Potentials of creative urban regeneration

Final study

Institute for spatial policies

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Creative Cities

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Potentials of creative urban regeneration

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Creative Cities - Development and Promotion of Creative Industry Potentials in Central European Cites
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Output 5.1.1

Spatial analysis of creative industries

In a transnational study, supported by a subcontracted expert, the spatial allocation of creative industries within urban areas is researched. The study investigates all five partner cities as well as available past study results.

Quantitative output

1 transnational study

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Contractor:
RRA LUR, Regional development agency of the Ljubljana Urban Region, Tehnološki park 19, si1000 Ljubljana

Responsible person of contractor:
mag. Lilijana Madjar

Edited by:
Aidan Cerar, RRA LUR and partner cities

Prepared by:
IPoP, Institute for spatial policies
Tržaška 2, si1000 Ljubljana

Project manager:
Marko Peterlin

Project team:
Tadej Žaucer, Matjaž Uršič, Petra Očkerl, Tatjana Marn, Marko Peterlin

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The creative industries have been seen to become increasingly important to economic well-being, proponents suggesting that »human creativity is the ultimate economic resource«, (Florida, 2002) and that »the industries of the twenty-first century will depend increasingly on the generation of knowledge through creativity and innovation« (Landry & Bianchini, 1995). Creativity is gaining in importance also on the way of establishing the knowledge society (Kozina, 2011; Ravbar and Bole, 2007).

The popularity of creativity came about because of the increased recognition that the world and its economic, social and cultural structures were changing dramatically, at least partly driven by information technology revolution. The old way did not work sufficiently well; organization, management and leadership with its control ethos and hierarchical focus did not provide the flexibility, adaptability and resilience to cope in the emerging competitive environment.

The »creative city«

This view owes a lot to the concept of the »creative city«, developed mostly by Charles Landry since the late 1980s. It is described in his The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators (Landry, 2000) and other writings and has since become a global movement reflecting a new planning paradigm for cities. Cities whose atmosphere, look and feel were industrial and where quality of design was low did not seem attractive and competitive anymore. Coping with these changes required a re-assessment of cities' resources and potential and a process of necessary re-invention on all fronts (Wikipedia, 2011). Landry (2008) suggests that there are 15 main elements to assess, falling into four main groups: material things, activities, matters of attitude and perception and organizational concerns. One method of analyzing urban assets according to this new paradigm is to think of a city's various 'capitals', such as identity capital, intelligence capital, financial capital, relationship capital, human individual capital, human collective capital, instrumental material capital, and instrumental knowledge capital.

The concept of »creative city« posits that conditions need to be created for people to think, plan and act with imagination in harnessing opportunities or addressing seemingly intractable urban problems. In the »creative city« it is not only artists and those involved in the creative economy that are creative, although they play an important role. Creativity can come from any source including anyone who addresses issues in an inventive way be it a social worker, a business person, a scientist or public servant (Wikipedia, 2011).

As we can see, the concept of the "creative city" encompasses various dimensions, but the main idea behind it is that creativity is somehow related to a specific location, a place. This has important implications both for creative economy and policies supporting the creative industries on the one hand, as well as for urban development and urban policies on the other hand.

1.1 Urban policy as a tool for promoting creative industries

According to Landry, the »creative city« identifies, nurtures, attracts and sustains talent so it is able to mobilize ideas, talents and creative organizations. The built environment – the stage and the setting - is crucial for establishing the milieu. A creative milieu is a place that contains the necessary requirements in terms of hard and soft infrastructure to generate a flow of ideas and inventions. A milieu can be a building, a street an area, a city or a region. Urban policies in this view become a key tool for attracting talented people and creative industries.

