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REVITALIZATION OF OSIJEK'S FORGOTTEN INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE AS A POTENTIAL FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

REVITALIZACIJA ZABORAVLJENE INDUSTRIJSKE BAŠTINE GRADA OSIJEKA KAO POTENCIJAL RAZVOJA KULTURNIH I KREATIVNIH INDUSTRIJA

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Abstract

A highly developed industry used to be synonymous with Osijek and the entire Slavonija and Baranja region in the past, but in modern times the notion of industry has taken on a new meaning. Classic factories have disappeared, making room for the development of more modern and innovative industries, including cultural and creative industries. The problem of recognition and conservation of tangible and intangible cultural heritage, which is increasingly often at risk, has also come up in the urbanisation process. Systematic efforts to conserve and revitalise cultural heritage are needed in order to preserve the identity and the culture of the local community. Otherwise it will fall victim to uncontrolled urbanisation, and disappear. Cultural and creative industries are building ways for the development, conservation and urban regeneration and revitalisation of the cultural heritage. Repurposed industrial cultural heritage can serve as a reminder of former glory, but also as a daily inspiration for new entrepreneurs, creative professionals, and all other citizens. Local and national governments must make projects aimed at the revitalisation of all types of cultural heritage their priority. These projects are highly attractive. Even though they are also challenging and very expensive, they will continue to bear fruit for many

Sažetak

Iznimno razvijena industrija u prošlosti je bila sinonim za Osijek, no u novije vrijeme pojam industrije više ne predstavlja istu stvar, odnosno klasične tvornice nestaju, a otvara se prostor razvoju modernijih i inovativnijih industrija, i to onima iz područja kulturne i kreativne industrije. U procesu urbanizacije također se pojavljuje problem prepoznavanja i očuvanja sve češće ugrožene kulturne baštine, kako materijalne tako i nematerijalne. Kako bi se identitet i kultura lokalne zajednice očuvali, potrebno je sustavno raditi na očuvanju i revitalizaciji kulturne baštine kako ona ne bi postala žrtvom divlje urbanizacije i pritom nestala, a upravo kulturna i kreativna industrija kreira put prema razvoju, ali i očuvanju te urbanoj regeneraciji i revitalizaciji kulturne baštine. Industrijska kulturna baština svojom prenamjenom ima priliku biti podsjetnik na nekadašnju slavu, ali i svakodnevna inspiracija novim poduzetnicima, kreativcima, ali i svim ostalim građanima. Projekti revitalizacije svih vrsta kulturne baštine moraju biti prioritet lokalne samouprave, ali i čitave države s obzirom da se radi o veoma atraktivnim, ali ujedno i zahtjevnim i iznimno skupim projektima, ali koji će zasigurno nakon realizacije još mnogo godina kasnije ubirati plodove svoga rada kako kroz jačanje identiteta pojedinoga grada, tako i kroz sve brže years after their implementation by reinforcing their city's identity, but also through fast-growing cultural tourism. The main objective of this paper is to explore the potentials of the forgotten (invisible) industrial (now cultural) heritage of Osijek within the sector of cultural and creative industries. With this goal in mind, the authors carried out a survey to gauge public awareness of the economic potential offered by the development of cultural and creative industries, with a focus on the revitalisation of Osijek's industrial cultural heritage. One of the objectives of the survey was also to identify the opinions of different age and education groups in the public about these matters. Regrettably, the awareness of the importance of conserving cultural heritage remains rather low. Educational campaigns, written guidelines, projects and events are needed to educate the broader community in order for the development potential of cultural and creative industries to be really manifested.

Introduction

If we were to analyse the entire course of human history, we would come to the conclusion that new worldviews and new methods of operation were developed with every change of generations, and that the society was increasingly diverging from its past standards and ways of life. This phenomenon is obvious in religion, urban culture, including music, film and visual arts, in technology and in economy. Still, the society cannot – and does not want to – dispose of the reminders of past times so easily. On the contrary, there are tendencies to revitalise these reminders /1/ by scrubbing them clean of their old, obsolete and unsuccessful image and instilling them with a new one that would protect the old while promoting the new at the same time. This trend is most evident in economy, the disappearing and the emerging one. The focus here is on the failed mass industry and on the relatively new industry, based on culture and creativity, which often finds room for its development in the industry of the past. The main subject of this paper is how this came about, and how the society can benefit from cultural and creative industries. Osijek and the entire region of Slavonija and Baranja abound in cultural heritage, which

