region came to the city, taking office in administration and education. Polish re-emigrants from Germany became merchants, craftsmen, small entrepreneurs and mental workers. Over the decade 1921–1931 the population has increased by more than 1/3: from 178.2 thousand to 248.6 thousand inhabitants. More than 126 thousand inhabitants (51% of the total workforce) worked in the service sector in Poznań in the early 1930s. of the 20th century. The largest share of these workers was employed in trade and insurance (17.4%; 42,810 people) and in communication and transport (13.7%; 33676 people). Despite the dynamic development of the Poznań University and other universities (e.g. Higher

School of Commerce), highly qualified researchers and creative professionals were not taking a significant part of the employment structure in the 1930s. in Poznań (Topolski and Trzeciakowski, 1998).

With the outbreak of the World War II in September 1939 (which is another negative turning point at the Poznań development trajectory) the city was immediately occupied by the Germans and joined to the third Reich. The arrests, executions and deportations mainly affected representatives of the world of science, intellectuals, artists, creators, teachers, engineers, doctors, lawyers who were members of the then Poznań creative class. The period of occupation has caused considerable losses to the scientific staff of Poznań's universities, which in the post-war period have significantly reduced the possibilities for developing the creative class.

After the end of the war in 1945, another critical juncture emerged with the negative consequences. It was the introduction of a communist system in Poland which reduced the opportunities for cultural, social and economic development of the city. The construction of a totalitarian state, has blocked the development of the creative class in Poznań. This period was linked to the city's departure from the typical development path of Western European cities, including Birmingham. Those cities entered the path of stable development on the basis of the free market economy rules after recovery from the destruction of World War II.

In the early 1960s. of the 20th century Poznań became developing industrial and services oriented city in Poland. It also served important service functions, including administrative and social. At the same time, despite the significant loss of human capital during the war, the scientific potential of Poznań universities (e.g. Adam Mickiewicz University, the Academy of Economics, Medical Academy, Poznań University of Technology) developed. They attracted students from other part of the country and from abroad (mainly medical studies). The operation of a number of universities in the city has provided opportunities for development of intelligentsia, although to a limited extent, people that could be described as the creative class. Some of these people have also become participants in the so-called Solidarity Carnival and the systemic transformations launched in 1989, which have enabled the full exploitation of the creative potential of the inhabitants of Poznań.

The socio-economic transformation initiated in 1989 in Poland was a very important turning point in the Poznań development trajectory. It provided new opportunities for the entrepreneurs. However, it also provided in the initial period a deterioration of living conditions. As a result of the restructuring or privatisation of companies emerged the problem of rising unemployment (unemployment rate registered in Poznań, in 1992 was 5.7%; the City of Poznań, 2018) which also affected creative and highly skilled people. Along with the development of the free market economy, the structure of employment started to change. There has been an increase in employment in services (from 29.4% in 1970 to 61.3% in 1995), particularly in the banking sector. As a result of emerging new economic opportunities, a sharp increase took place in the number of one-man private micro businesses from the financial intermediation and trade and real estate services sectors (around 60% of all firms; Statistical Office in Poznań, 1996).

Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004 opened new opportunities for the development of the city of Poznań. It was another positive critical juncture in the trajectory of city development. On the one hand, there has been an opportunity to use EU funds, and on the other hand Poles have been granted freedom of movement between the countries of the Union for the purpose of earning and tourism. Access to EU funds allowed for carrying out investments aimed at catching-up with the economies of the old EU members. Between 2004 and 2014, the Poznań authorities received EU funding for projects amounting to almost 2.2 billion zlotys. These funds became a source of funding so-called soft projects. They do not result in fixed assets, but such as new knowledge, skills and competences (Churski, 2014). In particular, these programs were a source of R&D funding, which provided support to those working in knowledge-intensive activities.

Nowadays, despite the appearance of numerous negative critical junctures in the past, the city of Poznań maintains its tradition of academic center. In the capital of Wielkopolska region is located 8 public and 20 private higher education institutions. Among them is Adam Mickiewicz University which employees almost 3000 researchers (including 918 professors). In addition, 190 R&D units provide strong research facilities. Thus, the creative class in Poznań, alike in Birmingham, is mainly working in knowledge intensive activities (21.8%; Table 2). Besides the high proportion of people working in these activities, high percentage (9.2%) is employed in law and other business services (9.2%). Among these activities, a significant number of employees were employed in 60 business service centers (CB), of which CB Carlsberg was one of the first in Poland at the time of opening in 2006. In addition, a large number of micro-companies were presented in Poznań, including one-man firms providing accounting services. Science and technology parks (e.g. Poznań's Science and Technology Park of the Adam Mickiewicz University Foundation) were also important employers at the law and other business services market. Those activities are based mainly on human creativity and innovation.