The concept of "creative class" and its implications

The publication of John Howkins' The Creative Economy (Howkins, 2001) and Richard Florida's book The rise of the Creative Class (Florida, 2002) gave a dramatic lift to the new planning paradigm, advocated by Landry. Florida's writings were particularly influential, as they connected three areas: a creative class – a novel idea, the creative economy and what conditions in cities attract the creative class. According to Florida, the creative class comprises people with creative professions. They differ from other professions by the fact that their work is based on defining issues and finding solutions, while employing the existing knowledge in a new and innovative manner. Their main task is to think and, on the basis of their own creativity, to be innovative. Greater presence of the creative class in the society should advantageously influence the social-economic image of the area, where people of this creative class reside or work (Kozina, 2011). Florida concluded that economic development is driven in large measure by lifestyle factors, such as tolerance and diversity, urban infrastructure and entertainment.

The basic hypothesis of Florida's work is that creative workforce in the contemporary socio-economic conditions not only moves with an aim of obtaining employment (people follow jobs), but where there are living conditions suitable for creativity (jobs follow people). Florida highlighted the so called 3T's concept (talent, tolerance, technology), which has explained that a talented labour force (the creative class) locates in open and tolerant places with low entry barriers for members of different social groups. In such diverse environments, there is contact of different ideas, views and opinions, which is the basis for innovative technological development (Kozina, 2011).

Despite various criticisms of Florida's theories (e.g. Peck, 2005; Krätke, 2010) they have quickly been picked up by many cities around the developed world, typically trying to reinvent themselves after de-industrialization and attract talented workforce. Various urban theorists (e.g. T. N. Clark) suggested that urban policies are a tool to attract the creative class and thus boost the economic potential of cities. Cities should encourage interesting urban environment, lively scene, authenticity, diversity, etc. with the mix of interconnected policy measures in different fields. The recipe is supposed to be quite simple: investments into cultural institutions, urban regeneration of the city centre, bohemian cultural or creative quarters, and success should be guaranteed (Cerar, 2010).

Creative quarters as the main tool for promoting creative industries in cities

Creative quarters seem to be the key tool, aimed at boosting the creative economy. Landry (2008), among others, emphasizes the role of clustering and of creative quarters. Clustering of talent, skill and support infrastructure is central for the creative economy and the creative milieu.

"Central to every discussion on urban vitality and prosperity is clustering, and the arguments are well known: mutual financial, technical and psychological support; increasing the efficiency of markets; bringing together buyers and sellers; creating overlaps between adjacent disciplines or accessible centers of excellence; and stimulating competition, generating 'multiplier' effects, synergy complementary interchanges and swapping of resources."

He emphasizes that the face-to-face contacts remain the key. He goes on to suggest some 'conceptual triggers' that can act as catalysts and multipliers to generate new assets in cities. These include:

1. Transport is subsumed under a mobility and accessibility division, which is concerned as much with pedestrians as with cars or metro systems.
2. Waste or sewage issues become part of a resource management system as new ecological thinking turns waste into asset.
3. The overarching paradigm for urban development changes from an urban engineering or infrastructure-driven approach to creative city-making. This is the art of making places for people, including the connections between places and people, movement and urban form, nature and the built fabric, as well as the process of building successful settlements.

On a more economic basis, the idea of clusters is explained by Montgomery (2003), referring to a similar concept of cultural quarters. He leans on Michael Porter and his influential book The Competitive Advantage of Nations, where he argues that competitive success tends to concentrate in particular industries and groups of inter-connected industries (Porter, 1990). According to Porter, a cluster is a grouping of industries linked together through customer, supplier and other relationships which enhance competitive advantage. Such clusters can generate significant wealth through a reinforcing process of exporting, import substitution and the circulation of income earned through local products and services, as argued by Jane Jacobs in The Economy of Cities (Jacobs, 1969). In this way, a successful creative industries cluster will include a good proportion of exporting firms as well as those trading locally. Over time, a network of suppliers and sub-contractors will build up as firms inter-trade with each other. New businesses will set up to produce entirely new products, or more likely to provide products and services locally which hitherto have been required to be imported.

