Chapter 6
After the Archipelago Basins: The Case of Independent Music Stage in Warsaw

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Economy of Independent Music and Its Spatial Dimensions

Music as a Product and Commodity of Experience Economy

Music can be described as a hedonic activity that causes emotional reactions not only through audial stimuli but also through multi-sensual experiences related to all forms of music consumption. Getting into contact with music is possible via analogue and digital audio devices and players, audio-visual equipment in a form of a video or streaming as well as through a concert in a specific location and social situation. This is very often extended through fan culture such as merchandise, clothing, styling oneself in a particular way and shaping one's life-style and consumption preferences (Ekananda 2014). These purchase choices are very much motivated by the desire to re-experience individual memorable moment or reconstruct the emotional realm in which the musical experience took place (Lacher and Mizerski 1994; Lindström 2005). In that sense music industry, and especially independent music industry, is a typical case of an experience economy branch, in which the main function is to stage a memorable and personal experience which is intangible and revealed over a duration of time by a performer to their guest (customer) engaging multidimensional sensation and making it possible to enhance and extend this experience through personalised merchandise (Pine and Gilmore 1998). In their pioneering work on experience economy Pine and Gilmore (1998) distinguish between the service economy, which is offering customised services to clients and the experience economy, which offers personal experiences to guests through unique time- and place-based sensations. This new economy is fuelled by the need to look for individual identity and self-positioning through symbolic and

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cultural goods in todays' societies (Lorentzen 2009). The experience economy doesn't limit itself to creative and cultural industries or tourism and entertainment. Interactivity can be installed in many conventional products and services making them more personal for the customer and increasing their value through unique aesthetic or entertaining content (Boswijk et al. 2007; Pine and Gilmore 2011; Jensen 2014).

Similar duality applies to urban dimension of the experience economy. A. Lorentzen (2009) claims that many aspects of experience economy are place-bound. On the one hand experience economy feeds on place as means of experience production. In that case urban environment is seen as a specific physical space in different scales where local identity, city's image and associations are important part in developing the experience product. On the other hand, place is very important for consumption of experience goods such as events (concerts, festivals), urban activities (shopping, walking, interacting with other people) or services (restaurants, exhibitions, performances). In this sense place increases the value of particular experience goods through identity creation and customer engagement (Lorentzen and Hansen 2009; Lorentzen 2009; Smidt-Jensen et al. 2009).

Cultural production of music happens within network systems with various functions and roles that are necessary for developing musical products and experiences (Cummins-Russell and Rantisi 2012). In his definition of cultural economy Hirsch (2000) identifies following actors of an industrial network: profit-oriented companies, creators (e.g. writers, musicians, arrangers), brokers (e.g. agents, bookers, curators), producers (e.g. labels, studios, publishers), distributors (physical and online stores, streaming platforms, venues) and media outlets. Music creation and consumption is by some scholars described as an interactive learning process in which both tacit and codified knowledge are imperfect and rapidly changing. According to Storper and Venables (2004: 1) this situation makes it necessary to rely on face-to-face contacts that 'provide efficient communication; can help solve incentive problems; facilitate socialization and learning; provide psychological motivation'. Therefore there is a strong tendency for spatial clustering of musicians, in particular those representing the independent scenes. This urban ecology of music production and consumption contributes to what some authors refer to as 'buzz'—the mechanism based on close interaction between producers, users and consumers that creates excitement and energy that may amplify the impact of a particular artist, work or genre beyond the intentionally planned level (Bathelt et. al. 2004). Buzz in this sense refers to processes of informal interactions between artistic milieus, cultural intermediaries and fan-base that need specific settings characteristic for urban landscape, such as studios, cafés, clubs and other artistic spaces (Currid 2007, 2009). These interactions depend heavily on taste-driven, place-based knowledge creation. They can take form of jam sessions or rehearsals allowing the musicians to convey specific values and content and might also include space and equipment sharing as well as making temporary strategic alliances between various actors in the music industry network.

Global Changes and Their Local Impacts on Independent Music Production

Music market is often described as being divided into three global major record labels and the rest that are called independent. However, independent music seems more than just the one that is produced outside of major commercial record labels, because it involves many meanings and practices defining the relationship between the musician and their record label. For the musician it means more autonomy over artistic work and lack of outside interventions into creative processes enabling more experimental and less commercial music production. A notion that is particularly important for the independent music is the D.I.Y. (do it yourself) legacy of punk-inspired ways of alternative and low-cost music making that has become a dominant organizational model for many music genres (Hracs and Leslie 2013). However, independent music very often struggles with limited access to capital, production resources or mainstream broadcasting and as an industry is subject of growing competition (Brown 2012).

Independent music recording market has a very diversified structure with companies ranging from large international multimedia corporations to informal garage labels. It is easy to speculate on the amount of actual independence or artistic quality related to music being produced under these various types of labels. According to The Independent Music Companies Association data almost 99% of European music companies are micro, small or medium sized enterprises that correspond to over 80% of new releases and employment in that sector (IMPALA 2015). It is therefore hard to tell to which extent being an independent musician is a choice and to which a necessity (Brown 2012; Hracs 2012).

