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UDK: 339.1:008/(438+437.3)
Review article

Received: May 22, 2018
Accepted for publishing: October 22, 2018

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STRUCTURE AND CONDITIONS FOR THE FUNCTIONING OF THE POLISH-CZECH CROSS-BORDER MARKET OF CULTURAL SERVICES

ABSTRACT

This is a theoretical and empirical article. In the first part, an original definition of the cross-border market for cultural services has been developed, based on classic market definitions. The structure and conditions of functioning for this market have also been presented. The next part of the article discusses the supply side of the cross-border market of cultural services for the two twin towns: Cieszyn (Poland) and Český Těšín (Czech Republic). Next, based on the surveys conducted, the participation of residents of both towns in the most important cultural events organised by cultural institutions on both sides of the border was examined. The results of the research prove that despite numerous cross-border Czech-Polish projects carried out by cultural institutions, there are still many barriers in the city, which make it difficult for the residents to benefit from the cultural offer that is available on the other side of the border. These barriers limit the full functioning of the Polish-Czech cross-border market for cultural services.

Keywords: Cieszyn - Český Těšín, cross-border market, participation in culture, cross-border cooperation, market for cultural services, socio-cultural capital

1. Introduction

The Polish-Czech border region, despite the fact that it is very diverse in many respects, simultaneously belongs to the most durable European spatial structures. The community that lives on both the Polish and Czech side is predominantly homogeneous, although German population can also be found on the section of the Polish-Czech border running through the Opole and partly Silesian provinces. The western part of the Polish-Czech border counties is often inhabited by Poles displaced to this area after the Second World War. It can be said that this part of the Polish-Czech border region has the character of a new borderland, where new local

communities often meet, which due to their non-homogeneous population have not yet developed strong cross-border links.

However, the situation is quite different in the eastern part of the Polish-Czech borderland, especially in Cieszyn Silesia, which is located around the towns of Cieszyn and Český Těšín. This area is geographically different, because the border does not run through the mountains (Beskidy, Sudety) in this region, but in an area that is easily accessible - the valleys of Odra and Olza rivers. Moreover, the population of the border areas has been rooted there for a long time, and additionally, on the Czech side, there is a Polish minority centred around the

Polish Cultural and Educational Association in the Czech Republic. This means that many people on both sides of the border are closely or distantly related, and even own land on the opposite side of the border. Such an area encourages close Polish-Czech cross-border cooperation. It encourages cooperation in the field of culture and the implementation of joint activities within the cross-border market for cultural services.

In the article, by using different notions of the market, our own definition of a cross-border market for cultural services was developed, and the conditions for the functioning of this market were presented based on the example of twin-towns of Cieszyn (Poland) and Český Těšín (Czech Republic). The main goal of the article was to find out how frequently the residents of a town divided by a border participate in cultural events that are organised on both sides, as well as to identify the main factors and barriers that make it difficult for the inhabitants to benefit from the cultural offers available both on the Polish and the Czech side of the border. These are barriers that should be overcome, along with the development of the Polish-Czech cross-border market for cultural services. The conclusions from the research and the recommendations contained in this article may be a contribution to the debate on the possibilities of the functioning of cross-border market for cultural services in other cities (in particular, cities in the European Union), which, similarly to Cieszyn and Český Těšín, have been divided by a national border.

2. The concept of a cross-border market for cultural services

The market is a concept widely used both among theoreticians and practitioners, very often interpreted in an arbitrary manner - depending on the purpose of formulating the concept of a market, often very simplified (Kędzior, 2005: 9). This concept was already known in ancient times, when the purchase and sale transactions took place in specially designated places (e.g. the Greek Agora, the Roman Forum), hence the market was originally defined as a place of exchange, as the central square of a city (Chotkowski, 2013: 54). With time, it started to be considered more widely in geographical terms - as an area with similar purchase and sale conditions (e.g. the Polish-Czech borderland or the area of the Euroregion Śląsk Cieszyński). Over the years, however, it was noted that this approach to the market