rastući kulturni turizam. Glavni cilj ovoga rada je istražiti potencijale zaboravljene (nevidljive) industrijske (sada kulturne) baštine Osijeka unutar sektora kulturnih i kreativnih industrija. Slijedom toga, provedeno je i istraživanje o informiranosti javnosti o gospodarskom potencijalu koji donosi razvoj kulturnih i kreativnih industrija s naglaskom na revitalizaciju industrijske kulturne baštine Osijeka. Cilj istraživanja bio je i definiranje stavova javnosti različitih dobnih i obrazovnih skupina o navedenoj problematici. Nažalost, važnost očuvanja kulturne baštine je i dalje na veoma niskim razinama te se kroz edukacije, pisane smjernice, projekte i manifestacije mora obrazovati širi krug ljudi kako bi se potencijal razvoja sektora kulture i kulturnih i kreativnih industrija zaista i osjetio.

is often in a state of neglect and disrepair, especially industrial infrastructure. The primary objective of this paper is to draw attention to the potentials of heritage and the benefits its creative revitalisation could bring to the city of Osijek, with a special emphasis on cultural and creative industries. To formulate an efficient plan for involving the citizens in the revitalisation and utilisation of historical and cultural heritage, the authors did a survey to investigate the valorisation of (forgotten) historical and heritage localities by the citizens, and came up with six hypotheses for the needs of this survey:

H1: Respondents are familiar with the concept of cultural and creative industries.

H2: Cultural and creative industries can drastically improve the economic situation in Osijek and its surroundings.

H3: Local and regional self-government units in Slavonija and Baranja are actively working on the conservation and revitalisation of industrial cultural heritage.

H4: Cultural heritage and cultural events contribute to the development of tourism in Osijek, Slavonija and Baranja and are its greatest assets.

H5: Local residents recognise the importance of cultural heritage and work actively on its

conservation.

H6: Radical interventions on a cultural heritage property during its reconstruction are justified if the reconstruction will result in new jobs.

Identify, examine, implement: toward an urban regeneration model

A number of cultural and historical complexes in Osijek, individual cultural properties and former industrial giants' facilities have been left to deteriorate even though they provide plenty of opportunities to revitalise these spaces and boost the entire economy. However, the problem with the revitalisation of such spaces lies in their location, among other things. Their potential and the ways to revitalise them depend on the urbanism rate of their micro-location. A revitalisation method used in an urban setting need not necessarily be successful in a very rural environment, and vice versa. For this reason, the authors decided to analyse the potential for the revitalisation of cultural heritage on the example of secular heritage /2/. For the purposes of this paper, we confined our analysis to the city of Osijek. Cultural and creative industries help make urban regeneration of spaces faster and easier, but they also help revitalise forgotten cultural heritage, because they include a broad array of sectors and offer different ways of implementing individual sectors in individual revitalised spaces. According to John Hartley, creative industries are a result of conceptual and practical convergence of arts and cultural industries (mass production of symbolic contents) in the context of new technologies and the new knowledge economy in favour of the new interactive citizen-consumer. John Hartley believes that the concepts of cultural and creative industries are interactive and increasingly close to the interpretation of culture primarily as creativity/3/.

UNESCO defines cultural industry as an industry combining creativity, production and commercialisation of creative contents that are cultural and intangible in nature /4/. The objective of the creative industries concept is to describe "the conceptual and practical merger of creative arts (individual talent) with cultural industries (mass production) in the context of new media technologies within the framework of the new knowledge economy, available for use to the newly emerged interactive citizens-consumers" /5/. According to UNESCO, creative industries include advertising, architecture, arts, crafts, design, fashion design, film and video, software and computer games, music, performance and visual arts, publishing, television and radio. There are many classifications of cultural and creative industries. The EU concentric circles model places "literature, music, performance arts and visual arts at the core of the creative industries. Other core industries include film, museums, galleries, libraries and photography. Broader cultural industries include the advertising industry, architecture, design and fashion, and industries related to the above include cultural heritage, publishing and printed media, television and radio, audio and video recording, and computer games" /6/. What cultural and creative industries are really looking to accomplish is to transform the predominantly static role of culture as an "extension" of the citizens' quality of life into a dynamic development element linked with other sectors such as entrepreneurship, industry and tourism. Creative and cultural industries are focused on the examination of cultural and creative industries on two levels: their potential to generate a profit, and their potential to build the recognisability of a city /7/. The emphasis in this paper is on efforts to use cultural and creative industries to encourage urban regeneration and revitalisation of the forgotten cultural and industrial heritage of Osijek for the purposes of branding the city and increasing its recognisability.