Last two decades have completely redefined the global music market (Gałuszka et al. 2013). It is possible to identify seven main consequences of this process that created favourable conditions for the independent music to flourish in semi-peripheral cities like Warsaw:

1. Ongoing globalisation of the music market caused by digitalization.
2. Shift in music production and recording technology in terms of cost and access.
3. Accelleration of music production, supply and the number of artists and bands.
4. Shift in distribution caused by shrinking record market, diversification of music formats and distribution channels and growing online market.
5. Shift in communication and power relations within the music industry.
6. Internet piracy and shift in revenues from music production.
7. Shift in promotion channels and strategies.

Digitalisation of music production and distribution contributed to globalisation of the music market. It also enabled direct exposure of particular genres and artists to global audiences. Music has been especially prone to this shift, as it does not need direct interpretation and therefore is one of the most universal means of artistic expression. Ongoing globalisation of the music market also leads to redefinition of the role of traditional media as gatekeepers and tastemakers. It is now more

diversified through social media, streaming services and platforms that allow audiences to personalise and profile their playlists according to other users with similar taste (Gałuszka et al. 2013). This is especially important for the independent and niche music, as it allows the localised 'buzz' to go global and become 'viral' in relatively short time.

Making music is now cheaper than ever before because of relatively low cost and improved access to professional and semi-professional technology of music production and recording. Independent artists can utilise the online know-how and easily have their own studio with a help of a PC, editing software and simple recording equipment (Pettipas and Jagoda 2012). What is more, technological shift opened up a market of very cheap second-hand analogue and electroacoustic equipment from the 1970s and 1980s that has also been inspirational for many genres. Hracs et al. (2011) refer to this phenomenon as democratization of music production that made individual artists independent from major labels and professional recording industry. These authors also point out to spatial dimension of this phenomenon, namely emergence of new, secondary music centres (Hracs et al. 2011).

Some scholars however, are more sceptical about the democratization of music production and balancing power of different types of actors (Hesmondhalgh 2009; Rogers 2013). Rogers (2013) claims that the so-called 'MP3 crisis' is just a phase in-between the reorganisation of major music industry players that already present a wide range of innovative strategies attempting to compensate for the lost revenues. In 2012 and 2013 global music market has faced the most spectacular merge in the industry, that ended with disappearance of EMI group that has been absorbed by three other so-called majors—Sony Music Entertainment (SME), Universal Music Group (UMG) and Warner Music Group (WMG). This global process has been navigated by American and European antitrust institutions and resulted in macroregional shifts across the world. In Poland this process lead to improving the affiliated offices of WMG making them headquarters for the whole Central and East-European macroregion, which were earlier based in Germany (Gałuszka et al. 2013).

The global music market is still recovering from the 'MP3 crisis' started in 1990s by Napster and P2P filesharing platforms (Hracs and Leslie 2013). However, contrary to economic intuition it is possible to observe growing music supply in terms of artists, tracks, events and scenes. Kruse (2010: 625) claims, that this change is driven by Internet, which 'has become a key player in the production, promotion, dissemination, and consumption of independent music'. Hracs (2009) goes even further with his conclusions arguing that music making became placeless and opened up a possibility to become a successful musician by putting more emphasis on social than industrial dynamics in location choices.

This leads to a completely new model of music production – an enterprising musician. Such musician is using online networking and new technologies to compose, record, produce, distribute, promote and manage the work independently of major and medium labels (Hracs 2009, 2012). All these processes are based not on financial capital, but rather social and human capital, namely resources available

within local and virtual communities as well as willingness to learn new skills by using online know-how and tacit knowledge. This also applies to crowdfunding. It means that the structure of working time is shifting for many independent musicians towards less creative and more business-oriented tasks (Hracs et al. 2011). What is more, artists often become independent of their own local scene and through Internet can interact with other artists of similar genre or style. In other words musicians working in particular locations can connect with each other across localities creating inter-local identity (Connell and Gibson 2003; Kruse 2010). This shift in communication and power relations in music industry contributes to growing independence of artists on one hand and to shrinking time they can contribute to creative work on the other (Wojnar 2016).

Internet piracy and the 'MP3 crisis' had also important influence regarding the music production revenue structure (Cummins-Russell and Rantisi 2012). For independent artists the new context is that recording and publishing music is often considered partly production partly promotion and the ultimate financial goal is to book concerts and performances which became the main source of income for many musicians. With dropping record sales labels are now looking for opportunities to get revenues from digital downloads, subscription services and online streaming. As in 2014 for the first time in history global digital music revenues equalled physical at 46% of total industry revenues, online strategies are becoming more and more important (IMPALA 2015).