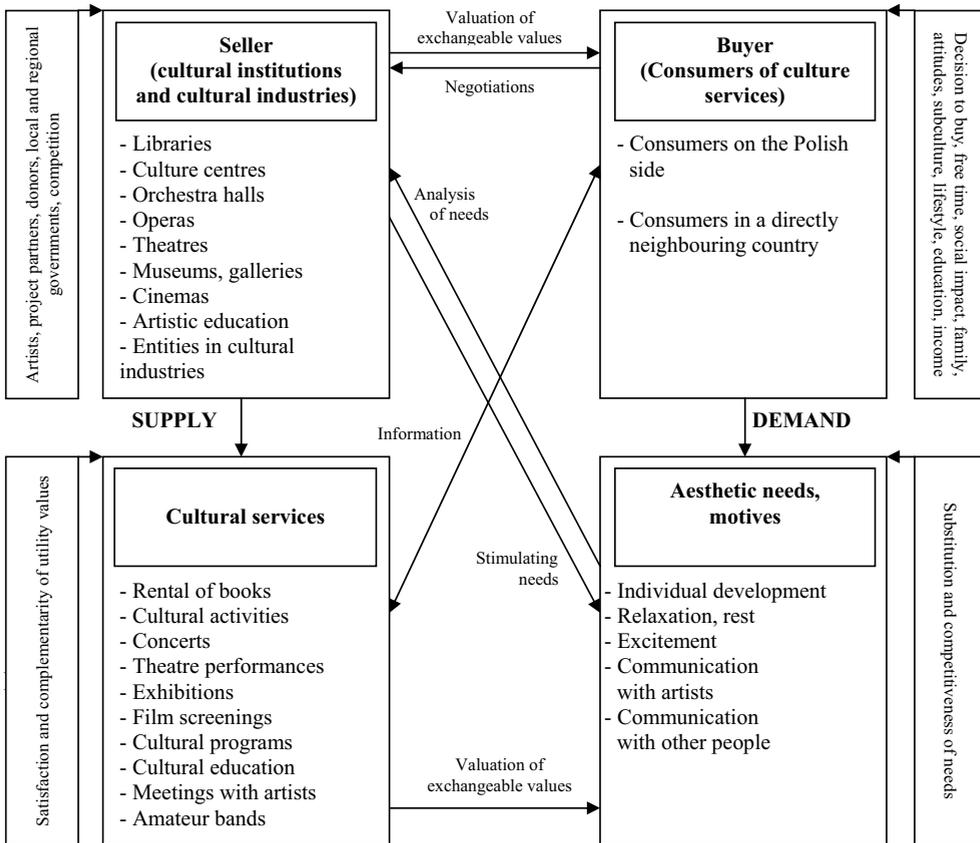
expresses a very narrow definition of the technical (historical) and geographical definition of the market, which is why its subsequent definitions appeared. And so, in cybernetic terms, the market is a deliberately organised system of relations between subjective and objective elements of the market, in which real and regulatory processes occur (Kędzior, 2005: 9). Through the continuous process of buying and selling, market participants go from the relative ignorance of the desires and needs of others to a fairly accurate understanding of how much can be bought and sold and at what price (Kamerschen et al., 1992: 47). The market as an economic category is the sum of trading relations (commodity and money) between sellers offering products at a specified price and representing the supply, and buyers reporting the demand for these products covered by purchasing funds and representing the demand (Mynarski, 2000: 7). Thus, the market is the relation of three elements: supply, demand and price, which is shaped as a result of the meeting of supply and demand. In other words, it is a confrontation of the supply and demand for a given good which affects the price of the goods and the volume of exchange (Bremond et al., 2005: 197). Market specialists define the market in yet another way. In marketing, the market is considered in a much narrower sense than in the economic sense. It has been assumed that in the market economy there is the advantage of supply over demand, and the main problem for enterprises (including cultural institutions) is the shortage of demand for manufactured products. Therefore, instead of the three elements of the market (demand, supply and price), only the demand side is included in the marketing sense. The market is thus defined as buyers, and the sellers are treated as a sector (Kotler, 2004: 173).

In attempting to define the cross-border market for cultural services, both the economic and geographical market definition were used, according to which the cross-border market for cultural services is the whole of the exchange relations between service providers that meet cultural needs and the consumers purchasing these services in the regions of the countries sharing a common border. In other words, it will be a collection of buyers (consumers of cultural services) and sellers (cultural institutions and cultural industries) who carry out transactions regarding cultural services in areas along the border of the countries (border and cross-border regions). A geographical understanding of the cross-border

market for cultural services indicates a territory which is located on both sides of the border, as a separate area with similar purchasing and selling conditions. The classic (economic) understanding of the market reduces the definition of the cross-border market for cultural services to the general

exchange relations between sellers, offering services that meet cultural needs, and buyers - representing a demand for these services. It includes both the subjective (who participates in the trading process) and the objective aspect (what is the object of trade) - Figure 1.