Speaking of immobile tangible heritage, on the one hand, we see a substantial number of abandoned properties, and on the other we have a substantial need for available spaces. A cursory look at the immobile industrial heritage reveals large industry halls, dilapidating storehouses and vacant office buildings. The question is, can such spaces be reused, remodelled, repurposed and revitalised for other purposes, cultural, creative, educational or tourism related. Conservation of cultural heritage, interconnected with environmental and social sustainability, is a topic that receives a considerable amount of attention at the moment in the policies of different institutions on European and international level. In addition to serving conservation and promotion purposes, cultural heritage also needs to provide an impetus for the introduction of the topic of integrated sustainability /8/. It is therefore necessary to find tools and to develop strategies to improve the participation of citizens in the processes of reuse and regeneration of cultural heritage. Preventing the degradation of cultural assets, neglect and loss of identity results in positive changes such as reactivation of the community, job opportunities, generation of cultural propositions, and the creation of exemplary opportunities to make use of time. To revitalise means to revive, bring back to life, restore, regenerate. In the context of cultural heritage, the important thing is to use the potential for revival and revitalisation in all directions to give the cultural heritage a new purpose and a new life. To preserve the value of heritage, we must secure the value of its new components so that it could become heritage in its own right one day. Academician Mladen Obad Šćitaroci therefore rightfully questions ways to turn broken-down, destroyed heritage into a self-sustainable resource that could be creatively renewed and activated /9/. Sustainability of cultural heritage implies its conservation and utilisation, which has a potential to generate an income that could partly be re-invested in its conservation. This helps make cultural heritage more sustainable and provides extra sources of funding, not relying on public funding alone. A study carried out in three major US cities /10/ showed that city districts with a greater number of smaller, older buildings had better results in terms of business, social life and environmental protection than districts dominated by newer, larger buildings. Furthermore, older city districts had more small businesses than the newer districts, and also a higher employment rate. According to the Knoxville History Project /11/, these are some of the characteristics of the older buildings immobile cultural heritage - and the districts where they prevail:

- They are resistant to time
- The value of historical heritage often goes unrecognised, because the public is uninformed
- New companies thrive in older buildings, because they make them unique and recognisable
- They offer more content diversity compared to newer districts
- They attract more companies
- They add to the complexity of the city they are located in
- Modern buildings built to replace older ones often do not meet the expectations of the public
- A building that is currently endangered or facing demolition could become a valuable cultural asset in several years' time.

These characteristics attest to the enormous importance of preserving cultural heritage, and all stakeholders interested in its revitalisation should keep them in mind. The walls of Tvrđa in Osijek, which would have a priceless cultural and ambient value today, are an example of destruction of unrecognised cultural heritage.

Registered cultural heritage in the Osijek-Baranja County

For the purposes of this paper, the authors analysed the number, age and categorisation of cultural heritage properties in the Osijek-Baranja County, with an emphasis on the industrial heritage of the city of Osijek. Even though any type of cultural heritage can make a significant contribution to the development of cultural and creative industries, after an analysis of the general state of cultural heritage, our focus will be on secular heritage as the most vulnerable heritage group, and also the group that best yields itself to revitalisation and transformation into new contents. A search of the Register of Cultural Properties of the Republic of Croatia /12/ reveals that there are 77 protected immobile cultural properties in the sacral heritage category, and nine protected immobile cultural properties in the sacral and secular heritage category

in the Osijek-Baranja County. Further analysis of the data leads us to the conclusion that registered sacral cultural heritage properties are prevalent in rural areas, with a share of 71.4%. This could be due to higher numbers of rural areas in relation to urban ones. Sacral and secular heritage properties are slightly more present in urban areas, with a share of 55.5%. Sacral properties are usually in a bad shape, mainly because they are predominantly located in rural communities, which lack the funds for their reconstruction. Additionally, most of these properties are very old, which makes their reconstruction much more expensive. Furthermore, the importance of the sacral properties in rural areas rarely goes beyond the local community, which often does not recognise their development potential, often failing to provide even the basic information in form of info panels. Popular pilgrimage spots are an exception. If we take a look at the urban areas, we can note that heritage properties are extremely centralised, with Osijek, as the seat of the Osijek-Baranja County and the region Slavonija, having by far the highest concentration of sacral cultural heritage. Secular cultural heritage comprises a broad array of different architecture subtypes, from urban and traditional (rural) to fortification and industrial architecture. There are 130 immobile cultural properties registered in the Osijek-Baranja County in the category of secular cultural heritage. 90% of this number are registered in urban areas. An analysis of the secular cultural heritage properties' ages leads us to the conclusion that the secular cultural heritage properties are generally much younger than the sacral architecture properties. Most of the properties were built in the 20^{th} century (46.1%). 27.6% originate from the 19th century, 19.2% properties are from the 18th century, and only 3% of the properties were built before the 18th century. The construction year of 3.8% of the properties is unknown. Since most of the secular cultural heritage properties in the Osijek-Baranja County are concentrated in Osijek, which underwent its biggest development spurt in the 19th and 20th centuries, it is not surprising that most of the properties are relatively new compared to the sacral heritage. The situation in Slavonija on the whole is not much different.