Growing number of music tracks, artists and records, differentiating structure of music production means larger competition and makes it difficult to get to target audiences. On the other hand a growing demand for more personalised, intimate and extended experience of music and its subsidiary aspects contributes to shift in promotion channels and strategies. These involve new, personalised and direct forms of interactions with fans through social media aimed at developing online fan communities (Burnes and Choi 2015). These are very often localised communities oriented to having a genuine, almost friend-like relationship with the musician, that support an artist in terms of creating a buzz, sharing and commenting on their work, crowdfunding and even booking concerts and organising tours. Burnes and Choi (2015) claim that many supply chains that used to be predominantly physical, including music industry, are moving into virtual world, in which fan-based virtual communities contribute to their impact and therefore value. In terms of horizontal strategies regarding promotion musicians are more open for strategic collaborations with visual and design artists in order to expand the emotional and aesthetic impact of their work. These collaborations often take form of barter with mutual promotion side-effects, but are also very sensitive in terms of taste compatibility (Hauge and Hracs 2010; Hracs 2012).

To sum up, it is possible to identify several parallel, yet contrary, processes resulting from recent shifts in the music market, that have changed the geography of music production. A narrative regarding music agglomerations is also present among experience economy scholars. It focuses on urban clustering of music industries underlining that vertical industrial integration is caused by imperfections and fluidity of knowledge required in music production (Connell and Gibson 2003;

Storper and Venables 2004). There is another theme represented by Hracs et al. (2011) underlining the importance of Internet linkages in accelerating music industry in secondary cities. These scholars argue that new linkages differ from typical industrial clustering in favour of horizontal social and bohemian clustering (Hauge and Hracs 2010; Hracs et al. 2011; Hracs and Leslie 2013). Nevertheless, they observe that this online integration is rather localised and interactions take place mainly between artists, audiences and intermediaries. Finally, there is an interpretation integrating both of these perspectives emphasising that independent music scenes are bound locally but interconnected globally, since their long-distance linkages are based on intra-local identity similarities (Bennett and Peterson 2004; Kruse 2010).

Emerging Bottom-up Cultural Policy. The Case of Warsaw

Cultural policies play an important role in generating both supply and demand for artistic production and this also applies to independent music. The simplest classification of cultural policy models involves variations between the top-down and bottom-up approaches. Flew (2013) presents a very interesting typology of cultural policies. He identifies bottom-up policies in the Anglo-Saxon approach as the market-oriented 'facilitator model' practiced in the USA and the re-granting 'patron model' popular in the UK and Australia. Among top-down approaches he mentions the 'architect model' based on centralised granting, typical for Francophonic and Scandinavian systems as well as the state-driven 'engineer model' implemented in former Soviet and some Asian countries (Flew 2013).

The process of cultural policy formation in Central and Eastern European (CEE) capital cities, like Warsaw, has been a subject of drastic change over last 25 years (Ilczuk 2002; Rewers 2014). In the context of Flew's typology I argue that cultural policy in Warsaw is shifting from the top-down 'engineer model' towards bottom-up re-granting 'patron model'. This process is rooted in Poland's transformation from the post-Soviet system towards democratic market economy with some neoliberal aspects (Sagan 2007; Murzyn-Kupisz 2010; Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz 2014). Apart from the above mentioned global processes shaping independent music market, there are also other national and macroregional processes that condition this shift in case of Warsaw. These are, among others, changing cultural policies at national level, dynamic situation on real-estate market, spread of 'creative city' rhetoric among decision-makers, growing political mobilisation of urban activist movements and artistic communities as well as growing appreciation of culture in social and urban development (Ilczuk 2003, 2012; Głowacki et al. 2009; Lewandowski et al. 2010; Rewers and Skórzyńska 2010; Rewers 2015).

During the 1990s, that is in the first decade of Polish transition, much focus in the public debate has been put on institutional and economic aspects of system change. Culture as a field of public policy has moved to periphery of the dominant

discourse. Therefore national cultural policy in that period could be described as 'ad hoc responsiveness' to current circumstances, lacking systemic approach and very much dependent on the vision of a particular person chairing the ministry (Wąsowska-Pawlik 2013). Most documents, manifestos or agreements lacked tools and resources of implementation. The beginning of the new century has brought a new opportunity with some significant resources coming from the EU funds. This perspective accelerated the debate on cultural policy with a strong focus on institutions and infrastructure, effective absorption of EU funds and filling the 'development gap'. This thinking has also been present on metropolitan level. Issues such as changing participation models, social dimension of culture or global pressures regarding culture have not been sufficiently and strategically addressed in that process (Ilczuk 2002; Wąsowska-Pawlik 2013).

However, since the beginning of 2000s it is possible to notice significant improvements in the number and quality of national cultural institutions. This new institutional framework opened up for a new generation of people with vision, passion and new approach to culture. What is more, it also created jobs and a new professional community. The majority of these new institutions, like National Centre for Culture (NCK), Adam Mickiewicz Institute (IAM), Theatre Institute (IT), Institute of Music and Dance (IMIT), National Audiovisual Institute (NInA) or Polish Film Institute (PISF) are located in Warsaw. Almost 80% of central government budget for culture is spent in Warsaw as well, mainly on major national cultural institutions. With a rather centralised national cultural policy benefitting the capital city, Warsaw city council, pressured by an influential cultural community, took a completely different approach and acknowledged the role of civil society institutions and grass-root movements in the field of culture by developing a granting and re-granting system. These funds supported broad variety of activities including large festivals, avant-garde projects and small community initiatives. This process strengthened the role of cultural intermediaries such as managers, animators, curators, educators, but also activated artists themselves to become more entrepreneurial. The system is very open in terms of areas and forms of activities that could be supported and therefore could be described as a 'patron model' (Flew 2013).