Among the creative activities, the largest share of employees (3.5% of total employment in the city) was working in the ICT services activities. This shows a clear increase in the importance of an information and communication economy in the city. The development of small enterprises (including self-employed firms) from the ICT sector has had a significant impact on this type of economy (cf. Strykiewicz, 2009). Some of them were concentrated in the Wielkopolska cluster of ICT companies. As in Birmingham, employment in the ICT services in Poznań is largely generated by companies from the rapidly growing computer games industry, which created such computer games as: Robot Gentleman, Monster Couch, Huckleberry Games, Setapp, Atomic jelly. While the high share of employees in music and the visual and performing arts activities was linked to the cultural function of Poznań. There are more than 80 cultural institutions in the city (e.g. theaters, museums, libraries). It is important to make a creative atmosphere through annual cultural events to attract the creative class members to Poznań (e.g. Malta Festival, Street Theater Festival, International Piano Competition).

Table 2 Structure of employment in creative activities in Poznań in 2005 and 2017

Creative sector	2005		2017		Change 2005-2017 (in %)
	Number of employees	Percentage of total employment	Number of employees	Percentage of total employment	
Creative activities					
Advertising	3511	1,6	3900	1,6	11,1
Architecture	5487	2,5	6500	2,7	18,5
Arts/antiques trade	5686	2,6	6300	2,6	10,8
Crafts	3868	1,7	3900	1,6	0,8
Video, film, music and photography	749	0,3	775	0,3	3,5
ICT services	4595	2,1	8450	3,5	83,9
Publishing	2466	1,1	3523	1,4	42,9
Music and the visual and performing arts	3814	1,7	6588	2,7	72,7
Radio and TV	1430	0,6	1353	0,6	-5,4
Total	31606	14,2	41289	16,9	30,6
Knowledge intensive activities					
Financial intermediation	7733	3,5	11114	4,6	43,7
R&D and higher education	18125	8,2	19800	8,1	9,2
Law and other business services	20534	9,2	22330	9,1	8,7
Total	46392	20,9	53244	21,8	14,8
Total – employment in the creative sector	77998	35,1	94533	38,7	21,2
Total employment in Poznań	222248		244100		9,8

Source: Own research based on Stryjakiewicz et al. (2007) and data from the Urząd miasta Poznania (2018)

3 SYNTHESIS OF THE ANALYSED DEVELOPMENT TRAJECTORIES OF BIRMINGHAM AND POZNAŃ

The transformations of the local socio-economic structures in Birmingham and Poznań, that were taking place in the past were following critical junctures and effected today's state of the creative class. These transformations have taken place in the following areas: industry, technology, services, culture, demography and politics. Nowadays, each of the surveyed creative cities is developing on the basis of his unique combination of critical junctures, which took place in past.

In the light of the of the path dependence concept development trajectory of Birmingham has a fairly stable character from the start of the industrial revolution until the mid of 1970s. The positive critical junctures prevailing since the beginning

of the 19th century, when there was an atmosphere of openness and tolerance among residents in relation to immigrants from other part of the country and from abroad. There is also a favorable climate for entrepreneurship, which has led to a rapid rise in the number of small businesses carrying out complementary production. The positive trajectory of the city's development has been shaken by the economic crisis in the mid-1970s, when the collapse of local industry, mainly the automotive industry, started. Even two world wars have not had such a significant impact on the change in the socio-economic structure of the city and development of the creative class as the crisis in the mid-1970s. However, it has contributed to the emergence of new opportunities for the creative class in Birmingham by the implementation of revitalization programs. They initiated the influx of people, including the creative and highly skilled individuals from London.

In the light of the path dependence concept, Poznań development followed an unstable trajectory. It was affected by a disturbance which resulted from many negative critical junctures associated with the partition of the Polish state at the end of the 18th century, followed by the outbreak of the World War II and the introduction of the communist system and its reign between 1945 and 1989. It can be said that the long-term trajectory of Poznań development as a creative city since the end of the 17th century has been temporarily disturbed but not completely destroyed (cf. Stryjakiewicz, 2010). In particular, the possibility of following the development pathways of the Western European cities has been limited during the command economy period. However, once the period of the limited development opportunities has finished, the positive critical junctures took place (collapse of communism in 1989 and accession to the European Union in 2004) which gave rise to the opportunities for the dynamic development and catching up with cities in Western Europe, including Birmingham. However, in Poznań, where the trajectory of development collapsed so many times, the share of the creative sector employees was higher than in Birmingham, the city, that followed the stable path of development as many other Western European cities. The difference between analysed cities demonstrates the creative class high capacity to “regenerate” in the relatively short period of time once the favorable socio-economic conditions emerge.

