

13. Jam Factory

(Lviv, Ukraine)

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1 Introduction

[Jam Factory Art Center](#) is an organization that is committed to implement its vision - opening an interdisciplinary center of contemporary art in the revitalized space of the Jam Factory premises, which through its educational activities, exhibitions and research will reflect current processes in Ukrainian and international art and culture, and will open opportunities for public dialogue. The impressive neo-Gothic building, as well as several adjacent buildings from later periods, is located in the historical industrial district of Lviv called Pidzamche. From 1872, the alcohol factory owned by Kronik and Son company was operating there. It changed a number of functions and stood vacant from 2008, when the vegetable processing unit producing jam was closed. Several grass-root artistic and cultural initiatives temporarily used the building in the following years.

In 2015, the Austrian historian and private donor Harald Binder, well-known in Lviv as a founder of the [Center for Urban History of East Central Europe](#), institution of research and public history, bought the Jam Factory site and initiated its revitalization through the [Harald Binder Cultural Enterprises](#) (HBCE).

In the international competition in 2015, the project of the Austrian bureau of Stefan Rindler was selected. The long process of consolidation of the land plots, getting permissions, and adaptation of the Austrian project to the Ukrainian laws and regulations, with the help of the local "[AVR Development](#)" bureau, started. In the meantime, the team of the project is working on institution-building, with [grant program](#), educational lecture series, exhibitions, and art fellowship residences, functioning in the temporary locations nearby.

In October 2019, the implementation of the revitalization project started. It includes restoration and adaptation of the 2 buildings listed as monuments of local significance, as well as construction of new additional premises, to produce and host theatre plays and performances, exhibitions, workshops, event hall, offices, restaurant, and open public space. In the future the Jam Factory Art Center is seen as a mixed model, getting support both from the owner, from external grants, and generating income through the building itself. The complete renovation of the complex is planned for 2021.

2 Timeline

1850 - Moses Kronik, the resident of the village of Znesinnia (Zniesienie) in close proximity to Lviv (Lemberg, Lwów), got the permission from the village's owner Franciszka Laszkowska to develop a distillery in his private house located just behind the checking and customs point on the border of the village and Lviv.

1869 – the railroad Lviv – Brody and Pidzamche station was constructed nearby.

1872 - start of production at the alcohol factory of Joseph Kronik (the grandson of Moses). His son Leib developed his independent enterprise, also producing alcohol, next to father's till 1898.

1870s – Jozef Kronik settles the commercial ties with Vienna, the capital of the Habsburg Empire.

1878 - the synagogue was constructed on the neighboring plot, Kronik family among the donors. It did not survive until today.

Approx. 1898 – two enterprises (by Josef Kronik and his son Leib) merged, and company got the name “Josef Kronik and Son”.

1912 – the “Kronik and son” enterprise received a privilege to deliver to the court of the Austrian-Hungarian empire (K&K Hoflieferand status).

1914 – Kronik family escaped Russian occupation of Galicia to Vienna. Part of the family stayed there during the interwar period.

1915 – the “Kronik and Son” factory was damaged because of fire caused by the military operations.

1921 – Jozef Kronik renewed the production at the factory.

1926 – Moritz Kronik, next in the dynasty, gained full ownership of the factory and lived both in Lviv and Vienna in the interwar period.

1939 – Moritz Kronik escaped the Soviet occupation of Lviv to Warsaw, where he probably perished.

1939-1945 – the members of Kronik family perished in the Holocaust in Warsaw (?) and death camps in Bielzec, Teresienstadt and Auschwitz.

After 1945 – the former “Kronik and Son” factory was nationalized by the Soviet authorities and was subordinated to the trust “Ukrholovvyno” (“All-Ukrainian Vine Trust”). The production and distribution of the imported vines from Moldova and Alger took place there.

1970s - the building started to function as a vegetable processing unit, where the vegetable preserves, jams, honeys, and mushrooms were made.

2008 – the production stopped on site, and the buildings were sold to Oleksiy Kurylyshyn, Lviv real estate developer who welcomed temporary uses of the site by artists and activists.

2011 – the revitalization of the Jam Factory was included in the program of Pidzamche district revitalization developed by Lviv (City Institute) and Krakow (Institute of Urban and Regional Development). Even though no practical steps followed on the side of municipality, it was a symbolic recognition of the importance of the project for the future of the district.

2014 – Bozhena Zakaliuzhna (Pelenska), Lviv art curator and activist, organized the international [workshop “Regeneration of Industrial Buildings in Ukraine”](#), where the invited experts shared their experience and also drafted some initial ideas for the Jam Factory.

2015 - [Harald Binder Cultural Enterprises](#) (HBCE) was created with the aim to revitalize the site into the Jam Factory Art Center. Austrian historian and cultural entrepreneur Harald Binder purchased the main building. Bozhena Zakaliuzhna joined the initiative as a director of the Jam Factory Art Center.

2015-2017 – the consolidation of the 6 different plots into one continued. The architectural competition took place, and the Austrian bureau of [Stefan Rindler](#) was selected for the architectural project design. On the Ukrainian side, the “[AVR Development](#)” bureau was selected to help to adapt the Austrian project to the local laws and regulations.

2016 - Strategy and Interim strategy was developed by Bozhena Zakaliuzhna.

2016 - first public events took place: "Dreams of Pidzamcze" - Swedish-Belorus-Ukrainian project focused on children's dreams of public spaces.

2017 - HBCE [web-site](#) was launched.

2017, September - new permanent staff joined the team (2 project managers); temporary Infopoint building (for events and communication) was repaired; [Tell Your Story](#) oral history project started, and grants program launched.

2018 - strategy session with core team and external experts took place, where the institutional and architectural design were settled.

2018 - public events started in the temporary Infopoint building.

Late 2018 - branding for the Jam Factory ready.

2019 - expertise of the project in the municipal organs was prepared. In January the new office in the building located nearby, 3/2 Mekhanichna Str., was renovated, and in June - October - the temporary exhibition, event and art workshops space at 5 Mekhanichna Str. was renovated, with the purpose to use it before the opening of the main building. The core team moved to Infopoint temporary building, and the new permanent staff (accountant, office manager and assistant, communication manager, grant manager, design and construction director) joined the team. In April, the [Black Box](#) public and free of charge educational program (on contemporary theatre) in the Infopoint building was launched. In October, the public competition for general contractor took place, and preparatory works started on site which turned into construction site. In November, the first exhibition, ["Let's Talk About Modernity"](#), was opened in the temporary building.