Many cities have followed the above suggested recipes, but are still facing major challenges (Cerar, 2010), in economic, social and spatial terms. As a matter of a fact, economic benefits are not clearly evident from the empirical research so far. Evans (2009), for instance, questions both the idea of clusters and of the importance of creative industries for the economy as a whole. Quoting Simmie (2006), he states that "the cluster idea ... has taken many academics and policy-makers by storm. It has become the accepted wisdom more quickly than any other major idea in the field in recent years ... at the expense of previous explanations and lacking in relevant empirical evidence." He concludes that often creative quarters are being used to justify the redevelopment of former and residual industrial zones, with cities utilising the creative quarter/knowledge hub as a panacea to implement broader city expansion and regeneration plans.

Critics also argue that the "creative city" has now become a catch-all phrase in danger of losing its meaning. Cities tend to restrict its meaning to the arts and activities within the creative economy professions calling any cultural plan a creative city plan, when this is only an aspect of a community's creativity. There is a tendency for cities to adopt the term without thinking through its real organizational consequences and the need to change their mindset. The creativity of the creative city is about lateral and horizontal thinking, the capacity to see parts and the whole simultaneously as well as the woods and the trees at once.

1.2 Creative industries as a tool to promote urban regeneration

Need for urban regeneration occurs as an outcome of broader socio-economic processes, like transition into the post-industrial age and suburbanisation, which both result in empty city centres and deserted industrial sites. These abandoned neighbourhoods are often the scene of bottom-up regeneration stimulated by the creative class (Florida 2002).

Tom Fleming (2011) understands the formation of creative quarters as an organic and relatively chaotic process. The very beginners revitalising abandoned quarters and industrial areas are assumed to be migrants, artists and other alternative creators, which on the one hand use those areas to seek for new inspiration and on the other affordable housing.

An abandoned area populated by artists very quickly becomes interesting for other members of the creative class, which accelerates the processes of revitalisation and regeneration. The process is therefore self-organised and functions as a bottom-up initiative launched by the locals. In case the bottom-up initiative is well supported by suitable top-down urban politics it can be an effective tool for urban regeneration.

According to Fleming (2011) British government was one of the first who recognized the potential of the creative sector. Assuring "soft" and "hard" supporting infrastructure British cities accelerated the establishment of creative clusters in areas, which have already been partly revitalised by the very beginners.

In the past decades main strategy urban regeneration politics used was the flagship project, which would stimulate cultural consumption. On the contrary nowadays politics concentrate on cultural and creative production to increase its influence on local economy.

Basic conditions for the development of creative quarters

Main conditions for the development of creative quarters are affordable housing, social community life, lively cultural happening, unclear boundaries between the places of work and leisure - 24/7 lifestyle, proximity of learning oriented institutions, informal networks, ... (Bell and Jayne 2004, Fleming 2011, Florida 2002, etc.) Fusing those conditions into three basic dimensions of life in any neighbourhood we can say the foundation of a creative quarter consists of:

1. Space - following the example of the creative city,
2. Economy - in the form of creative industries, following specialized ways of exchange, interaction and communication and
3. People, i.e. members of the creative class; social and cultural capital, social networks, ...

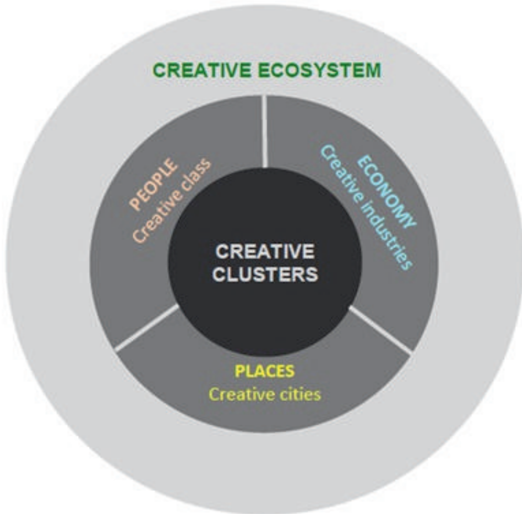


Figure 1: Creative ecosystem (Source: Rivas, 2011)

Space and place

Creative and cultural clusters are not a novelty of our age. Considering numerous artistic and intellectual circles in 19th and 20th century in European cities, or the popular example of the Silicon Valley in California it becomes clear that clusters of have been present for a long time in different historical frames. As well as creative clusters as we know them today historical clusters were tightly bound to the physical space they shared. Creative clusters are not only places of cultural production, but they also function as active hubs, where creative know-how and competences are being maintained, exchanged and coupled. These processes assure fresh afflux of new talented individuals and thus its existence through time.