Second half of 2000s accelerated bottom-up movements' mobilisation, which was partly driven by political opportunity, partly by pressures from other sectors including social policy, labour market, real-estate market and urban planning. Literature on the role of culture, notions of creative city, cultural and creative industries has been an important factor too. This resulted in first evidence-based National Culture Congress[1] in 2009 supported by national institutions, series of comprehensive analytical reports and strategic policy proposals. Another strong impulse elevating the debate regarding metropolitan cultural policies has been tied to efforts of Polish cities to bid for the title of European Capital of Culture (ECC) in

[1]There have been national cultural congresses in 1981 and 2000, however they lacked analytical and evidence-based input.

2016. Between 2009 and 2011 several major Polish cities have been developing their proposals which resulted in radical widening of perception of the role of culture among local communities, metropolitan authorities, academics, media and governance practitioners (Kłosowski 2012; Tölle 2013). In Warsaw this process resulted in appreciation of already established bottom-up cultural community, bigger budgets for non-institutional culture as well as introducing convenient regulations and solutions regarding cultural activities. Even though Warsaw did not win the ECC 2016 bid, this energy has been channelled into developing an unprecedented bottom-up participatory document prepared by the cultural community, informal leaders and activists in cooperation with representatives of institutions and city council. The Warsaw Culture Development Programme has been adapted by the city council in 2013.

Methodology

This research seeks to explore recent dynamics and location factors of independent music production, interaction and performance in Warsaw with particular attention to reactions to global shifts in the music market. Main research questions investigated spatial situation regarding independent music production, interaction and performance as well as factors influencing urban location of these types of activities in Warsaw. The research is based on a qualitative case study design (Bryman 2004; Yin 2009) involving triangulation of data sources and analytical methods such as observation, desk research, individual semi-structured in-depth interviews, qualitative snow-ball mapping. The research has started with a three month long observation of an actual independent music band and their attempts of finding a rehearsal studio in Warsaw. Analysis of secondary data and content involved reports, music reviews, magazine articles and online sites including Facebook pages about renting music spaces. In total 25 interviews were conducted within the framework of this research in spring and summer 2015. Purposeful selection of interviewees included 7 independent musicians representing various music genres, 5 independent label managers, 3 music critics, 5 intermediaries (club owners, activists, cultural animators) and 5 local policy-makers (public real-estate office, metropolitan and district cultural offices).

Independent Music in Warsaw

Networking—Local Reaction to Global Challenges

Independent music scene in Warsaw has been flourishing for over two decades now, achieving a high level of diversity, a recognizable brand and becoming a crucial part of the city's image as an innovative, creative and hip city. Independent

music scene in Warsaw consists of many different genres including free jazz, underground jazz, improvised music, indie music, electronic music, electro-pop, rap and hip-hop, post-rock, hardcore, post-punk, folk and nu-folk, contemporary music and many, many more. A characteristic feature of all of these scenes is strong anti-mainstream and anti-commercial orientation, which manifests itself as being very D.I.Y. (do-it-yourself) and self-sufficient in terms of production, distribution, promotion and performance. The only exception would probably be the hip-hop environment with almost every label having a successful merchandise brand. Another feature is that most of the artists are multi-instrumentalists either self-taught or very well educated graduates of music universities and they are very open-minded about switching aesthetics and collaborating in surprising and avant-garde constellations. Both academic and post-academic scenes of contemporary music are not separated from the underground or avant-pop projects. On the contrary, these two worlds merge together in various urban spaces and places. A good example of this could be a leading contemporary music quartet having their rehearsal studio at a punk squat, as they say, not because of lack of available spaces (they are all teachers at the Warsaw Music University and have access to very professional means of music production), but because of the possibility of collaboration and mutual benefits for all artists working in that space.