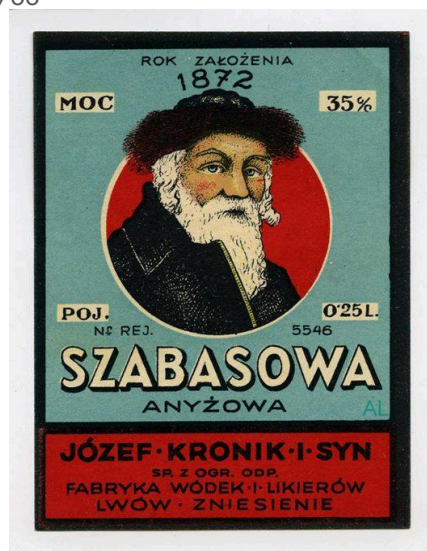
2019, October - 2020, February - working drawings of the project are prepared, the permissions from the State Architecture and Construction Inspection are received.

2020 - 2021 - construction and renovation works.

2021 - opening of the Jam Factory Art Center planned.

3 The story of the building

In 1850, Moses Kronik, the Jewish resident of the village of Znesinnia (Zniesienie) in close proximity to Lviv (Lemberg, Lwów), got the permission from the village's owner Franciszka Laszkowska to develop a distillery in his private house located just behind the checking and customs point on the border of the village and Lviv. The decision to develop a distillery was determined both by the restrictions of alcohol production in the city because of fire safety reasons, the lower taxes outside of the city and the available infrastructure - the road of national significance was constructed in 1770s and went through the village, and in 1869, the railroad Lviv - Brody with Pidzamche station. It was a part of booming industries in the area, mostly oriented towards processing of agricultural products, Baczewski alcohol factory being one of the most well-known in the Habsburg Empire. The first known mention of the building on Kronik's plot is from 1850 land cadastre, and in 1872 another production building was added next to it. The year 1872 is also mentioned on the label as a start of production of rums and rosolios at the alcohol factory of Joseph Kronik (the grandson of Moses), see picture 1.



Picture 1. Label of a kosher liqueur produced by “Kronik and Son”, approx. 1920s – 1930s. Source: Jam Factory Art Center collection.

Somewhere around the same time the synagogue was constructed in the neighboring plot (it did not survive until today). Some researchers, such as Roman Mohytych, also suppose that the neo-Gothic tower was added into the building later, supposedly in 1908, after the fire in the building. Another somewhat similar tower is also located on the building just next to the customs checkpoint at Lychakiv road, so this stylish addition could be interpreted as a mark of the symbolical gateway to the city. On the other hand, the romantic and historicist style of the building could be interpreted as an advertisement of the enterprise and a sign of the upward mobility of the Jewish family, which grew from small local entrepreneurs to higher bourgeois and literate class. As an indicator of this social and professional advancement, the “Kronik and son” enterprise received a privilege to deliver to the court of the Austrian-Hungarian empire (K&K Hoflieferand status) in 1912.

Jewish owners of the factory were active members of the local Jewish community and generously donated for the establishment of local synagogue, hospital, and Jewish cemetery. In the interwar period, the next in the owner’s dynasty, Moritz Kronik, donated also for the colonizers of Palestine, thus signaling about his political views. The enterprise produced spirits and traded vines, first imported from Hungary, and later from Palestine. Before gaining the full ownership of the factory (1926), Moritz lived mainly in Vienna where he managed his own chemical firm. Kronik family members were traveling between Lviv and Vienna in the interwar period. The enterprise developed quite well in this time, as a part of lively industrial and multinational (and especially Jewish) part of the city (see picture 2).



Picture 2. *General view of Zolkiewska Str. (now Bohdana Khmelnytskoho Str.), 1930s. Source: Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe, 1-U-3584-6*

The Second World War put a tragic end to the Kroniks dynasty in Lviv. No testimonies on exact history of the factory in this period were found, but it is known that all the Jews were resettled to the Lviv ghetto in November – December 1941, and later died both on site and in the neighboring village Lysynychi killing site, or were deported, mostly to death camp in Belzec. The factory itself was located outside the ghetto. Part of Kronik family members also died in Warsaw, and in the death camps of Teresienstadt and Auschwitz.

After the end of the war, Lviv became the part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and all the enterprises, including small and medium, were nationalized. The trust "Ukrholovvyno" ("All-Ukrainian Vine Trust") became the administrative force responsible for the building, and the factory continued as a site for production, as well as distribution of the imported vines from Moldova and Alger. The romantic look of the building inspired photographers also in the Soviet period (see picture 3).



Picture 3. View of the Factory in 1950s – 1960s. Private collection of Dmytro Dakhno, Media Archive of the Center for Urban History of East Central Europe.

In 1970s, the building functioned as a vegetable processing unit, where the vegetable preserves, jams, honeys, and mushrooms were made and sold in the small adjacent shop. In comparison to the other big plants and factories, developed as a part of Soviet industrialization of Lviv, especially numerous at Pidzamche, the vegetable processing base was a tiny enterprise, with smaller salaries, which stood somehow outside the mainstream “industrial pride of giant plants” discourse. In some periods, the salaries were paid by the vegetable products which later were used in the informal exchange practices at the market located nearby; also, some half-rotten or fresh vegetables were given to the workers as a bonus which was an advantage in the deficit economy. Importantly, the factory’s workers, many of them female but also male, were commuting to work from the villages around Lviv, thus continuing the story of the factory as a point of connection between the city and agricultural vicinity. The products were sent to many destinations in the USSR, including western and central Ukraine, Moscow, Far East, Belarus etc. The main building was declared a monument of local significance in 1990.

After 1991, the period of economy restructuring started, and in the late 1990s the factory was reorganized into the company “Vitacons” which continued to produce jams and vegetable preserves. In 2008, the production stopped on site, and the building was sold to Oleksiy Kurylyshyn, private owner and real estate developer from Lviv, who was interested in the adaptive reuse of the building but had no sufficient funds to cover the renovations. Instead he allowed different grass-root cultural initiatives to have their events in the building. From among most important there were [Contemporary Art Week](#) (from 2008) and [Lviv Fashion Week](#), theatre performances, [Urban Exploration Fest](#) (see also Prokopenko 2015; Jam Factory 2019).



Picture 4. Contemporary Art Week poster, 2009. Source: Jam Factory Art Center Collection.

After the decline of the industrial production in the post-Soviet period, the district of Pidzamche where the complex is situated gradually became perceived as neglected part of the city, physically isolated by the railway and located (mentally) far away from the touristically attractive downtown. The district is a very rich heritage area, but many buildings are deteriorating because of the lack of maintenance. A number of post-industrial buildings in this formerly industrial and multinational area of the city are waiting for revitalization or demolition and redevelopment, as it happened in other parts of Lviv.