Newer cultural heritage offers certain advantages, such as greater adaptability to new contents, but there is also the danger of compromising the attractiveness of the localities and their ambient value with more radical modern adaptations of the spaces.

Tools for the revitalisation and valorisation of historical and cultural heritage

Revitalisation tools should be coherent, dynamic and innovative. According to the guidelines for the inclusion of citizens in the valorisation of historical localities /**13**/, it is necessary to recognise operational tools whose purpose is to perform actions aimed at involving all stakeholders in the valorisation of historical and cultural heritage. The recommendations are as follows:

a) Identify the tools for the inclusion of stakeholders (citizens and creative communities) in defining new functions for unused or underused historical heritage that needs to be requalified. The tools can include project planning or planning activities in general, common planning, common design etc.

b) Define the tools that the public administration can use to guarantee the involvement of citizens as a regular administrative practice aimed at the valorisation of cultural heritage.

c) Define the tools that the public administration can use to simplify the processes of cultural heritage reconstruction and make them more transparent.

d) Define adequate tools for the development of an efficient, high-quality information and communication plan for the valorisation of cultural heritage.

e) Pay attention to the selection and use of different communication channels in this plan. /14/.

With the above in mind, we can note that examples of revitalisation are sadly few, but in recent years there have been some positive examples of revitalisation of secular cultural heritage for new purposes in Osijek, some of which include cultural and creative industries. Examples of revitalisation of such properties include the reconstruction of former Litokarton's office building, which has been turned into a healthcare centre /15/, the revitalisation of the gunpowder

magazine on the left bank of the Drava, which is now a multifunctional space for cultural purposes /16/, the reconstruction of the railway storehouse, which has been converted into a sports, gastronomic and cultural facility called the SportHouse, the repurposing of the Slavonija textile industry's plant /17/... The reconstruction of the former military bakehouse in Tvrdja is in progress at the moment. The facility will be converted into a Youth Educational and Informational Tourist Centre /18/. The reconstruction of the old bakehouse and the Vatroslav Lisinski Square is worth about HRK 66 million, HRK 52 million of which came from EU funds. The plan is to fully reconstruct the 5,527 m² space. Osijek and its cultural and creative industries face the problem of a lack of space, which has put some complexes in the focus of urban development, often as entrepreneur incubators, as the existing facilities have become too small to accommodate the growing number of potential entrepreneurs /19/. Heritage hotels, facilities combining tourism, culture and creativity, are also a common potential form of cultural heritage revitalisation. Heritage hotels are defined by a set of specific features, such as originality of their amenities, decoration and service. They must be housed in original old buildings, without modern annexes. In addition, the buildings must not be replicas, and they must be outfitted traditionally, meeting all the required categorisation elements and criteria. They also must comprise a minimum of five accommodation units, hospitality facilities, and a reception hall with a reception desk. Stjepanović (2018) states that there were 31 heritage hotels registered in the list of categorised tourist facilities of the Croatian Ministry of Tourism in 2018. Data published on 12 July 2019 indicate that there are 42 registered heritage hotels in Croatia, of which 19 are 4-star hotels, one is a 3-star hotel, and 22 hotels do not have a star rating /17/. There are only two heritage hotels registered in Slavonija, the 4-star Kurija Janković Hotel in Kapela Dvor, and the Kutjevo Castle, which does not have a star rating. Even though Slavonija and Baranja have only two heritage hotels, we must keep in mind that they hold a much greater share in the total tourist accommodation structure than their counterparts in the regions of Istra, Primorje, Dalmacija, or Zagreb.