Despite the rapid development of informational technology and the ubiquity of individuals many (e.g. Bell and Jayne 2004, Scott 2000) observe locality as a significant predisposition for growth of creative potentials. Pratt (in Bell and Jayne 2004) denotes statements about the "death of distance" as exaggerated. He uses the example of the Sillicon Alley in New York to prove place and space to be as important as social interaction tied to them.

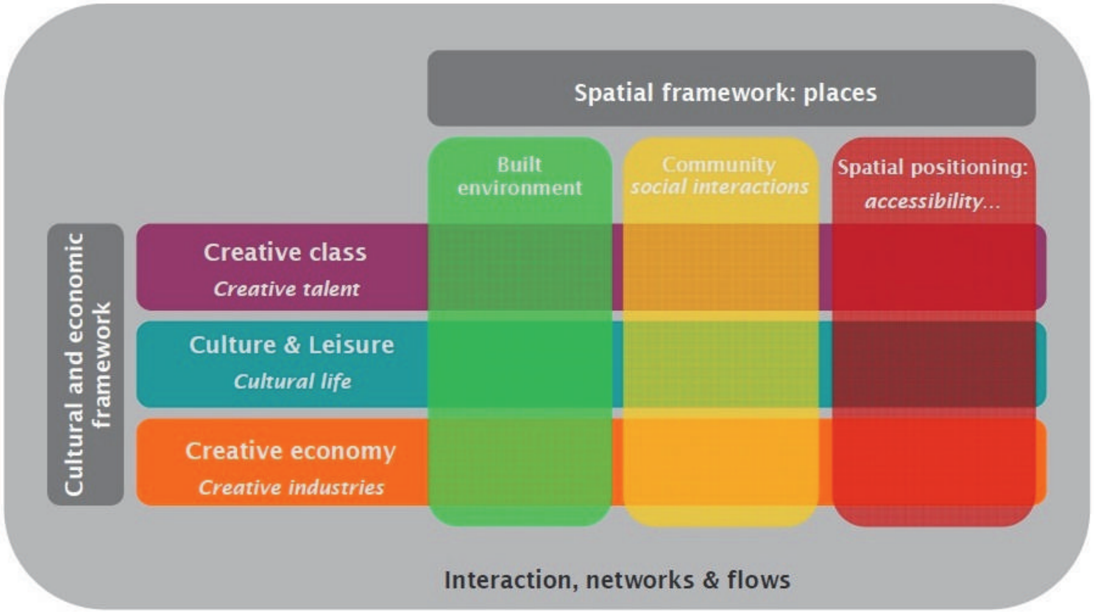
Urban neighbourhoods, where creative quarters spring up, are never isolated or reduced to dwelling uses. Creative quarters rise, if the place enables intertwinement of aspects of work, leisure and social life and thus renders blurring boundaries between work and non-work. This is especially important because creativeness is claimed to be an outcome of the relationship between the individual's talent and the social milieu as well as the social environment he is part of (Scott 2010, 119). Therefore creative workers have problems distinguishing working space-time from leisure space-time. In their daily life both space-times are being constantly intertwined and the local environment has to fulfil these requirements to enable development of creative quarters. In addition spatial accessibility and effective mobility are necessary.

Specialized economy - clustering of creative industries

Advantages of clustering have already been discovered by Marshall (in Scott 2000, Bell and Jayne 2004, Peronns 2004), who first used the expression »industrial district«. In his theory Marshall connects clustering particularly to the exchange of knowledge. His idea of localisation relates to shortening of production ways, which leads to easier comprehending of those procedures and paves the way for hereditary generational circulation of knowledge. Additionally spatial proximity increases possibility for social interaction and therefore rises opportunities for exchange of knowledge, experience, skills, etc. (Peronns 2004, 53-54).