This openness, integration and interconnectivity at the artistic level contribute to uniqueness and very original independent music production being created in Warsaw. One of the explanations of this openness might be strong experimental legacy of the electroacoustic scene dating back to the 1970s and anarchist legacy of the punk movement in the 1980s. Those decades that preceded the transition, were very creative for the Warsaw music scene. There were several reasons for that. A lot of artists were inspired by the Western—mainly American and British music, however they would lack access to technology and instruments. Therefore many musicians and instrument designers were looking for ways to imitate or recreate sounds using domestic or Soviet technologies. Those attempts inspired artists to collaborate across genres and inspired them to explore further technical possibilities of the D.I.Y. equipment. Many of these artists started to experiment across aesthetics connecting entertainment music with Polish country and urban folk as well as romantic tradition of classical music. These aesthetic and technical explorations and merges contributed to very specific attitudes towards jazz, pop, punk, folk and electronic music. Warsaw became a place of musical experimentation and attracted open-minded and underground musicians to relocate. Student clubs located in central parts of the city and academic dormitory areas (i.e. Stodoła, Hybrydy, Park, Proxima, Riviera-Remont) have played very important facilitating role in that process, however since mid-1990s they started to lean towards more commercial events. The decade of 1990s brought a flood of commercial pop music and meant entry of international majors like Universal, Sony, Warner and EMI reconstructing the informal networks and changing the Warsaw scene by promoting mainstream music. However, the end of 1990s and the 'MP3 crisis' activated bottom-up underground initiatives that would find their way in the transition of Warsaw into a Central and Eastern-European metropolis.

Competing with Real Estate Developers

Metropolitan processes in Warsaw have very important spatial aspects and are strongly tied to growing role of the city as a place for macro regional headquarters of multinational corporations and most important location for domestic companies (Gorzelak and Smętkowski 2011). Moreover, growing corporate labour market, as well as expanding service sector, attract labour force from all over the country. That creates very strong demand on the real-estate market with many domestic and foreign developers competing for attractive locations for office, residential and commercial spaces.

The situation is further complicated due to weak urban planning and unsolved real-estate ownership issues dating back to post-war period. Warsaw has been one of the most ruined cities in post-war Europe. In order to rebuild the capital city the communist authorities introduced the so-called Bierut Act, which nationalized all real-estate within administrative borders of the city depriving owners of their properties. After the transition the situation has not been regulated in a systemic manner creating unprecedented wave of civil suits against the city council. This limits the city's potential in terms of introducing a comprehensive spatial policy. Many real estate properties in Warsaw still have a vague legal status and therefore selection of potential spaces available for new establishments is relatively narrow. It's even possible to say, that the standard cycle of a cultural district is impossible due to the developers' pressure (Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz 2014). The few postindustrial areas in sub-central locations have been immediately gentrified even before any artistic or underground activities would become visible there. It's notable, that apart from the Central Business District, the city has three significant secondary office districts. Moreover, the economic crisis has not hit the Warsaw real-estate market to large extent and most of investments both in sub-central and more suburban locations have continued with only minor delays. This characteristics shows the scale of power imbalance between developers and artists.

Different Reactions to Spatial Pressures

All of these spatial pressures created very hard conditions for independent musicians to find spaces of creation, interaction and performance. In each case conditions related to real-estate market, local and national cultural policies as well as bottom-up mobilisation have played an important role as location factors. Yet not all types of independent music activity have been affected by these processes in the same way. Mapping spatial history of independent music locations from the last two decades shows that Warsaw is a very clear case of significant differences in terms of location of artistic production, interaction and consumption of independent music. During that period spaces of independent music production have been

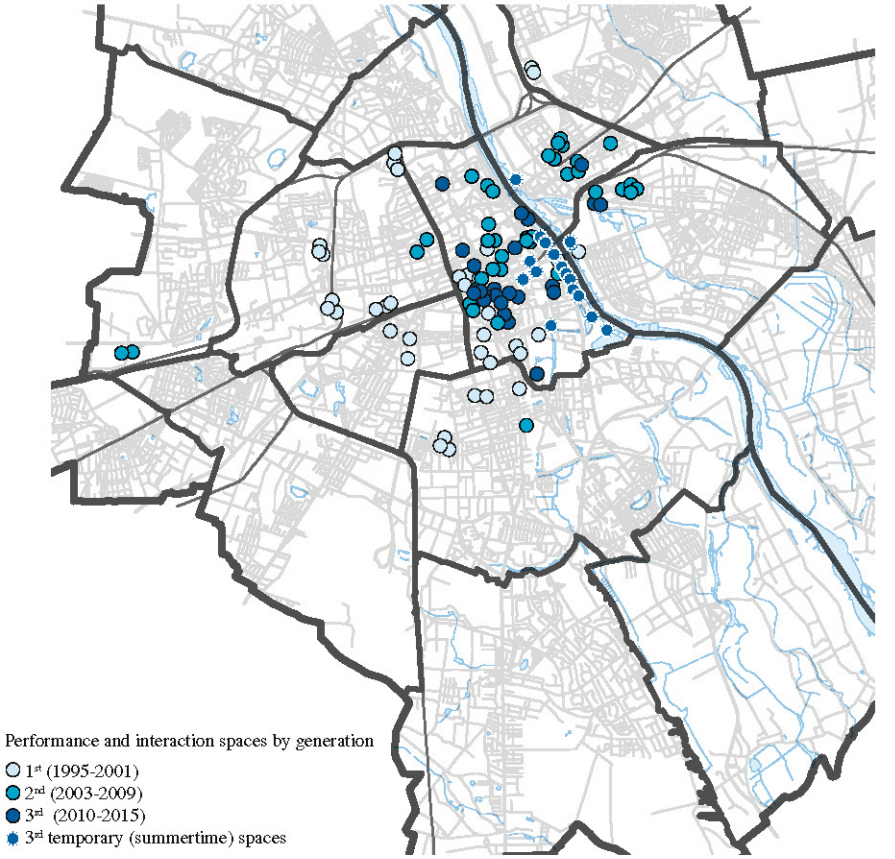

Fig. 6.1 Spaces of independent music interaction and performance by 'generations' in Warsaw. *Source* Own research