Figure 1 Structure of the cross-border market for cultural services



Source: Own study based on: Sobocińska (2008: 20); Mynarski (1973: 14); Kędzior (2005: 10)

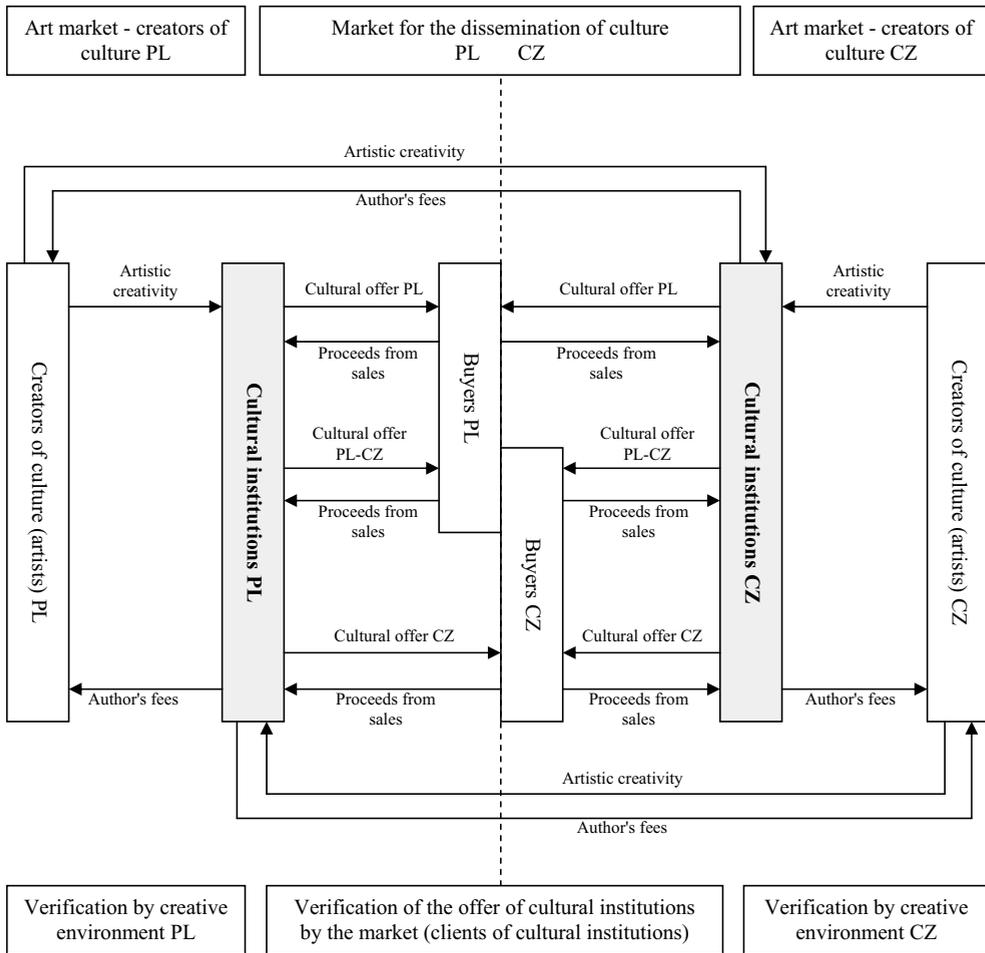
The cross-border market for cultural services should therefore be treated as a system whose elements form a specific structure. In this system, we can distinguish (Kędzior, 2005: 10):

- market entities - i.e. the sellers (cultural institutions, organisations, companies in cultural industries) and the buyers (consumers of cultural services);

- market objects, i.e. cultural services and aesthetic needs, motives for using the services of cultural entities available on the market);
- relations between market entities and objects.

Market conditions for the functioning of the Polish-Czech cross-border market for cultural services are presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2 Conditions for the functioning of the Polish-Czech cross-border market for cultural services



Source: Own work

As shown in Figure 2, two separate markets can be distinguished in the Polish-Czech cross-border market for cultural services:

- art market – the market of the creators of culture,
- market for the dissemination of culture.

On the supply side of the cross-border art market, there are creators of culture, in the widest sense of the concept, both in Poland and in the Czech Republic. These are not only individual creators, but also institutions for creating culture (institutions creating musical, visual, literature and multimedia

works). The works of art, produced by the creators, are subjected to verification by the environment of critics, art experts and other artists in the given country (Poland, Czech Republic). When verification is successful, in accordance with the institutional definition of art by Dickie (1984: 80) and Danto (1964: 571-584), the creator's work is given the status of a candidate for artistic evaluation. This evaluation through the institution of dissemination of culture is carried out on the Polish-Czech cross-border market for the dissemination of culture by Polish and Czech buyers (consumers of culture services). If the cultural institution's offer meets with

the approval of its clients, the creator’s work goes into general circulation on the Polish-Czech cross-border market for cultural services. In return for the cultural offer, the buyers provide the cultural institutions with funds, which then go to the creators. In relation to the cross-border market for cultural services, it is also important that the creators of culture can evaluate their work both by means of national cultural institutions and those located on the other side of the border.