4 The initiative

In 2015, Dr. Harald Binder, professional historian and cultural entrepreneur from Vienna, bought the building with the idea to develop a revitalization project for the future art center. By that moment Dr. Binder had been a well-known public figure in Lviv and Ukraine, primarily because of [the Center for Urban History of East Central Europe](#) founded by him in Lviv in 2004. The Center acts as a research and public history institution which engages different audiences in dialogue on unknown and challenging aspects of the past and serves as a space for discussions on urban and cultural policies. It is also a successful case of adaptive reuse of the historical resident building at Bohomoltsia Str. into an office, exhibition space, accommodation for the research fellows, conference hall, and café. Having this background, Dr. Binder decided to develop a new project, this time more challenging one, serving for the critical reassessment of contemporary Ukrainian and international art, and combining research, art production, and educational programs. His idea was supported by Bozhena Zakaliuzhna, cultural manager and independent art activist who has been previously engaged in the temporary uses of the site.

The motivation behind the decision to purchase the site and to start the revitalization project was multifold. First of all, due to the temporary uses in 2008-2014, the site firmly became associated with the idea of the art center. The previous owner, Oleksiy Kurylyshyn, positioned it as a revitalization project, but had no sufficient funds to cover the renovation, especially after the major economy crisis of 2008-2009. The very name of "Jam Factory" was invented by temporary users and became common among Lviv residents. The building was also mentioned in the media as a place of cultural life, "second life" of the factory. Bozhena Zakaliuzhna, who was involved in the temporary uses of the site, also contributed to the promotion of the idea of the art center in the building, especially by organizing the international [workshop "Regeneration of Industrial Buildings in Ukraine"](#) in 2014, where the invited experts shared their experience and also drafted some ideas for the Jam Factory.

Secondly, the start of another project in Lviv was seen by Harald Binder as reasonable because there is no other institution of contemporary art in the city and few of them in Ukraine, and its possible impact could be much bigger than, for example, another art center in Vienna (Bozhena Zakaliuzhna 2018). What made this project especially ambitious was the location of the building in the historically rich district, but also district perceived as depressive and postindustrial. This initiative differed significantly from the very common strategy of the investors to redevelop historical properties in the downtown Lviv, the closer to the Market Square, the better. The idea of the Jam Factory as being a trigger of revitalization of Pidzamche has been already present in the discourse, but no one took practical steps to implement it.

"Neighborhood development and extending of the imagined boundaries outwards the city center to the areas which are not included, and in many minds, are peripheral. It is not only periphery in territorial sense, but also in a social sense, for many. And that gives it [the Jam Factory project] this special touch" (Harald Binder 2019).

Importantly, the amount of investment to realize the revitalization project in Lviv is still significantly lower than in Vienna. Thirdly, the very building of the factory looked inspiring and very suitable for the art center, also because of its paradoxical combination of decorative neo-gothic style and former industrial function (picture 5).

"The encounter with the building, I think, is a very good term, because it is something which is essential in such a project – how do you relate to the object where you want to do something. It was on the market for sale, and I was introduced to the owner, and I was fascinated by this extraordinary strangeness of this Neo-Gothic style of the building in half decay in the district of the city which was not in my focus of everyday experience... So, I saw this building and I found that it screams that someone does something with it. And I immediately thought that it would be a great place for a cultural centre. Obviously, it is a "western" tradition of industrial sites transforming into cultural spaces" (Harald Binder 2019).



Picture 5. The contemporary look of the Jam Factory, photo by Volodymyr Paliy, 2015.

5 Activities

"A lot of very cool projects which people poured vast sums of money into failed for the reason that people were bound to the building, not to the institution. They made a beautiful building, they created the whole infrastructure in the best way but had nothing to fill it with... That's why, now paying attention to creating institution is the main task for me." (Bozhena Zakaliuzhna 2018-2019).

In 2015-2017, the Jam Factory Art Center existed rather as an architectural project, and in 2018 the team became much more concerned with institution building.

Starting the development of the renovation project without a definite programme was a part of longer process of searching for the identity of the future Center. The institutions of contemporary art are few in Ukraine and non-existent in Lviv. Therefore it was important to have the period of creative improvising about the future and brainstorming with different specialists who were invited to give advice. The Stefan Rindler bureau initially thought of a contemporary art museum, but in the process of discussions, the concept of the institution evolved into the "Center" which is not so much focused on collections but on public programs. Obviously, this searching for identity also contributed into the delays in the project timeline.

In 2017, Bozhena Zakaliuzhna, as a director of the Jam Factory, prepared a strategic roadmap on provisional activities in a situation of delay with renovation of

the buildings. As a result, the activities of the Center started much earlier than the actual renovation works.

Testing uses before the renovation became one of the tools for the Jam Factory team. Initially thinking of the future Center as an art cluster with several resident organizations and independent artists, the Jam Factory team invited other actors to have their events in the temporary building, in many cases for free. In the process the team came to the idea that to implement its aim of promotion and stronger public outreach of contemporary art, the single institution with strong educational agenda is more relevant for the local context than just a cluster of independent actors with their own agendas.

From 2017, it became clear that the Center will not be a kind of gallery collecting and representing most fashionable and expensive international art pieces, as it is the case, for example, with [Pinchuk Art Center](#) in Kyiv, which is oriented towards international fashion and much less rooted into the local context. It is impossible because of financial reasons, but also because this kind of “rootlessness” is criticized in Ukraine. Instead, the Jam Factory is seen as an institution combining research, education, and production of contemporary art, in international cooperation, but with focus on local context and needs of local publics.

The most important activities in 2017-2019 were:

Communication with the residents and broader audiences about the architectural project and the initiative.

Research. The information on the history of the building, its owners and production was initially very scarce. There are still many undiscovered parts of it – not only related to the distant past, but also in the post-war decades and post-1991 period, when the building was privatized and radical economic transformations started. The historical research was carried out in the archives and libraries of Lviv, Kyiv, Warsaw, and Vienna. To learn more about the Soviet and post-Soviet periods and to engage the local residents and former employees of the Jam Factory, the [oral history and mapping project "Tell Your Story"](#) was launched. Students from the universities were also involved as part of their educational activities.

Working with the neighbourhood – in 2017-2019, there were several partner projects with contemporary artists, including those for children living in the neighbourhood. The artists supported by the SWAP, British-Ukrainian exchange program, are coming annually to Jam Factory as visiting fellows and develop their projects, also in cooperation with the locals. One of such projects is Dana Venecia's [film project](#) which involved children from Pidzamche as actors (see picture 6).



Picture 6. Screening of the draft video by Dana Venecia (SWAP UK/UA residences) in the temporary Infopoint building, October 2018. Source: Jam Factory Art Center.