We can therefore conclude that tourism in Slavonija and Baranja, unlike the rest of Croatia, is seriously focusing on the development of cultural tourism, as confirmed by the increase in the number of tourist arrivals and overnights at the Kurija Janković in Kapela Dvor. Since heritage hotels are usually housed in highly attractive properties, it should come as no surprise that they are usually grandiose structures and facilities in former manor estates, such as castles, country residences, hunting lodges and palaces. In Slavonija's case, both heritage hotels are really housed in former castles. The planned conversion of Kurija Mihalović in Feričanci into a heritage hotel follows the same premise /20/. In addition to heritage hotels, castles can also be reconstructed to serve as visitor centres, as has been done with the Janković Castle in Suhopolje. As urban areas are usually the drivers of development, and not all urban areas have castles, we should not focus just on castles and the potential of their reconstruction and conversion into heritage hotels. Also, since most castles are used as museum or gallery venues, conversion is not likely. We must therefore focus on other facilities or complexes, of which there are many in Slavonija, in urban and in rural areas alike. This includes industrial complexes, most of which are abandoned and run down, partly due to the human factor, and partly due to the passage of time. Industrial complexes are very spacious, providing ample possibilities for the reconstruction and repurposing of their buildings. They are also usually in attractive locations within or outside of residential areas. Any initiative aimed at the revitalisation of a cultural property, even if it is not for a function in cultural and creative industries, will help them indirectly. The conservation of any type of cultural heritage facilitates its survival and the perspectives for the development of cultural and creative industries, which create their own recognisable identities using the conserved cultural heritage. Considering the highest concentration of cultural properties in the Osijek-Baranja County, and in the city of Osijek in particular, potential locations for the development of cultural and creative industries will be narrowed down to the neglected industrial complexes of Osijek's former industrial giants. Below, the authors will present in detail the

abandoned industrial complexes in Osijek, such as Kožara (Tannery), Manjež (Riding School), OLT (Foundry and Machinery Factory) and Šibicara (Match Factory), and the potentials for their revitalisation, with a focus on cultural and creative industries.

Mapping the forgotten industrial cultural heritage of Osijek

Kožara

The Osijek Tannery, officially called Osječka tvornica koža in Croatian, and colloquially known as Kožara, is often in media focus. Josip Bartolović commissioned this vast, monumental complex of industrial buildings in Osijek's Lower Town in 1873 /21/. The entire complex spans around 15,000 m² /22/. Due to its large surface area, it is often believed that the Kožara complex would be ideal for startup companies, once it has been reconstructed. Kožara's problem is that it is in an extremely bad condition and that it is poorly connected compared to other attractive locations. Two larger buildings are all that remains of the original complex. One is located by the river Drava and is currently under reconstruction, to be used as a polyclinic. The other is located on the corner of Mijo Kišpatić and Jovo Jovanović Zmaj Streets. The oldest buildings are also the most difficult to reconstruct, considering that they have been exposed to the most damage and neglect. The newer buildings, erected in the first and the second half of the 20th century, are in a much better condition from the architectural point of view, but are heavily damaged in many places. Considering that these buildings are not a part of cultural heritage, their adaptation or even demolition creates fewer issues and requires a lower budget. One such building is located in Kožara's yard. Its demolition would make room for the construction of a new square or park. The ground level of the buildings on the south side of the complex could be converted into a car park so as to address the problem of lack of parking spaces in the future converted Kožara complex. The adaptation of the Kožara building is a must, especially with a

view to persons with reduced mobility, since there are no elevators or access ramps in the entire complex, with the exception of the oldest building, which has a former freight elevator. The corridors in the building would also have to be expanded to satisfy the needs of persons with reduced mobility. The ground level of Kožara's oldest building, due to its accessibility and surviving tanning machines, has a potential for conversion into a standing exhibition of the tannery's industrial heritage, but also into a unique coworking space or a catering establishment. Even though it is assumed that the Kožara complex will be converted into a healthcare facility, since it was sold to Projekt Slavonija Zagreb at the last auction of the immobile properties from Kožara's bankruptcy estate, we should not rule out other revitalisation options /23/. With the exception of the polyclinic, which should occupy most of the complex, the rest could be converted into a recreation area, such as a multifunctional sports hall, a rehabilitation centre, a space for associations in culture, start-up companies in cultural and creative industries, old crafts workshops, accommodation capacities and so on.