3. Cieszyn - Český Těšín as an example of the cross-border market for cultural services

Cieszyn, with approximately 36,000 residents and Český Těšín (approximately 25,000 residents) are the main towns in the Cieszyn Silesia region and the Euroregion Śląsk Cieszyński located on the River Olza. This region lies in the border area of southern Poland and north-eastern Czech Republic, in the close vicinity of Slovakia. Originally, Cieszyn Silesia belonged to the Great Moravian Empire. Before 991, it became a part of the Polish state, and at the turn of 1289 obtained the status of a separate Duchy of Cieszyn which became part of the Czech crown in 1327. After the Piast dynasty ceased to exist in 1653, the Duchy became the property of the Habsburg family. For a century and a half, the entire

area belonged to one state, the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This condition lasted until its dissolution in 1918. At that time, there was a conflict over this territory which, on July 28, 1920, by the decision of the Council of Ambassadors of the Great Powers at the conference in SPA, was divided between the newly reborn Poland and the newly formed Czechoslovakia. Artificially dividing the historically, ethnographically and socially homogeneous area (including the town of Cieszyn into Cieszyn and Český Těšín) became the cause of mutual Polish-Czech animosities, grievances and conflicts that blocked the creation of the Polish-Czech cross-border market for cultural services for many years (Kowalczyk, Nawrocki, 1999: 196-202, Werpachowski, 2014: 15-25, Wróblewski, 2016: 50-52).

Cieszyn and Český Těšín (Czech Cieszyn) are special not only because of their history, unique location and terrain, but they are also famous for numerous cultural entities and many exceptional cultural events, some of which, as shown by research conducted in 2014, are known and appreciated both in Poland and the Czech Republic (Wróblewski, 2014: 68-72).

Table 1 lists the Cieszyn cultural entities that make up the supply side of this specific cross-border market.

Table 1 Cultural institutions and entities of the Cieszyn cultural industries

Cultural institutions in Cieszyn	Entities in cultural industries in Cieszyn
<p>Theatres Adam Mickiewicz Theatre in Cieszyn</p> <p>Museums Museum of Cieszyn Silesia, Museum of Printing, Museum of Protestantism, Museum of the 4th Regiment of Podhale Rifles.</p> <p>Libraries Cieszyn Library, Municipal Public Library in Cieszyn, Museum and Library of the Brothers Hospitallers</p> <p>Culture centres Cieszyn Cultural Centre, Cieszyn Castle, Neighbourhood Cultural and Recreation Centre</p> <p>Galleries UL Kultury in Cieszyn, w Bramie Gallery</p> <p>Cultural and educational organisations Macierz Ziemi Cieszyńskiej, “Na Granicy” Political Critique Centre</p> <p>Music bands, choirs, orchestras Harmonia Silesian University Choir, Janina Marcinkowska Song and Dance Ensemble of the Cieszyn Region, “Cieszynianka” Brass Band.</p>	<p>Audiovisual and film industry “Piast” cinema in Cieszyn, Kultura na Granicy Association, Cieszyn Film Festival “Wakacyjne Kadry” organised by the Town of Cieszyn</p> <p>Publishing and press industry Głos Ziemi Cieszyńskiej, haloCieszyn.pl, Drukarnia Wydawnictwa ARKA, Oficyna Drukarsko-Wydawnicza “AKANT” s.c., Wydawnictwo & drukarnia Logos Press, Dom Wydawniczy LONGPRESS, Przedsiębiorstwo Poligraficzne MODENA, INTERFON Wydawnictwo – drukarnia.</p>

Source: Own work

A large number of cultural entities active in Cieszyn means that there is a rich and diverse cultural offer. According to the data of the Cultural Department of the Cieszyn Town Hall in 2016, more than 1,600 cultural events were organised by local government cultural institutions in which more than 265,000

people participated (as estimated by the organisers of these events).

The supply side of the cross-border market for cultural services also includes numerous cultural entities in Český Těšín (Table 2).