Building partnerships in Ukraine and internationally was very helpful in terms of gradual development of the institutional design and becoming more self-aware. In 2018, several applications were submitted for international partnerships and joint projects. Jam Factory also became a member of the [Trans Europe Halles](#) network.

"Ukraine became a focus of interest more after 2014 [the Maidan Revolution]. We stopped being some kind of blank space for many organizations because we started talking about ourselves in a different way. This self-awareness, this change, this feeling that we as people living in this country have to change and stop waiting that someone from the top will change it for us. This awareness... of democratic transformations won't be made down from the top, only bottom-up... And this understanding that we can change something, it affects people from other countries, and it gets interesting... A lot of people understand that they will reinforce and make their influence felt with the help of that cooperation" (Bozhena Zakaliuzhna 2018).

Infopoint (temporary building for the educational activities and presentations) was renovated in 2017. Cultural events started there, and the building was also rented (in many cases for free) to other cultural initiatives. The main aim of these activities is a gradual change in the neighborhood and more sensitive and organic development.

[Harald Binder Cultural Enterprises annual grant program](#) started in 2018, with Jam Factory team as an operator. The non-governmental organizations from Ukraine and abroad are encouraged to apply with art and educational projects.

"This is a way of building partnerships and to support both beginners and those having already a name. It is also a way to see how other institutions work, what these institutions are in whole Ukraine and abroad... For us, it is a chance to try different formats and search for priorities" (Bozhena Zakaliuzhna 2019).



Picture 7. Wiz-Art Film School, one of the projects supported by the grant program of the HBCE, had its results presented at the screening in August 2018.

Educational events and educational theatre program [Black Box](#) started in 2018. It grew out of the feeling that there is a great lack of understanding what contemporary art is in Ukrainian context. The state-supported cultural institutions remain quite conservative and closed environments, as well as the educational system for creative arts. The contemporary Ukrainian artists are much more known in the “west” and are not fully a part of the local context. Therefore the educational programs for children and adults are priority, so this situation could be gradually and organically changed.

The Black box is a lecture and practical program, which includes lectures, discussions and workshops with professionals from different Ukrainian regions – Kharkiv, Kyiv, Lviv - and international specialists. The lecture program is public and free of charge, while the practical one is only for the selected applicants who are engaged in contemporary art or theater and are ready to work deeper.

Exhibitions. In October and November 2019, the first exhibitions were hosted in the temporary exhibition and event space at Mekhanichna Str. (renovated in 2019 especially for this temporary use).



Picture 8. Bozhena Zakaliuzhna (Pelenska), on the right, is talking at the opening of Maciej Bogdanowicz's exhibition "Gardens of Pleasures", November 2019.

"Naturally, there were pretty many different mistakes but it's so important that we have an opportunity to have them before the institution opening. This period is so important because we try, think something through, set certain tasks and start to implement them... Needless to say, we are very eager to plan and open exhibitions, invite and work with contemporary curators and so on right away. However, this time when we had some smaller projects in a smaller number was very significant" (Bozhena Zakaliuzhna 2019).

6 Renovations

"This is a European manner in project development: not 3 weeks of planning and start of construction, but to linger over it for two years!... How Harald [Binder] reflects himself over the scenarios of the future use, what kind of experts he invites, how he changes his mind, how he changes the project requirements! There was a big polemics at the consultative council, because there is a factory [monument] building and a new building. And the council was quarreling over the façades. And the Austrian [architect] Stefan Rindler proposed to add the cube [building] there instead of the building which is not a monument. And the activists started to shout that "it is absurd, it is impossible, you go too far!"... And I think this is a great case, a separate book should be written about how many people were involved, how they thought, what discussions were there. And this, in fact, small building can become a methodological guide for the revitalization of other objects. We should bring there all the rich oligarchs and show them: look, it is not a posh restaurant with sharks, but culture, media, library, actors and artists" (Yulian Chaplinskyi 2019).

The main building of the Jam Factory was bought by Harald Binder in 2015, but this was only the first step in consolidating 6 adjacent plots with other factory buildings owned by different legal entities which took two additional years (Kateryna Kovalchuk 2019). In general, the chaotic situation with land cadaster and low quality of the land use documents in a pressing issue in Ukraine.

*In many adaptive reuse and industrial zones revitalization projects in Ukraine the **major challenge** is the legal status of the land plots. In the official documents, the adjacent plots can have different and not coinciding borders, and unclear ownership; many plots are under court investigations, also as a result of shadow practices of privatization in the post-Soviet period. The State Land Registry is not complete and not publicly accessible, and was a subject of corrupt manipulations in the past. Therefore, the work of lawyers is long and demanding.*

One of the complicated issues in the process of adaptive reuse in Ukraine is very personalized approach among the officials, when the decisions could be taken on the basis of personal relations, tastes, and some hidden personal agendas:

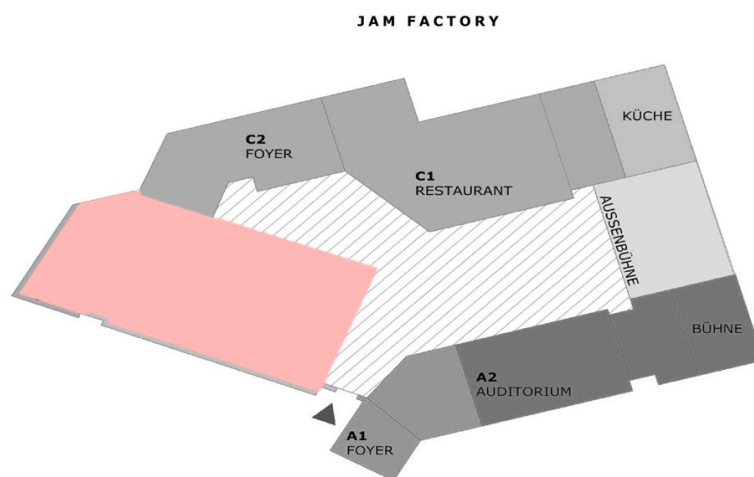
"This is very hard to understand from the European perspective, because here things are just different and sometimes things which seem to be very complicated, suddenly are just resolved, because somebody was hired for a position and just said how it's gonna be, and another person is not that important. Or things which seem to be very easy somehow become very complicated (laughs) and we don't understand why... That is a problem here that processes, which should be easy, sometimes become complicated because either it is overregulated or there are people sitting somewhere who just obstruct it" (Harald Binder 2019).