pushed further and further away from the city centre into peripheral districts and post-industrial areas in less attractive locations (Fig. 6.2). Parallel to this process it is possible to see that spaces of performance and creative interaction have been gravitating more and more towards the city centre (Fig. 6.1). Even though the situation could be described as difficult for all types of independent music activity it is worth investigating which factors are responsible for the above mentioned differences. The figures show different generations of places identified as important for independent music. Places marked as first generation have either disappeared or have altered their creative status to the extent that does not qualify them as places of independent music. Places marked as second generation have either disappeared or are losing significance, whereas places marked as third generation are considered new and blossoming.

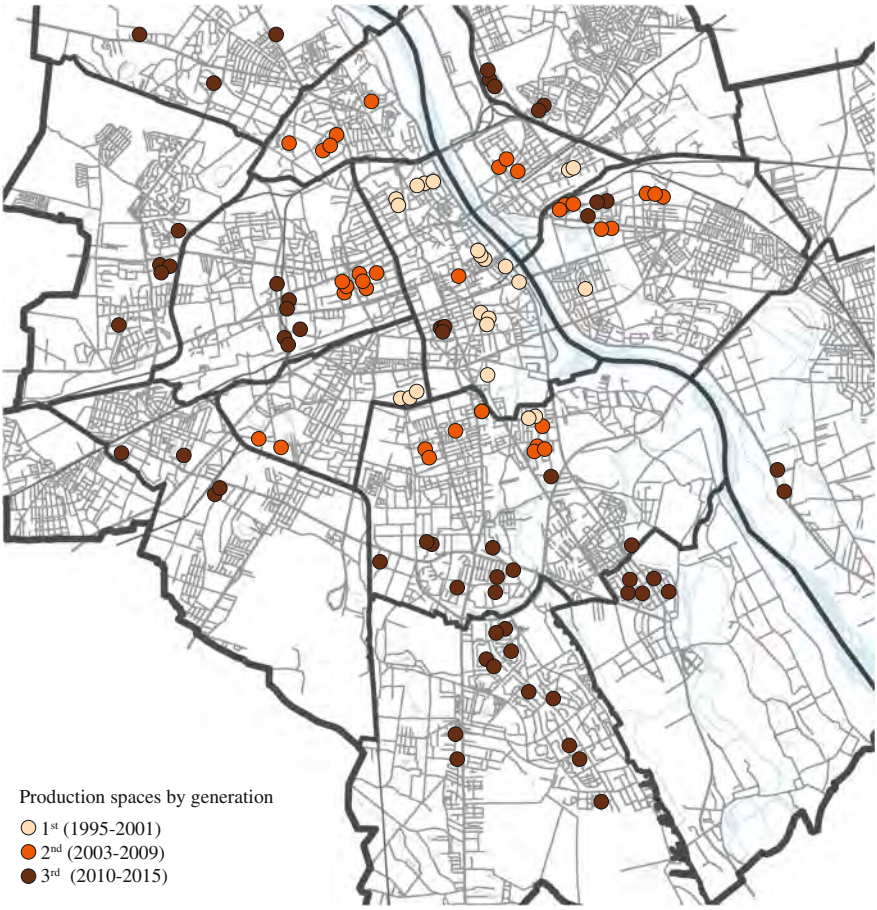

Fig. 6.2 Spaces of independent music production by 'generations' in Warsaw. *Source* Own research

Spaces of Interaction and Performance

Significant domination of the majors that promoted mainstream pop music in the largest TV and radio stations in the 1990s followed by the 'MP3 crisis' mobilised independent musicians and club owners to look for cheap, unobvious and underground locations for music clubs. With less revenues from selling records, the need to connect with fans and gain income from concerts encouraged independent artists and managers to organise their own venues for performance. First generation of independent music performance and interaction spaces has been forming as 'archipelago basins' with 3–5 clubs next to each other. Owners of the first pioneering club in a particular location would soon convince their friends or groups of similar taste to start their own club while helping them with organisational issues.

Those symbiotic clustering processes would first start in the western part of the city and form a ring surrounding central districts. These clusters would usually appear in former industrial or manufacturing zones (Burakowska, Dobra), abandoned railway magazines (Kolejowa, Kotły) or old military forts (Forty Mokotów, Forty Bema). At the beginning of 2000s several basins would also appear on the eastern bank of the river—in the district called Praga, locating in post-industrial areas in the former vodka factory (Koneser) and its surroundings, a textile factory (Otwocka) and a former motor manufacturing site (Mińska).