Table 2 Cultural institutions and entities of the Český Těšín cultural industries

Cultural institutions in Český Těšín	Entities in cultural industries in Český Těšín
<p>Theatres Těšín Theater in Český Těšín</p> <p>Museums Museum of the Těšín Region</p> <p>Libraries Municipal Library in Český Těšín</p> <p>Culture centres Youth Centre in Český Těšín, KaSS Strelnice</p> <p>Cultural and educational organisations Polish Cultural and Educational Association in the Czech Republic, Association of Polish Book Friends, Polish Society of Singers Collegium Canticorum, Polish Art Society "Ars Musica", Macierz Szkolna w Republice Czeskiej, Pedagogical Centre for Polish National Education Cafe AVION</p> <p>Music bands, choirs, orchestras Representative Group of the Central Board of the Polish Cultural and Educational Association "OLZA", "Slezan" folk ensemble from Český Těšín</p>	<p>Audiovisual and film industry "Central" Cinema in Český Těšín, Education Talent Culture Association - organisers of "Cinema on the Border" Film Review</p> <p>Publishing and press industry Voice, PZKO ZWROT monthly, FINIDR, s.r.o. in Český Těšín</p>

Source: Own work

The data contained in the reports of the local government cultural institutions in Český Těšín show that in 2016 about 140,000 people participated in cultural events organised by Czech cultural institutions.

The rich cultural offer of Cieszyn and Český Těšín, which is the result of the activities of numerous entities on the cross-border market for cultural services, is for the most part addressed to residents on both the Polish and Czech side of the border (Wróblewski et al., 2018a). However, the cross-border market for cultural services consists not only of the supply side entities of the market, but also the buyers (consumers of culture) which create its demand side. Therefore, it is worth taking a closer look at the participation of the inhabitants of both towns in cultural events which are organised.

4. Residents of Cieszyn and Český Těšín as participants in the cross-border market for cultural services

Primary research for the purposes of this article was conducted on a group of 799 inhabitants of Cieszyn and Český Těšín (which constitutes about 1.3% of the total population of these towns) who, in 2017, participated at least once in a cultural event organised in one of the twin towns. The research was carried out using a survey, with the use of the PAPI (Paper and Pen Personal Interview) and the CAWI (Computer Assisted Web Interview). Basic information about the research conducted is presented in Table 3.

Table 3 Basic information about the research

Specification	Research
Research method	Survey
Research technique	PAPI (Paper and Pen Personal Interview) CAWI (Computer Assisted Web Interview)
Research tool	Paper questionnaire Electronic questionnaire
Sample selection	Targeted (non-random) (residents of Cieszyn and Český Těšín taking advantage of the cultural offer of these towns)
Sample size	799 in total Residents of Cieszyn 490 - 1.36% of the total population (Women 65.92%, men 34.08%) Residents of Český Těšín 309 - 1.24% of the total population (Women 67.64%, men 32.36%)
Spatial extent of research	Cieszyn and Český Těšín
Research date	October 2017 - January 2018

Source: Own study based on research

The research was part of the project entitled “Programme for the Culture of Cieszyn and Český Těšín”, co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund - Interreg V-A Programme Czech Republic-Poland as part of the Micro-Projects Fund of the Euroregion Śląsk Cieszyński - Těšínské Slezsko and by the state budget.

One of the main issues examined was related to the frequency of using the cultural offer. The residents of Cieszyn and Český Těšín were asked how often they took advantage of the cultural offer of institutions and cultural entities located in Cieszyn (on the Polish side) and Český Těšín. The summary results with the division into residents of Cieszyn and Český Těšín are presented in Table 4.

Table 4 Frequency of taking advantage of the offer of cultural institutions and entities in Cieszyn and Český Těšín in 2017 by residents (in %)

Specification	Residents of Cieszyn N=490				Residents of Český Těšín N=309			
	Not once	Once or twice	A few times	Many times	Not once	Once or twice	A few times	Many times
Cultural institutions in Cieszyn	69.27	17.58	6.48	6.67	84.16	10.81	2.84	2.19
Cultural institutions in Český Těšín	88.66	7.12	2.29	1.94	51.13	22.98	12.82	13.07

Source: Own study based on research results

The data presented in Table 4 shows that the vast majority of Cieszyn residents has not taken advantage of the offer of a significant part of the cultural institutions located in their city. The cultural institutions that were visited by Polish respondents in 2017 usually included the Municipal Library

in Cieszyn - 20.61% of respondents, the Cieszyn Castle (17.14%) - here, however, in the course of further in-depth research, it turned out that the respondents first of all had in mind a walk around the Castle Hill, not a visit to, for example, one of the Cieszyn Castle exhibitions, as well as the “Piast”

Cinema (17.14%). The situation is even less optimistic regarding the inhabitants of Český Těšín. The inhabitants of Český Těšín who took part in the survey most often visit such cultural institutions on the Polish side as: Cieszyn Castle (11.00%) - similarly as in the case of Poles, visiting the Cieszyn Castle was most often in the form of a walk around the Castle Hill, "Piast" Cinema (4.53%) and the Municipal Library in Cieszyn (3.24%), which Poles living in the Czech Republic (members of the Polish Cultural and Educational Association in the Czech Republic) take advantage of most often.