*One of the major **challenges** for the project is the inefficiency of bureaucracy and absence of established schemes of adaptive reuse. More traditional restoration projects which adapt historical buildings into hotels and restaurants are common in Lviv, but not the revitalization of the complex of buildings and plots with addition of the new buildings next to historical monuments. The solution of the Jam Factory team was to strictly follow all the official rules and to promote the understanding of importance of the project for the city. No informal connections, very common for the local context, were used. Good reputation of Harald Binder and his previous projects in Lviv, media coverage and acknowledgement of the Jam Factory project among the urban activists in Ukraine, as well as positive attitude from the municipality, were helpful for going through the bureaucratic procedures. But in spite of this, adaptation of the project to local conditions and getting permissions took much longer than initially expected.*

While the plots were consolidating in 2015-2017, the architectural project was gradually developed. First there was a closed competition among 5 bureaus selected by Harald Binder and Bozhena Zakaliuzhna on the basis of professional advice. All the projects were very interesting, but not any of them was completely fitting the idea and the place. The decision was taken to continue searching for the right approach. Finally, the project by Austrian bureau "[Stefan Rindler](#)" was selected as a basis – "most

interesting decision, probably the most challenging, combining modern architecture and the old” (Zakaliuzhna 2018). However, it turned out it is impossible to fully implement the Austrian project in the Ukrainian conditions because of too different building regulations. Therefore, the local bureau “[AVR Development](#)” was contracted to cooperate with the Austrian side.

There are 3 most important functions in the future complex: exhibition, theatre, and public zone with commercial function (restaurant) (see picture 9).



Picture 9. Plan of the future Jam Factory Art Center.

These spaces are planned as flexible and adaptable for very different projects and needs. All the buildings are connected by the basement level into one complex, and different technical and engineering communications will be located there. One of the advantages of the historical complex is a comfortable and human-scale courtyard which is inviting and will be used for events as well. The neo-Gothic tower will have a rather limited use because in accordance with the regulations it is too narrow to organize a public space there.

When the building was bought it has been already in quite a deteriorated condition, and necessary works were done to fix the most important things and prevent further decline. But major works on the historical monuments will be quite complicated: the foundation and the basic structure of the building should be reinforced using the special technology of injections into the historical material of the walls. The façades facing the main street (Khmelnysky Str.) are under threat of collapse, but they should be preserved completely and require especially sensitive approach, and the team of specialists will be needed to work with this. The special research was done to figure out what kind of materials were used in the building, and it is planned that respective materials – plaster and tiles - will be produced from natural components to restore the façade. The historical wooden steps will be preserved and restored as well. In the exhibition space, some internal walls will be removed to make the space bigger, but the historical walls will be marked on the floors, and the hints of the walls will remain in

place so the building could be read as historical. There should be also digital tools to help the visitor to “read” the historical building (Kateryna Kovalchuk 2019).

In 2018, the first permission was received from among the “city-planning terms and limitations”. It means the general acceptance of the project by the municipality. In order to apply further to get other permissions for the construction start, it is necessary to meet so called technical specifications. Since January 2019, the team has begun submitting requests for these technical specifications (from the companies dealing with lightning, electricity, gas, water, drainage and sewage). These are private enterprises with a very small share of public sector, and at the same time very complex monopolistic structures which try to get as many financial resources as possible. Therefore the negotiations with them are not easy. As the stage of meeting technical specifications is almost finished, the team is going to sign an agreement with the architectural bureau “AVR Development” basically on the practical implementation of the project. In April 2020, the general contractor is to be selected and an agreement signed. Therefore, the main construction process will start no earlier than summer 2020. But the first preparatory activities have already started on site in October 2019.

Practically, the process of getting permissions and legal documents for the site turned out to be very slow and complicated, but the project is developing in quite a gradual and “organic” way, trying to set the example of the adaptive reuse which is not engaged in any informal deals with the officials and services and creates new practices of transparent development and communication.

“I see it has a chance to test the Ukrainian ability to do something efficiently without bribery” (Harald Binder 2019).

7 Heritage

The Jam Factory complex consists of several buildings from different epochs. The oldest one, from mid-XIX century, is the main building in Neo-Gothic style which is a listed monument of local significance. Some buildings are from the interwar period, and some from the Soviet epoch. Because of the close proximity to the listed monument, the limits on the height of the new buildings (23.6 m) apply to the project and a special “historical and urban planning feasibility study” had to be approved.



Picture 10. Model of the future Jam Factory Art Center complex, with listed buildings marked in red. Source: AVR Development.

Harald Binder, being a professional historian himself, and several other researchers - historians Yevhen Poliakov and Joseph Gelston and architectural historian Roman Mohytych, developed a multi-layered understanding of the heritage values of the complex. Firstly, the architectural heritage values are defined by the neo-Gothic style applied to the industrial building which is a unique case for Lviv. Secondly, the building is a witness of the industrial boom and rapid growth of population in the second half of the 19th century, when the district performed production and transportation functions, and served as a link to agricultural areas, with its numerous distilleries processing grain into different types of alcoholic beverages. Thirdly, the enterprise represents the multinational history of Lviv, and the history of the Jewish family of the owners is a part of bigger history of Jewish businesses thriving in the Habsburg Empire and interwar period, also with broad connections to other geographical localities. The disruption of the family history in the Holocaust is also a part of dark heritage of Europe in the XX century, as well as the silencing and non-remembering of the factory's past and Jewish ownership in the Soviet period. Fourthly, the living memories of those who worked at the factory in Soviet period are also part of intangible heritage, revived in the oral history and mental mapping project "Tell Your Story". Fifthly, the temporary uses of the factory after the end of production and before the purchase of the building in 2015 is another heritage layer because it is connected to the development of independent art initiatives in Lviv, such as Contemporary Art Week which resulted in many further fruitful initiatives.

With so many heritage layers, it was not easy to decide how to harmoniously develop the complex. One of challenges is that the exact uses of some plots and buildings are not known, because too few documents have survived. Especially disruptive was the Second World War, with tremendous change of population not only due to the Holocaust, but also because of the postwar population exchanges (including resettlement of Poles to Poland in its new borders and influx of Ukrainians from other regions of Ukraine and from the Lviv rural vicinity; see more in Amar 2015). Being a small industrial complex, it did not get any attention from the historians in the Soviet period, and, as far as we know, there was no company museum or cultural center to

take care of its history documentation, on the contrary to bigger enterprises. On the other hand, due to this smaller scale of the complex and the character of production (no heavy industry and no contamination of the site) the buildings were relatively well preserved up to 2008. After that, unfortunately, the buildings started to quickly deteriorate because they stood vacant (Kateryna Kovalchuk 2019). Another challenge of the adaptive reuse of the industrial building as an art center is the need to maximize the adaptability of the premises for the variety of different uses, such as exhibition space, theatre and performance, workshops, offices, and event halls. The project is aimed at preservation of the structure of the whole complex, which is nicely arranged around the comfortable courtyard, and the use of temporary walls and moving stage inside the building to make the space more flexible.