These first generations of clubs launched a completely new lifestyle related with clubbing and became an incredible push for different genres of Warsaw independent music. These initiatives were very often managed by artists themselves but also by fans and people from their surroundings, not necessarily having much business or managerial experience. Their popularity among hip young people and their place-making role led them to become a subject of very strong and intense competition and gentrification. That process was driven by more experienced players in the entertainment sector. A significant number of these clubs and sometimes even whole basins would become outbid and pushed away from their original locations and aesthetic specificity by developers or competition. This created frustration, but also mobilised artists and broad ranges of intermediaries (club owners, intellectuals, urban activists, cultural animators, journalists, non-government organisations, etc.) to look for solutions, collect organisational know-how, create lobbying groups and advocacy with regard to underground and independent culture. Some of these strategies would also include finding allies in new emerging national and municipal cultural institutions.

Parallel to this process urban cultural policies would become more present on the agenda. There was a political opportunity to negotiate some forms of public support for the independent culture with the city and district councils. One of developed solutions has been selection of few locations with preferential rent for independent or non-profit cultural venues as an experimental tool. This solution brought many new initiatives and spaces of independent music interaction and performance closer to the city centre. One of the reasons for that was growing consciousness and acknowledgement of cultural functions of the city centre and openness of central district authorities for supporting independent cultural initiatives.

Second half of 2000s was also the time when first club-cafés (*klubokawiarnia*) would appear in Warsaw—a new type of venue run as business with significant part of profit being spent on culture. The most important and pioneering venues of this type have been Chłodna25 and LeMadame, both now closed due to neighbour-venue conflicts. Club-cafés have been established by the new generation of cultural managers and activists as a reaction to aggressive competition that pushed away some archipelago basins from their original location. Starting a sustainable business would also fill the gap of insufficient public support for the independent culture and music, as owners would become a sort of private patrons for independent music. These places would also welcome all sorts of community initiatives, debates, brainstorming and networking events. Shift in communication and social mobilisation caused by social media contributed to building significant

and supporting audiences and fan base. Very often these would include visual artists, curators of prominent cultural institutions, academics, journalists or even representatives of mainstream media. Club-cafés would create a very favourable environment for development of independent music providing very open and inclusive environment, decent performance incomes for the musicians, collaboration opportunities, exposure to very demanding yet supportive and influential audiences with truly independent vibe. Centrally located club-cafés played another function, as through intense networking activities they would build knowledge and encourage bottom-up pitching of solutions and programmes for supporting independent culture in Warsaw. Finally, club-cafés would consolidate this potential and use the political opportunity of European Capital of Culture 2016 bid to advocate for the bottom-up Warsaw Culture Development Programme.

The latest generation of performance and interaction venues for independent musicians is a result of experiences and milestones achieved by club-cafés. Participatory urban planning process and exploratory initiatives of non-profit sector created a seasonal space for open-air music venues and bars by the Vistula river. It is a part of a broader revitalisation programme, that proved to be very successful through engagement of independent musicians and urban artists into place making processes. There are also several squats and temporary independent music venues based in locations with an unclear legal status. Bottom-up initiatives and programs gave the city council tools to negotiate, legalise and mainstream these types of solutions that contribute to vibrant artistic life in the capital city. Moreover, public institutions, like theatres or museums are becoming more engaged in supporting independent music by sharing their venues and collaborating with independent musicians. Many alternative initiatives started in club-cafés developed into cyclical events and festivals supported by the public sector.

Summing up, gravitation towards city centre in case of spaces of independent music performance and interaction has become possible despite pressures from the real-estate market and business sector. The factors of these processes are multiple, however, most important include bottom-up mobilisation and building social potential, political opportunity related to ECC 2016 and participatory processes in urban cultural policy, development of favourable support tools such as availability of public venues with preferential rents and grant system, supportive and influential intermediaries involved in lobbying process. In these processes spaces of interaction and performance of independent music became important subjects and beneficiaries of public support policy as well as private sponsorship. Characteristics of these type of spaces as being part of experience economy allowed them to be put on to the agenda.

Spaces of Music Production

During the same period spaces of independent music production, such as studios or rehearsal spaces have been pushed further and further away from the city centre into

peripheral districts and post-industrial areas in less attractive locations. Moreover, these spaces have experienced relatively short life-span with commonly acknowledged duration of around 3–4 years. Many artists have been forced to move their studios and rehearsal spaces as the venue was changing the owner or was being renovated and upgraded for a different function. In their strategies independent musicians adapted to these harsh conditions, by incorporating the fluidity and necessity of mobility into their studios design.