Manjež

The plan is to revitalise the striking building of the former Austro-Hungarian horse-riding school, spanning an area of 1,325 m², for use by the theatre and arts scene, in particular the Osijek Academy of Arts and Culture /24/. The Lauba building in Zagreb, also a former Austro-Hungarian riding academy, serves a similar purpose. Considering that this location is the smallest and requires the least complex works among all locations discussed in this paper, which makes it the likeliest candidate for conversion and repurposing, we included it in this list of potential locations even though it is essentially a military, not an industrial structure. Parts of the building's attic that will not be used to operate stage equipment could be converted into exhibition spaces and accommodations for guest artists, including ateliers. There is also the possibility of building basement storage areas for stage equipment, but it will depend on possible archaeological findings.

Šibicara

The very attractive location of the former match factory in Osijek's Upper Town opens up a number of issues. The match factory was established in 1856, and remained operational until 2003. The nearness of the city centre and the relatively good condition of the industrial buildings provide a considerable potential for conversion for public, commercial or residential purposes. Compared to Kožara, the Šibicara complex is in a much better condition in terms of significant structural damage. In addition, Sibicara has an extremely large yard, which provides the opportunity for the construction of a new residential and commercial district. Šibicara has several preserved machines that could be converted into a standing exhibition about the Osijek match factory, and the large industrial halls offer more freedom in interior decoration. Like Kožara, Šibicara has a problem with vertical communication for persons with reduced mobility. All buildings would have to be adapted to allow movement in the entire Sibicara complex. The office building, a protected cultural property, could be converted into a hotel, with its attractive looks, great location, and large surface area. The building has a large basement section, a ground level, a first floor and a high attic that could also be adapted for use. A covered elevated walkway linking Šibicara's buildings on the south and north side of Reisnerova Street, which was demolished in 2007, used to be the symbol of the match factory /25/. As a unique Upper Town urban detail, this walkway should be reconstructed as a part of the revitalisation of the Šibicara complex.

OLT

The former OLT factory complex on Svačićeva Street, located in immediate vicinity of the student campus, is by far the largest, and also offers the most potential. The OLT factory was established in 1912. /26/ The former industrial complex comprises a number of industrial halls, an office building, an archive building, a doctor's office, and a water tower. This complex is currently used as a production facility, but is completely unfit for the purpose. A relocation of the production and a conversion of the complex for another purpose, such as the development of cultural and creative industries, should be considered. The factory complex is ideal for the development of the alternative art scene. Due to the close vicinity of the university campus, it could also be used as a coworking space for student associations, where they could develop and implement their projects. Still, the complex is in a very bad shape, which is the result of damage sustained in the war, lack of maintenance, poor business performance, weather, and age, considering that many of the buildings are more than 50 years old. Much of the complex is a protected industrial heritage monument, limiting possible interventions in the space. Many of the buildings are not protected, however, and could be demolished or adapted radically. Their demolition would free up room for the development of public areas and commercial or residential buildings. Parts of the complex are very spacious and could be converted for use by the local museum and the archive, which struggle with a chronic lack of space.

Empirical research

The need to conserve and revitalise cultural heritage is the dominant idea of this paper, but the question why the conservation of cultural heritage is such an important priority rightfully arises. Does a cultural heritage conservation programme have other clearly visible benefits in addition to the historical and cultural ones? To help answer this question, we carried out a survey among Osijek citizens. We wanted to find out how well-informed they were about the cultural heritage of their city and the possible methods for its revitalisation and urban regeneration offered by the broad array of cultural and creative industries.

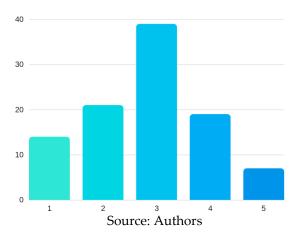
For this purpose, we used a questionnaire at random locations and among diverse respondents in Osijek, aiming for the greatest possible diversity in age, education, and worldviews of our respondents. 1000 respondents filled in the questionnaire. 585 (or 58.5%) of our respondents were women, and 415 (or 41.5%) were men. Divided by age groups, the majority of our respondents belonged to the group between 18 and 30 years of age (65.1%). Respondents between 30 and 45 years of age were the next with 16.2%, followed by the group between 45 and 60 years of age accounted for 5.9% of the sample. In terms of education, respondents with a secondary school diploma were prevalent, with a share of 37.7%. 34% of our respondents had a four-year university diploma, and 28.1% a two-year university diploma.

Survey results

Below we will present our survey hypotheses and explanations why they were accepted or rejected.