The presented data also show that Poles living in Cieszyn very rarely visit cultural institutions that are located on the other side of the border. The Těšín Theatre is the cultural institution in Český Těšín, which enjoys the greatest interest among Poles. Nearly 5% of the surveyed residents of Cieszyn visited this institution in 2017 many times, 4.69% of the Cieszyn residents surveyed visited the Těšín Theatre a few times and 12.45% of them did so once or twice. Such a result could have been expected given the fact that the Theatre located in Český Těšín Cieszyn, in addition to the Czech theatre group, features a "Polish Stage" - a group of Polish actors putting on plays in Polish. The respondents, residents of Český Těšín declared in turn that they most often take advantage of the offer of the literary café AVION, which is located in the immediate vicinity of the "Friendship Bridge" connecting Cieszyn with Český Těšín. In 2017, Café AVION was visited many times by 22.33% of the surveyed Český Těšín residents. In addition, the Municipal Library in Český Těšín was visited many times by 20.71% of respondents, and the Těšín Theatre - by 20.06% of the surveyed residents of Český Těšín.

5. Socio-cultural capital as a base for the development of the Polish-Czech cross-border market for cultural services

The functioning of the Polish-Czech cross-border market for cultural services is determined by many complementary factors. These factors include (Wróblewski et al., 2018b):

- Political and historical factors. The area of analysis in this article is the city which, due to political decisions that took place at the end of World War I, has been divided into Cieszyn and Czech Cieszyn (Český Těšín) for 100 years. It is a system of cities which in 2007 en-

tered the so-called Schengen area, and therefore visa-free traffic without border controls. However, despite the opening of the borders, in 2018 the Polish-Czech cross-border market for cultural services is still intertwined with the past history. What's more, not only the latest history, but also one reaching back hundreds of years. An important role in its formation was played by both natural migration movements and politics. Particularly, changes in the national composition of the population, which largely affected the Czech side of the city - the formerly predominant population in this area, who declare themselves as Poles, currently constitute only a few percent of the population. The change in this composition resulted from political motives aimed at marginalizing the previously indigenous population.

- Economic factors. Poland and the Czech Republic are countries at a similar level of development. In terms of competitiveness, both countries are relatively high in the global competitiveness ranking of The Global Competitiveness Report 2016-2017 (Schwab, 2018: 13), because they are already between 30th and 40th place. Both countries also have similar financial problems. Basically, the entire sphere of culture in Poland and the Czech Republic can be considered underfunded. These kinds of problems are intensified by efforts to cooperate, to create social capital of a combining nature. What may be of particular interest here, in the light of research concerning the Polish environment of cultural workers, their low salary is not an obstacle to work, because 'passion and conviction about the high value of what you do, often against low wages, makes people decide to work in the cultural sector' (Dziadzia et al., 2015: 60). Generally, the cultural offer of Cieszyn and Czech Cieszyn is open to every interested citizen. The exception may be only the time when there is an economic barrier, related to e.g. performances of popular stage and screen stars in the city theatre. Tickets for such events, especially for young residents, can be a sum they cannot afford.
- Socio-cultural factors. Many values are shared by Poles and Czechs, among which the family and health are the most valued. Inhabitants of both countries are characterized by a low level of trust in politics. In view of the numer-

ous similarities that could be pointed out here, there is one area in which the two nations are diametrically different. It is an attitude to religion. According to the findings of the Global Index of Religiosity and Atheism, 81% of Poles consider themselves religious, while from the Czech Republic it is only 20% of citizens. The Czechs, despite their closeness to Poland, in terms of religiosity are closer to countries such as China and Japan, where the highest percentages of declared atheists are found (Global Index of Religiosity and Atheism, 2012). The issue of attitude to religion does not appear in this article by chance as it is one of the aspects that can be related to mutual trust and understanding of the attitudes of the inhabitants of both sides of the border, expressed likes and dislikes. These problems may directly affect the quality and the possibility of functioning of the Polish-Czech cross-border market for cultural services. Despite the indicated differences, the average Pole, among all the countries of the world, bestows the Czechs with the greatest affection (Relation of Poles to other nations, 2013). At the same time, the Poles, in the same rankings, are in the distant positions for the Czechs. It is worth noting, however, that as a national minority (in the city of Czech Cieszyn, Poles constitute a significant minority) Poles for the Czechs are at the top of the classification (Vztah české veřejnosti k národnostním skupinám zjištěním v CR, 2015).