First generation of independent music production spaces has been mostly located in the city centre. Those were however, not the high-street locations, but rather more low-key or even shabby quarters that would offer a small garage or a former manufacturing site for rent. Real estate market dynamics in Warsaw has very quickly verified those locations as music studios. Artists and sound engineers would have to move their studios to outer districts forming four main clusters of the second generation of music production spaces. Those clusters were placed in the western district (Wola)—a typical case of restructuring inner city manufacturing, southern district (Mokotów)—with old villas, well planned housing quarters and many former artisan studios for rent, eastern district (Praga)—a more deprived urban area with very cheap rent prices, and northern district (Żoliborz)—type of rather posh, upper-class district with few scattered former manufacturing spaces. Clustering processes in case of the second generation music production spaces have been accelerated by emerging social media. The first social media platform dedicated especially for musicians that revolutionised networking, knowledge and aesthetical circuit for independent musicians has been MySpace. It enabled a new way of communicating with fans, but also enabled artists to collaborate together. Around 2006 MySpace has slowly been displaced by Facebook as more popular and universal tool of communication. One of the most common uses of social media platforms by independent musicians in Warsaw involves looking for or sharing music studios and workshop spaces (i.e. semi-open studio sharing add pages). Two very clear examples of this process were present in the case of second-generation clusters in the western and eastern districts. Pioneering groups would spread word of mouth about the availability of spaces for rent and help other groups by sharing administrative and technical know-how. Interestingly, the western district music production cluster has been attached to the largest printing house cluster by the time and the eastern cluster was based on collaboration with many visual artists.

The last generation of independent music production studios and rehearsal spaces is located in even more peripheral and residential districts (especially the southern locations) as well as former railway properties (western and north-eastern locations) and former manufacturing buildings. Many of these locations include non-typical music production spaces such as basements of residential houses, utility rooms in schools or kindergartens or former public service offices. This functional and geographical shift from former industrial spaces to residential spaces has been caused by several factors. Firstly, the shift in recording and mastering technologies (cheaper recording devices, cheaper recording and mastering software, good quality sound and instrument digital libraries) allowed musicians to divide the work into ‘loud’ and ‘quiet’ processes. This causes less conflicts with neighbours in

residential areas and allows musicians to have their studios nearby their home. This process has actually been crucial for the peripheralisation of music production location in Warsaw. It is also reflecting a change in attitudes among artists, who are now more open towards negotiating their space in their own community and neighbourhood and have less trust towards seemingly affordable spaces in post-industrial areas.

A very important source of semi-professional studio design know-how has also been the social media, namely YouTube. Many independent artists and music engineers are using D.I.Y. online video tutorials while designing and building their studios to make them cheaper, mobile and easy to reconfigure. This strategy applies to rehearsing, working on new material and preparing demos. Many independent artists rent professional recording studios only for a final recording and up to a few days. Other cost-effective strategies apply to being creative with recording technologies by developing a more vintage sound, using old recording equipment, mastering the sound by avoiding using expensive digital filters or tuners.

Summing up, most important factors that allowed independent musicians and sound producers to achieve this level of mobility can be associated with technological shift, bonding and networking role of social media as well as creativity in terms of aesthetics and sound. Moreover, unlike spaces of performance and interaction, spaces of independent music production are not yet subject of public policy support. Conducted interviews confirm the working hypothesis that spaces of independent music production do not involve audience and therefore are not directly part of the experience economy. It is thus harder to put this case on the agenda. Another power factor affecting non-central location of music production spaces is lack of support of powerful and influential intermediaries, such as art curators, club owners, cultural animators or journalists. These actors are not directly involved in music production process, unless they are musicians themselves. This factor constructs less political and power opportunity and makes it harder to create coalitions in favour of supporting individual artists or bands with their production spaces. Finally, there is a common, dangerously neoliberal, belief among many intermediaries and local policy makers that artists who are not ‘smart’ enough to get access to or cannot afford a studio are simply not suitable for this profession.

Conclusions

This chapter explores the notion of experience economy in the case of independent music scene in Warsaw. It investigates to which extent global shifts in the music market such as the ‘MP3 crisis’, technological developments and social media resonate in secondary metropolises such as Warsaw. It demonstrates that Warsaw is a very clear case of increasing differences between locations of artistic production (peripheral) and performance and interaction (central) of independent music. Findings indicate that spaces of independent music production do not involve audience and therefore are not directly part of the experience economy, whereas

spaces of independent music performance and interaction became subject of political opportunity of various intermediaries which put that case on the policy agenda resulting in preferential rents and a supportive grant system. Moreover, recent developments in recording and mastering technologies as well as social media contribute to flexibility and mobility of music studios as well as bonding, networking and space sharing among independent musicians.

It is therefore possible to generalise that spatial clustering and gravitation towards central districts is significant in case of independent music interaction and performance spaces, as they are subject to experience economy. They exploit new linkages, that differ from typical industrial clustering, in favour of horizontal social and bohemian clustering. These new linkages create favourable conditions for bottom-up mobilisation and participatory processes in urban cultural policy by involving various groups of intermediaries in lobbying processes. These findings reinforce interpretations proposed by Hracs and others (Hauge and Hracs 2010; Hracs et al. 2011; Hracs and Leslie 2013), who underline the role of localised integration and interactions between artists, audiences and intermediaries. This also suggests a need for further research that explores political opportunities and spatial dimensions of cultural policies in secondary metropolitan areas in Europe. More research is likewise needed on how local policy makers can be more effective in offering support to creative production in secondary European metropolises.

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