Formally, there are buildings which are considered to be not historically valuable and they could be demolished. Several specialists advised to demolish some non-monuments facing the main street (Khmelnysky Str., formerly Zolkiewska) in order to make a radical statement about the new function of the building as a contemporary art center. But after a longer reflection Harald Binder took a decision not to demolish them because they are uniting two other monuments and are perceived as one complex in mind of the local people. Importantly, this decision is also taken in a situation where objects from imperial period, especially decorated historicist buildings, are prioritized as valuable heritage, whereas modernist heritage from Polish and Soviet periods is in many cases neglected. For Binder, it was important to challenge this traditional division and to demonstrate more delicate approach. The new “black box” building will be added from another side and will be facing the back street and not the main street. Personally for Harald Binder, it is important to develop the understanding of heritage that includes the opinion of the local residents and those who can be called a “heritage community” (those who had connections to the site in the past, either former factory workers or artists and activists).

In Ukraine, the understanding of heritage is still very much expert-centered: there are officially recognized criteria of a “monument” in the legislation, and the opinion of the community is most often not so crucial. For the Jam Factory project, it is important that the listed and non-listed buildings facing the main street are perceived as one complex by the community. Therefore they are left intact, in spite of the advice of professional architects.



Picture 11. Visualization of the future complex, AVR Development.



Picture 12. Visualization of the future complex, front side facing the main street, and cube added in the back. Source: AVR Development.

Two monument buildings of the complex will undergo restoration, and other buildings – reconstruction, and a new “black box” building will be added (see pictures 11 and 12). Also, Binder is the owner of the plot which is behind the complex and where the synagogue had been located. There is no clear project of the use of this adjacent territory, but one of the main ideas is to mark symbolically the plan of the non-existing synagogue. As one of the first temporary marks, in October 2018, the artist Taras Pastushchuk made a [performance](#) on that spot, marking the plan of the synagogue by salt and quoting the Bible (Ackermann 2018).

"The practice of our Lviv architects is that you always can find some means to build [on the monument], to add an extension and so on. But our bureau from the very beginning understood this is not our way. Our way is to maximize the delicateness of approach to what is already there" (Kateryna Kovalchuk 2019).

8 Regulations and policies

The national regulations and legal framework of the adaptive reuse in Ukraine is quite complicated and cannot be called enabling and supportive for the adaptive reuse projects. In general, the heritage protection, urban revitalization, and creative industries are different spheres and there is no comprehensive strategy of their interrelated development. After 1991, there were no national programs of heritage revitalization in Ukraine. One of the major problems is absence of the strict vertical system of heritage protection and unclear division of responsibilities between the Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Regional Development and Territories, as well as lack of trained cadres on the national and local levels. The heritage protection in general is understaffed and underfunded. In its essential approaches, the Heritage Protection Law is oriented towards conservation of heritage, with emphasis on its material aspect, and not towards adaptive reuse and revitalization. The approval of the Ministry of Culture is needed also in case of listing the local monuments, such as Jam Factory building, but the Ministry has no capacity to process the documents quickly and efficiently, and in many cases does not react to the reported cases of damage or threat, but also makes the development impossible because of centralized bureaucracy. Therefore, many specialists are sure some kind of decentralization is needed in this sphere, and the local monuments are to be given solely under management of local heritage protection organs, similarly to Polish model:

"You [the Ministry] have to get your priorities straight. You have to pick national landmarks, the most important landmarks in Ukraine, national treasure, and worry about those exclusively. The rest, hand it over to local bodies. Don't worry that people will ruin them, because people aren't stupid: these are their treasures" (Lilia Onyshchenko 2018).

In fact, the decentralization reform in Ukraine is under way now, and many local communities already identified heritage as the backbone of their economic and cultural development. Much more funding now is accumulated on the local level, thus giving a chance for better heritage management.

Also, some national institutions and services related to adaptive reuse (such as those dealing with building regulations, fire safety, land cadastre, labor rights protection) are very slow in processing documents, require much time and effort, and are perceived as engaged in corruptive activity. The building code is very outdated and prevents from implementing innovative solutions in the buildings, and now the need to change it is much discussed in Ukraine. The Jam Factory project initially was intended to be completed in 2018, but now it is planned only for 2021 – among other things, because of the delays in documents processing (especially in the process of consolidation of the land plot consisting of 6 different parts owned by different owners).

As for the municipal level policies, in general the municipal officials are very supportive for the Jam Factory project and often mention it in media as a positive example. In contrast to other cities in Ukraine, Lviv is strictly oriented towards service economy, and successful HoReCa projects are creating the image of the city in Ukraine and internationally. Starting from 2008, the city is following the strategy of prioritizing of tourism (especially heritage tourism), IT and creative industries as pillars of the local economy. The Department of the Protection of Historical Environment is attached to the Department of Urban Development and has qualified staff, positively oriented towards adaptive reuse, quite open-minded and cooperative. In the last years, they managed to gain positive reputation and communicate proactively with the monuments' owners. In general, Lviv seems to be quite special in comparison to other cities in Ukraine because in this city heritage is understood as priority, both for business class and municipality.

The officials in Lviv are quite helpful in solving particular problems and explaining of existing regulations.

"I've heard that he [the city mayor Andriy Sadovyi] has, from his side, encouraged things to go, he is supporting personally this project... The same with the city architect [Yulian Chaplinskyi], he is also involved. We are in contact, so he also tries to help. We had a person dedicated specifically to the project in the city council, which was also helpful... [but] not everything depends also on the city" (Harald Binder 2019).

However, it is important to mention that beyond the personal positive attitude to the project by the key officials and very good reputation of Jam Factory in the city, there are many deficiencies in the urban policies of Lviv and there are no clear rules or established routes to follow if one is interested in revitalization of the historical building. What is present is rather several pilot programs and attempts aimed at heritage revitalization, participatory planning and community engagement, but the complex revitalization of historical heritage and especially industrial zones still remains the task for the future. The development of the city is still quite chaotic, and private investors in many cases are acting much more proactively than the municipality. The Master Plan of Lviv from 2008 is very outdated and was developed mostly by experts, without much public discussion and stakeholder integration.