In the author's opinion, the third factor (a socio-cultural factor) will have a major impact on the further development of the Polish-Czech cross-border market for cultural services. In particular, this refers to the development of socio-cultural capital connecting both cities. The socio-cultural capital of Cieszyn and Czech Cieszyn is perceived in this paper in a perspective related to the works of Bourdieu (1986, 1994) and Putnam (1993, 1995, 2000). The author of the study realizes, however, that the mentioned views are different. Bourdieu emphasizes the play of interests over co-operability, which is the axis of Putnam's considerations. Analysing the situation that characterizes the cities described here, it can be noticed that in the social practice both of the recalled concepts can be current, as well as provide insight into the processes taking place in this field (also important for the development of the Polish-Czech cross-border market for cultural

services). For Bourdieu, socio-cultural capital is the total of real and potential resources associated with having a permanent network of more or less institutionalized relations of mutual knowledge and recognition - in other words, belonging to groups that provide each of its members with support of collectively-owned capital, 'authentication' which entitles them to credit, in the broad spectrum of the meaning of the word. These relationships can only exist in a practical, material and/or symbolic exchange which helps them to maintain them (Bourdieu, 1986: 249). Groups mentioned here are found on both sides of the Olza River. The structure of these groups is centred around various values, or in other words, around various shared factors. On the one hand, these are groups connected with running their businesses in the cities (frequent transfer of business from Poland to the Czech Republic due to legal transparency and tax conditions). On the other, there are numerous groups, associations or organizations, focused on political or religious ideas (it must be remembered that Cieszyn is famous for its many religions). Among the indicated ones, speaking about socio-cultural capital, they perform a mediating role as institutions related to local government, including educational and higher education institutions.

The cooperation between local government institutions and the third sector, however, requires that the character of Cieszyn and Czeski Cieszyn should be closely related to the concept of social capital of R. Putnam. Putnam emphasizes intra-social cooperation, a network of connections, a community of norms and trust (Putnam, 1993: 177). Social capital is funded here on social ties. The author wrote: 'By 'social capital' I mean the characteristics of social life - networks, norms and trust - that enable participants to act more effectively in order to achieve common goals. Whether or not their common goals are commendable is, of course, a completely different matter. The extent to which standards, networks and trust connect significant sectors of the community and cover basic social divisions - the extent to which social capital is 'bridging'- enhanced cooperation can serve broader interests and it can be universally welcomed' (Putnam, 1995: 664-665; 2000). Speaking of the same relations, P. Bourdieu pointed out the social framework within which field dynamics is concerned, as an area of struggle for hegemony, the position of its individual components (Bourdieu, 1994: 226). Cieszyn and Czech Cieszyn are not this kind of places, although in terms of efficiency, it is easy to point out those which to a

greater extent than other entities imprint their mark on the image of both cities. The scale in this respect is extensive, from groups associated with local authorities, which has relatively the largest budget, numerous small organizations and a large number of 'critics' expressing expectations for activities in the field described, but without their direct involvement. This kind of situation, however, takes place in every major human population. Indeed, as far as the analysis of social and cultural life is concerned, it is difficult to see initiatives that would be institutionally subdued within this field (although non-granted ones can be found and thus suppressed). Activity in the area of socio-cultural capital production (the development of the Polish-Czech cross-border market for cultural services) is not so much divisive as the consensus and the multiplicity of the addressed offer. Of course, the evaluation of what is happening is varied.

Summing up, the research shows that despite the implementation of many cross-border cultural projects in Cieszyn and Český Těšín aimed at bringing the Cieszyn and Czech Cieszyn inhabitants closer together, there is still a very clear division into Poles and Czechs (Rusek, Kasperek, 2012: 97-129), and the Polish-Czech cross-border market for cultural services is at an early stage of development. This was also confirmed by the in-depth interviews conducted in 2018 by the author with 40 experts from Cieszyn and Český Těšín (directors of all local cultural institutions, creators of culture, employees of cultural institutions, heads of culture departments and organisers of the most important cross-border events in Cieszyn and Český Těšín). The experts pointed to the main barriers that hinder the development of the Polish-Czech cross-border market for cultural services, such as:

- A low position of culture in the hierarchy of the needs of residents of both Cieszyn and Český Těšín,
- A lack of interest of the inhabitants of both towns in the culture of the neighbouring country,
- Difficulties in developing a cultural offer equally appealing to Poles and Czechs (even a very popular theatre actor in Poland may be completely anonymous to the residents of Český Těšín),
- Language barrier - ignorance or poor knowledge of the neighbouring country's language is an important barrier for full receipt of the

offer of some of the neighbour's cultural institutions (e.g. theatre, cinema or library),

- Economic barrier - for example, for the inhabitants of Český Těšín, the cultural offer of some Polish cultural institutions (e.g. the Adam Mickiewicz Theatre in Cieszyn) is less attractive price-wise than a similar cultural offer available in the Czech Republic,
- Psychological barrier - in the consciousness of some residents of Cieszyn and Český Těšín, there is a permanent border dividing the town into two different parts (Polish and Czech).