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Cesty vývoja kreatívnych miest: prípadové štúdie Birminghamu a Poznane

Súhrn

Koncept kreatívnej triedy formulovaný Richardom Floridom (2002) bol krátko po jeho úspechu na začiatku 21. storočia pomerne rýchlo kritizovaný viacerými báda-

telmi. Napriek kritike sa tento koncept stal veľmi často bázou pre výskum zameraný na vývoj miest. V predložennom článku sa pokúšame odpovedať na dve nasledujúce otázky: 1) Ktoré sociálne, ekonomické alebo politické podmienky ovplyvňovali vývoj kreatívnych miest Birmingham a Poznaň? 2) Ako pomáha koncept cesty závislosti (path dependency) vysvetliť rozdiely vývoja kreatívnej triedy v týchto dvoch študovaných mestách?

Birmingham a Poznaň patria medzi tie európske mestá, ktorých vývojová trajektória mala odlišné ekonomické modely a aj odlišné úrovne sociálno-ekonomického rozvoja v jednotlivých časových obdobiach. Birmingham je príkladom mesta existujúcim v ekonomike s dlhou tradíciou voľného trhu s relatívne malými zásahmi štátu. Na druhej strane Poznaň je mesto, kde „operovala“ centrálné plánovaná ekonomika práve v čase prudkého svetového ekonomického „boomu“ od konca 2. svetovej vojny do konca 80. rokov 20. storočia, čo malo zásadný vplyv aj na vývoj kreatívnej triedy.

Napriek nespornej výhode Birminghamu v súvislosti s týmto vývojom a aj samotným počtom obyvateľov mesta, Birmingham mal v roku 2001 2 607 437 a Poznaň len 531 030 obyvateľov, v oboch mestách sa rozvíjajúca sa kreatívna trieda stala bázou pre budovanie kreatívneho mesta. Transformácia miestnych socio-ekonomických štruktúr v Birminghame a Poznani, ktoré sa tu vytvorili v minulosti, priniesla viac kritických bodov, križovatiek, pri rozhodovaní s dôsledkom pre rozvoj kreatívnej triedy, V súčasnosti sa každé z hodnotených miest rozvíja na báze unikátnej kombinácie kritických rozhodnutí, ktoré boli urobené v minulosti.

Vo svetle konceptu „cesty závislosti“ má vývojová trajektória Birminghamu celkom stabilný charakter, počnúc od veľkých námorných objavov na začiatku 16. storočia, cez priemyselnú revolúciu až do polovice 70. rokov 20. storočia, keď dynamický rozvoj mesta prerušila ekonomická kríza a kolaps priemyslu v meste, hlavne automobilového. Toto bol však na druhej strane zlom, keď sa v meste objavili nové impulzy pre rozvoj kreatívnej triedy v nadväznosti na implementáciu rôznych revitalizačných programov, v Birminghame súvisiacich najmä s deindustrializáciou.

Vo svetle konceptu „cesty závislosti“ mal vývoj Poznane nestabilnú trajektóriu. Prirodzený vývoj mesta bol narušený viacerými negatívnymi „rozhodnutiami“, napr. s rozdelením Poľska na konci 18. storočia a neskôr prerušením kontinuálneho vývoja počas 2. svetovej vojny a nakoniec nástupom komunistického systému a jeho pravidiel moci v rokoch 1945 – 1989. Možno povedať, že dlhodobá vývojová trajektória Poznane ako kreatívneho mesta bola od 17. storočia dočasne prerušovaná, ale nie kompletne zastavená. Pochopiteľne možnosti nasledovať vývojové cesty západoeurópskych miest, aj v súvislosti s rozvojom kreatívnej triedy, boli veľmi obmedzené najmä v čase obdobia direktívne centrálné riadenej ekonomiky. A treba poznamenať, že 45 rokov po 2. svetovej vojne bolo z hľadiska formovania kreatívnej triedy veľmi podnetných.

Avšak v Poznani, kde sa toľkokrát „zrútila“ štandardná vývojová trajektória, podiel zamestnancov kreatívneho sektora z celkového počtu zamestnaných je vyšší ako v Birminghame, ktorý mal stabilnú cestu rozvoja, podobne ako väčšina západoeurópskych miest. Pochopiteľne, treba podotknúť, že tento vyšší podiel v Poznani je do určitej miery aj dôsledkom rozdielnej veľkosti populácií a najmä rozdielnej veľkosti počtu zamestnaných. Rozdiely medzi analyzovanými mestami však ukazujú, že kreatívna trieda má veľkú schopnosť „regenerácie“ v relatívne krátkom časovom období, akonáhle príde k vytvoreniu priaznivých sociálno-ekonomických podmienok.