One of the few attempts to deal in comprehensive way with the revitalization of the industrial zones of Lviv took place in 2017-2018. Back then, the IT Department, inspired by the urban activists, decided to [promote the revitalization](#) of 15 industrial zones and objects (mostly those neglected but also some developing, such as Jam Factory and Lem Station) as future creative clusters (Viktoria Olishevskaya 2019). The municipality started documentation of their condition and negotiations with their owners. It turned out that only one land plot is in the municipal ownership - former XIX-century tram depo where the initiative of "creative district" called [Lem Station](#) is successfully developing now, after the municipality rented it to the group of private investors for 50 years. All other plots turned out to be private, and in the most cases the owners were not cooperative and reluctant about the creative industries and revitalization. The specific culture of privatism – the concentration of power in hands of the owner and lack of cooperation and even a dialogue – is very widespread problem in Ukraine:

"We proposed [to the owner of the "Rema" factory]: let's create some joint management organ..., maybe you will share the part of responsibility with us, and maybe some rights to decide on things. But no one is going to share their private property [in Ukraine] – we clearly understood this" (Viktoria Olishevskaya 2019).

By 2019, many of the industrial zones mentioned in this municipal initiative, have been already built up by very conventional high-rise commercial housing, with no preservation of industrial heritage. Even though there are creative communities in some of the buildings, welcomed by the owners (such as grass-root creative industries NGO uniting several dozens of small businesses called [Re:Zavod](#) at former "Rema" factory (see Vitaliy Kuryliv 2019; Krasovska 2017), most often there are no major renovation works and creative people have no clear status or contract with the buildings' owners. So this initiative of the municipality had only limited impact, namely, stimulation of public discussions on revitalization, and promotion for the promising and already developing projects like Jam Factory and Lem Station. As for the Lem Station, it is important to mention that it is the only case of successful public-private partnership in adaptive reuse in Lviv, and it will partially start functioning in 2 years and fully in 4 years, at least in accordance with the plan.

It is also notable that the Lviv municipality is definitely among the leaders in Ukraine in the international cooperation, also in the sphere of urban policies, and several international programs significantly impacted the development of the Pidzamche district as well.

In 2011, the "Program of Revitalization Lviv-Pidzamche 2012-2025" was developed (mostly by researchers) from Krakow ([Institute of Urban and Regional Development](#)) and Lviv ([City Institute](#) - research, planning and advisory institution attached to the municipality). In accordance with the program, special accent is made on architectural heritage as driver of tourist development and service-oriented economy, and reuse of old buildings next to construction of new housing and office spaces. One of the central ideas is "contemporary authenticity" – Pidzamche as being most "atmospheric" and "authentic" district, but its authenticity should be revitalized. The Jam Factory was high on the agenda of the program back in 2011 and was described as a place of the future "cultural and entertainment center", but no practical steps were taken by the municipality to realize it in practice. In 2013, the grant from the Polish Development Aid made it possible to start implementing of some of the directions outlined in the program: competitions among the projects for the renovation of the courtyards in historical houses and public spaces, research and preparation of the tourist guide along Pidzamche, and renovation of water sources and recreation spaces (see more: Jarczewski et al. 2013; Yaryna Melnyk 2019). These events were implemented successfully in 2013-2014.

This program significantly activated the local community, they become much more engaged into participatory planning and much more aware of the heritage values of the district, and the local activists continued in the frameworks of other programs, including participatory budgeting and co-financing of the renovations of historical buildings (see Yaryna Melnyk 2019).

After the end of the Polish Development Aid project, the "Program of Revitalization of Pidzamche" remains important document for the municipality and City Institute, but rather as a general idea/direction of development and not as a comprehensive practical program with defined steps and strict monitoring (Yaryna Melnyk 2019). Some initiatives are continued in the framework of the City Institute

programs, there is some co-funding from the city for the implementation of particular measures related to the program, but the program is not implemented as a whole (Yaryna Melnyk 2019; Oleksandr Kobzarev 2019). The municipality is not so much focused on Pidzamche heritage revitalization and invests into more pressing issues instead, such as roads reconstruction and transport improvement. In this situation, it is not the municipality but other actors (such as real estate developers) became much more active in changing the district.

The activists from among the locals continued to be engaged in the framework of another program – “[Communities in Action](#)” (conducted by the City Institute in 2015-2017) and supported by the EU program “Neighbourhood Civil Society Facility 2012 and Non-State Actors and Local Authorities in Development (NSA&LA) 2012 and 2013”. In the framework of the project the micro-communities were identified and engaged in participatory budgeting, research on communities’ needs was done, and several small projects of revitalization of public places implemented.

Another program of international cooperation, very important for the revitalization of Pidzamche heritage, was “[Municipal Development and Rehabilitation of the Old City of Lviv](#)” (2009-2018), carried out by the Lviv municipality (specifically the Department of Protection of the Historical Environment) and GIZ - Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit. This project helped to draft new plans of urban development and heritage revitalization, educate new generations of experts and practitioners for renovation works. GIZ experts act as mediators in the making of the dialogue between different stakeholders, such as owners, tenants, municipality, and investors. GIZ is especially well-known for the ordinary locals of Lviv for their program of co-financing the renovation of historical windows, doors, gates and courtyards in the residence houses, as well as for free educational events, workshops and meetings with the residents (see more: Off the Beaten Track 2011). This program was funded by GIZ and municipality, and the renovations were co-financed together with the residents. After the end of the program, the Lviv municipality continues (on a smaller scale) to co-finance the renovation of windows, doors, and gates.

Overall, it is fully legitimate to underline that the Jam Factory project is developing in the situation where there are no established and systematic urban policies related to revitalization and adaptive reuse, but there are several successful projects, some enthusiastic heritage community, lively international cooperation, and positive personal attitude of the key members of the current mayor’s team to the ideas of adaptive reuse and creative industries. Adaptive reuse is definitely a fashion and is present in public speeches by the officials, as well as in the communication of the residents, especially of younger generations. But every case of adaptive reuse in Lviv is developing mostly by the trial and error method, and the municipality does not have enough instruments and resources to foster adaptive reuse.

9 The economic model

"It is some kind of mixed model between private non-profit investment, without expectation of return, some kind of generated income through the complex itself, and external funds from other institutions" (Harald Binder 2019).

At the moment the Jam Factory is looking for an appropriate business model. Now it has full support from the donor, but becoming self-sufficient is one of the important tasks. The project includes a restaurant and a small bar that should bring a profit, as well as space lease, tickets or books. At the moment the idea is that it would be good to cover costs of building maintenance out of all this income. Applying for grants and fund raising via crowdfunding platforms is also planned. As Ukraine is a non-EU member, the Jam Factory is not eligible for many of the EU programs, but it can apply in partnership with other institutions in the EU countries. The Jam Factory has already applied for the support from Swedish Institute (European Commission) and Visegrad Fund in cooperation with other institutions from the EU.

10 Governance and community

Initially, the Jam Factory developed as a private initiative. Dr. Harald Binder and Bozhena Zakaliuzhna are the core team who are responsible for drafting the idea and the strategic roadmap both for the institutional development and adaptive reuse of the site. Till 2018, most tasks were outsourced to the temporary engaged specialists: accounting, land issues, detailed plan, law expertise, land surveying documentation, and architectural project design.