Hypothesis 1: Respondents are familiar with the concept of cultural and creative industries.

Graph 1. "I'm familiar with the concept of cultural and creative industries."

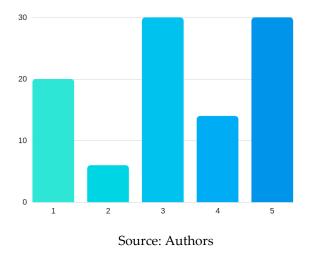


14% respondents strongly disagreed with the claim "I'm familiar with the concept of cultural and creative industries." 21% respondents said that they moderately disagreed with the claim, 39% respondents took a neutral view, 19% moderately agreed with the claim, and 7% respondents said that they strongly agreed with

the claim. Considering that most respondents (39%) took a neutral view on cultural and creative industries, these results lead us to the conclusion that they are not very well informed about the concept of cultural and creative industries, or all the benefits they could bring to a city.

Hypothesis 2: Cultural and creative industries can drastically improve the economic situation of Slavonija and Baranja.

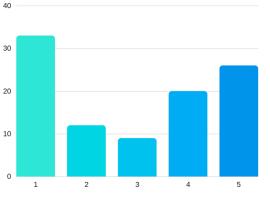
Graph 2. "Cultural and creative industries can drastically improve the economic situation of Slavonija and Baranja."



20% respondents strongly disagreed with the claim "Cultural and creative industries can drastically improve the economic situation of Slavonija and Baranja." 6% respondents said that they moderately disagreed with the claim, 30% respondents took a neutral view, 14% moderately agreed with the claim, and 30% respondents said that they strongly agreed with the claim. These results suggest that the respondents are highly divided on this matter, and we may assume that there is no true neutral stand among them. It is more likely that the respondents who took a neutral view were unable to decide between strong agreement and strong disagreement, the prevalent responses.

Hypothesis 3: Local and regional self-government units in Slavonija and Baranja are actively working on the conservation and revitalisation of industrial cultural heritage.

Graph 3. "Local and regional self-government units in Slavonija and Baranja are actively working on the conservation and revitalisation of industrial cultural heritage."

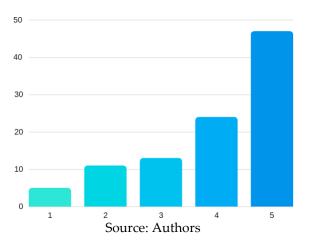


Source: Authors

33% respondents strongly disagreed with the claim "Local and regional self-government units in Slavonija and Baranja are actively working on the conservation and revitalisation of industrial cultural heritage." 12% respondents said that they moderately disagreed with the claim, 9% respondents took a neutral view, 20% moderately agreed with the claim, and 26% respondents said that they strongly agreed with the claim. The strong agreement with the claim can be linked to the persistent long-term opinion of the respondents about local and regional authorities, who have for a long time been inactive when it comes to investments in the cultural heritage and its revitalisation. The mild growth trend in agreement with the claim can be associated with recent investments in cultural heritage of Slavonija and Baranja by local and regional authorities.

Hypothesis 4: Cultural heritage and cultural events contribute to the development of tourism in Slavonija and Baranja and are its greatest assets.

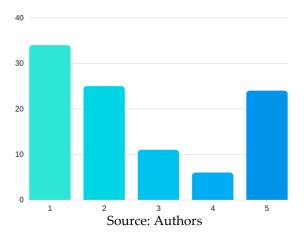
Graph 4. "Cultural heritage and cultural events contribute to the development of tourism in Slavonija and Baranja and are its greatest assets."



5% respondents strongly disagreed with the claim "Cultural heritage and cultural events contribute to the development of tourism in Slavonija and Baranja and are its greatest assets." 11% respondents said that they moderately disagreed with the claim, 13% respondents took a neutral view, 24% moderately agreed with the claim, and 47% respondents said that they strongly agreed with the claim. This question shows a clear domination of the opinion that culture is an important segment in the development of tourism in Slavonija and Baranja, which confirms the hypothesis presented above.

Hypothesis 5: Local residents recognise the importance of cultural heritage and work actively on its conservation.

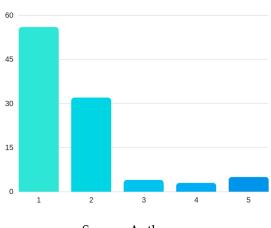
Graph 5. "Local residents recognise the importance of cultural heritage and work actively on its conservation."