Despite the existing barriers, however, taking into account the large number, high quality and dynamics of Polish-Czech cross-border contacts in the field of culture (Kasperek, 2014; Castanho et al., 2017), it can be assumed that in the future this market will continue to develop, which is supported by, among others:

- The important position of culture in the strategic documents of both towns, the Cieszyn county, the Euroregion Śląsk Cieszyński and the provinces on both sides of the border,
- A large number of various types of entities: public, commercial, non-governmental, dealing with culture on both sides of the border (Wróblewski, 2014: 62-66),
- Great importance of culture as an element of other areas important in the socio-economic development of the whole region (e.g. tourism) (Howaniec, Kurowska-Pysz, 2014: 66-74; Szomburg, 2002: 9-12),
- The multiplicity and relative durability of bilateral partnerships based on cross-border projects in the field of culture, including, in particular, projects co-financed by the European Union, which foster the cross-border cooperation (Kurowska-Pysz, 2014: 18).

6. Conclusion

Cooperation in the field of culture between Cieszyn and Český Těšín is one of the basic forms of cross-border activity aimed at "blurring the borderline" on this section of the Polish-Czech border. Its aim is to strengthen the harmonious development of both twin towns and the cohesion of the entire Cieszyn Silesia region. Joint projects of Polish and

Czech cultural institutions with an impact on the cross-border dimension can play an important role in this cooperation. However, the results of the conducted research show that over 84% of the surveyed residents of Český Těšín have not taken advantage of the cultural offer that is available on the Polish side of the border. It can be assumed, therefore, that the range of impact of Polish cultural institutions located in Cieszyn is limited mainly to the Polish side of the borderland. Similarly, the spatial range of impact of cultural institutions operating in Český Těšín is usually limited to the Czech side of the town. The research shows that 88.66% of the surveyed residents of Cieszyn have never taken advantage of the cultural offer available in Český Těšín.

In this place, it must also be indicated that the obtained results of the conducted survey, due to the sampling method applied (in the survey, non-random sampling methods were used—targeted selection), provide an insight into the respondents' opinions on the selected behaviours of the residents of Cieszyn and Český Těšín on the Polish–Czech cross-border market for cultural services, and not the factual state in this regard. However, it is necessary to bear in mind the large size of the research sample, as well as the reliability and goodwill of the respondents. In the future, an in-depth qualitative and quantitative research is planned regarding the conditions for the functioning of the Polish–Czech cross-border market for cultural services on a much larger sample of inhabitants of both cities.

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STRUKTURA I UVJETI FUNKCIONIRANJA POLJSKO-ČEŠKOG PREKOGRANIČNOG TRŽIŠTA KULTURNIH USLUGA

SAŽETAK

Ovaj rad ima teorijske i empirijske temelje. U prvom dijelu daje se originalna definicija prekograničnog tržišta kulturnih usluga zasnovana na klasičnim definicijama tržišta. Prezentiraju se struktura i uvjeti funkcioniranja tog tržišta. Dalje u radu raspravlja se o gledištu ponude na prekograničnom tržištu kulturnih usluga na primjeru dvaju gradova neposredno uz granicu: Cieszyn (Poljska) i Český Těšín (Češka). Na temelju provedenih anketa ispituje se sudjelovanje stanovnika obaju gradova u najvažnijim kulturnim događanjima koja organiziraju kulturne institucije s obje strane granice. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da usprkos brojnim prekograničnim češko-poljskim projektima i dalje postoje brojne prepreke zbog kojih je građanima teško u potpunosti iskoristiti kulturnu ponudu dostupnu s druge strane granice. Zbog tih je prepreka potpuno funkcioniranje poljsko-češkog prekograničnog tržišta kulturnih usluga ograničeno.

Ključne riječi: Cieszyn - Český Těšín, prekogranično tržište, sudjelovanje u kulturi, prekogranična suradnja, tržište kulturnih usluga, socio-kulturni kapital