In 2018, the Jam Factory started to move from the stage of giving all the processes to a contractor to the stage of having a regular team. 2 project managers were hired in 2018 (one of them still working - Bohdan Hrytsiuk who worked with ["Tell Your Story"](#) and with other local projects, he has a theatre background), from 2019 - visual art manager Oksana Karpovets who had previously worked and studied at the Fulbright Program in New York for three years. Communication manager position was announced in late 2019 as well.

"Harald always has the last word [as for the architectural project] but he also has this trust and always listens to different parties. And there's Herbert Pasterk [architect and designer] who is looking at that from the technical point of view... So we have corresponding discussions... Actually, Harald worships history and has his own visions. All of us have a chance to express our own opinion but the final decision belongs to Harald. He always listens to everyone. This is the way the decisions are made" (Bozhena Zakaliuzhna 2019).

At the moment it is planned that the team will stay small, up to 5 people, during the process of renovations, and after the complex will be fully launched, the team will become bigger, and some more formal structures of decision-making (such as advisory boards) will appear.

There are also volunteers engaged into some of the activities, especially bigger events, but they are not numerous at the moment. There is also a new idea of engaging interns who study and already try working. At the moment, there is one female intern and there may be one more in the future. They can become a part of the team later.

11 Impact

1. The discussions on the architectural project of Jam Factory impacted considerably on the thinking about contemporary architecture in the historical context. The discussions at the Lviv city council and gatherings of the Commission on architecture, urban planning, and protection of historical environment (especially the black box as an addition to the complex of historical buildings) were heated and focused on possible ways of combination of old and new. For the very conservative milieu of professional architects and preservationists of Lviv who are very suspicious against the new construction next to the monuments, this case became groundbreaking and contributes to changing opinions.

2. The Jam Factory team shares their experience in Ukraine at forums and meetings related to revitalization in Ukraine and internationally in the framework of [Trans Europe Halles](#). If the first successful initiatives of adaptive reuse in Ukraine were almost exclusively commercially oriented and included only mass culture events and festivals (such institutions as "[Art Zavod Platforma](#)" in Kyiv and "[Art Factory Mekhanika](#)" in Kharkiv), now there are several initiatives with special focus on socially critical art and contemporary art, such as early-stage initiative [Contemporary Art Center in Dnipro](#). Jam Factory was one of the first initiatives (along with the platform for cultural initiatives "[Izolyatsia](#)", opened in Donetsk in the east of Ukraine in 2012) with special focus on socially critical art, and the references to Jam Factory are present in the narratives of other similar initiatives. As Yulian Chaplinskyi notes, the Jam Factory can become a "methodological guide" for other initiatives in Ukraine.

3. The previous uses of Jam Factory building as a space for informal art initiatives and especially for the Days of Contemporary Art and Lviv Fashion Week resulted in the idea of Pidzamche district as a future "creative hub" of Lviv which became a discursive cliché (Olishevskia 2019). It also had some impact on the decision of the municipality to select the Pidzamche district for the pilot project of regeneration carried out in cooperation with Krakow Urban Development Institute and Lviv City Institute and aimed at improvement of urban management through the local residents' participation and increasing tourist attractiveness of the district (see more in: Janas&Jarczewski 2014).

4. Even though the Jam Factory does not operate in full at the moment, still its ambitions and public outreach attracted new investment into the district of Pidzamche (see Yulian Chaplinskyi 2019; Bozhena Zakaliuzhna 2018-2019; Harald Binder 2019). Recently the renovation of the historical house into co-housing project has started just next to the Jam Factory and adjacent former "Almazinstrument" factory. This initiative is connected to the owner of Bank Hotel – another case of adaptive reuse located in the downtown. The owner decided to locate his next project not in the city center, but next to Jam Factory.

"The emergence of this cool architectural and cultural object always has an amazing impact on the district, it becomes a magnet for people and their mobility" (Yulian Chaplinskyi 2019).

Another case in mind, of much bigger scale, is the project "[Pidzamche Town](#)" recently proposed by "Real" company. The real estate development project on the territory of the former "Almazinstrument" plant will be located in close proximity to the Jam Factory. The plan proposes to transform the historical part of the plant (with several monument objects) into open public spaces and commercial public spaces, cafes and restaurants. On the second stage, the project proposes to connect this part of the city with the High Castle (hill in the downtown) with the aerial cableway. This project was awarded in the "Ukrainian Urban Award" competition in the category "City Planning", and the motivation was "contemporary architecture fitting into historical built environment, "low-rise buildings harmoniously neighboring with historical monuments", "developed infrastructure", and cableway. In the opinion of the Lviv chief architect Yulian Chaplynskyi, it will considerably improve the connections and will break the isolation of the district, and will be one of the best examples of combination of historical and contemporary. This location of this project and its design is obviously impacted by the discussions going on around Jam Factory project. However, at the moment the "Real" Company only has documents for land use of the plot, but it will require long time to get other permissions, and, in fact, at the moment it is unclear how the project can be changed in the future and if it really will be a positive case of new development in the historical environment. At the same time, there are also other real estate initiatives, implemented earlier in the district, which are much more convenient for Lviv context, such as high-rise blocks with no sensitivity to the environment or decorated buildings of fake historicist styles. So there is an obvious impact of Jam Factory project on the approaches to the development of the district, but at the moment it is unclear to which extent the new practices will become dominating.

12 The model

Jam Factory is the only adaptive reuse initiative in Ukraine which is focused solely on art and education and aims at combining very different forms of contemporary art. This idea of maximum adaptability of the space for different kinds of visual and performative arts is unique for Ukraine where still the division into disciplines is strong. As an institution, it combines the efforts of private foundation and NGO to pursue its goals.

Most importantly, the Jam Factory is a case of gradual and "organic" development of the adaptive reuse project, with engagement of local community and a number of experts, established relations with municipality and the Department of the Protection of the Historical Environment. The project strictly follows all the rules and regulations and is very strict about non-involvement into any informal deals with the officials or services which is quite common in Ukrainian context. Its implementation lasts much longer than expected in the beginning, but it helps the team to gradually change the setting, work for the reputation, and implement cultural changes in the environment in a more natural way.

The Jam Factory model is a challenge to the neoliberal discourse in the sphere of adaptive heritage reuse. This discourse emphasizes the financial self-sufficiency and community engagement, but is also a part of the gradual removal of the state and richer classes from the support of culture and social sphere. The Jam Factory is supported by the private donor who does not necessarily expect the return of money and is motivated by the possibility to foster social and cultural change.

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