34% respondents strongly disagreed with the claim "Local residents recognise the importance of cultural heritage and work actively on its conservation." 25% respondents said that they moderately disagreed with the claim, 11% respondents took a neutral view, 6% moderately agreed with the claim, and 24% respondents said that they strongly agreed with the claim. In contrast with the widely held public opinion that the value of cultural heritage is recognised in Slavonija and Baranja and that active efforts are being invested in its conservation, we note that most respondents do not share this opinion, and believe that the cultural heritage of Slavonija and Baranja is not recognised.

Hypothesis 6: Radical interventions on a cultural heritage property during its reconstruction are justified if the reconstruction will result in new jobs.

Graph 6. "Radical interventions on a cultural heritage property during its reconstruction are justified if the reconstruction will result in new jobs."



Source: Authors

56% respondents strongly disagreed with the claim "Radical interventions on a cultural heritage property during its reconstruction are justified if the reconstruction will result in new jobs." 32% respondents said that they moderately disagreed with the claim, 4% respondents took a neutral view, 3% moderately agreed with the claim, and 5% respondents said that they strongly agreed with the claim. Even though we previously established that a significant portion of the respondents do not consider cultural heritage and cultural and creative industries to be the drivers of economic development in Slavonija, they nevertheless feel that destruction of cultural heritage must not be allowed under the pretence of securing economic development. This also confirms our previous hypothesis that the local population recognises the importance of cultural heritage after all.

This questionnaire and survey lead us to the conclusion that, in spite of the high awareness of the conservation of cultural heritage, people are insufficiently informed about the development potentials of cultural and creative industries and often fail to see how cultural properties could act as the drivers of economic development in these industries. This calls for the development of a project system that would provide continuous education of interested investors to teach them about the opportunities and potentials for the development of cultural and creative industries.

Conclusion

Low participation and low awareness of Osijek residents about the importance and the enormous economic value and potential of the cultural and creative industries sector is one of the key problems impeding their development. Another problem is the lack of spaces needed for the development of cultural and creative industries and the lack of coworking spaces for the networking of entrepreneurs. This problem could be solved by revitalising former industrial properties and factories that had served as the drivers of development back in their day. Provided that they undergo the very necessary reconstruction, they could once again become the drivers of industry in cities across Slavonija, but this time the cultural and creative industries. However, low awareness is not the only problem standing in the way of development of this sector of the economy. Very high initial investments also must be taken into account, and local, regional and national authorities need to support the development of cultural and creative industries. The lack of a development strategy for the cultural and creative industries in Slavonija is one of the main reasons why it is underdeveloped, and the shortage - or complete absence of investments by local, regional and national authorities in building a solid infrastructure and creating a functioning incentive system for such entrepreneurship slow down and impede the realisation of many projects.

For this reason, specific activities are needed to encourage citizen participation in matters related to the valorisation of cultural and historical heritage. We suggest the following possibilities: a) Involve stakeholders in the identification of priorities for defined action plans and in the strategies and intentions presented in the Cultural and Historical Heritage Utilisation Plan. b) Design the Historical and Cultural Properties Utilisation Plan for unused or insufficiently used properties within the strategic plan.

c) Involve stakeholders in defining evaluation criteria for the appointment of management bodies for historical and cultural heritage. They should be a part of economic and time planning of management activities. d) Implement strategies for the inclusion of citizens and local communities to recognise activities making cultural and historical heritage more attractive.

e) Identify and test new public and private financial models to raise funds needed for historical and cultural heritage to be put back in use.

f) Open a stable dialogue channel with cultural heritage owners. Recognition of management strategies allows for greater public and collective utilisation of properties, but the owners' needs in terms of maintenance and reconstruction need to be accommodated at the same time.

g) At urban level, develop information and communication plans focused on historical and cultural heritage that is readily available and can bring potential benefits in near future.

h) Organise and develop specific educational activities at schools on all levels to draw the students' attention and spike their curiosity about their local historical and cultural heritage /27/.

Croatia, and especially Slavonija, are often associated with a traditional lifestyle, which is also an impediment to their development. Tradition, identity and culture will not disappear /28/ if they are carefully managed. We therefore require systematic planning and development in culture, and creativity has to be a part of everyday life, not only in the culture sector, but also in the entire economy. If not, there will be no connection between the resulting new culture, identity and tradition and the old. As the old saying goes, one cannot live off former glory. Likewise, the old culture, tradition and identity will not survive and will be doomed to extinction.

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