The outcome is what Marshall calls »industrial atmosphere«, which is considered to be a stock of resources that evolve

Figure 2: Creative quarters in space and place. (Source: Rivas 2011)



worker's creativity and innovativeness. This atmosphere mitigates daily communication inside the community and potentially works as a framework for collective problem solving (Scott 2000, 34). Enterprises therefore cluster in particular place to gain access to suitable infrastructure and collective resources, to the pool of qualified workers and proximity of complementary industries (van Heur 2009, 1538).

The Marshallian concept of industrial atmosphere is also recognisable in creative and cultural clusters as a type of collective order maintained through social and cultural capital with distinct institutional infrastructure. The last is usually composed of educational institutions, trade unions and other institutions, e.g. museums, galleries and festivals (Scott 2000, 33).

Spatial proximity is significant for the transition of knowledge that cannot be codified easily, e.g. know-how. In present globalised society, when codified knowledge is easy to be transmitted and accessed, innovations arise from tacit knowledge. Its local nature contributes to its »spatial stickiness« (Markusen in van Heur 2009, 1542). For this reason it can only be transferred between individuals or organisations in the same social environment that is always spatially determined. Creative industries mainly based on tacit knowledge, learning-by-doing and local skills use the advantages of clustering and the ongoing circulation of information it facilitates (van Heur 2009, 1542).

According to Richardson (van Heur 2009) horizontal and vertical linkages between individuals and organisations are crucial for clustering. Vertical dimension represents actors (enterprises, organisations or individuals), which differ functionally but perform supplementary activities. Those actors have different target groups and are therefore not competitive, but usually cooperative. The linkages between those actors are the basis for an effective and economically competitive cluster. Cluster's horizontal dimension consists of competing actors performing similar activities. In order to be one step ahead of the rivalry they constantly observe and control each other. These processes of mutual control often result in mimicry of successful competitors (van Heur 2009, 1538-1539).

Urban environment in this sense functions as a framework of comparison. Particular actors are in position to determine their own status comparing themselves with other actors from their field. Vertical and horizontal linkages improve mutual cooperation and optimization of products in a particular field and stimulate healthy competition. Moreover the linkages are being combined to form a transactional network for exchange of information and knowledge. Creative actors unite for particular projects to gain more security and strengthen their competitive position. Additionally mutual support and control provide sustentation for local creative potentials and mediate transaction of tacit knowledge (Scott 2010, 122).

People – the vital dimension of a cluster

»Creating« creative neighbourhoods in cities, where there is no existing potential except of spatial possibilities is unreasonable and nearly impossible (Evans 2004). The most important condition is distinct energy that permeates the area, where creative quarters are to be stimulated. This particular energy displays itself in existing communities and networks of creative, talented individuals.

In contemporary context clustering is much more than the economic dimension analysed by Marshall and Richarson highlighted above. In his work on cultural clusters through time Evans (2004) emphasizes the importance of the cultural and social dimension. Creative clusters and common spaces of production serve well as groundwork for cultural and social bounding, which base on collective rules, conventions, knowledge and diversified forms of socio-cultural identification (Amin in Evans 2004).

Processes of mutual exchange taking place in those networks not only improve innovativeness and competitiveness but also reduce social inequalities. Social ties are crucial for an organic upspring and effective functioning of creative clusters. When planning those neighbourhoods top-down informal networks and synergies should be the central focus of decision-makers. Without the social dimension clusters are nothing more than a concentration of economic activity in a particular area.

A brief outline of different strategies for promoting the development of creative quarters

Previously we have mentioned that urban policies are utilising various culture-related strategies for the revitalisation of degraded areas, one of them being also the development of creative quarters.

Urban policies are trying to stimulate the transformations of degraded areas into creative quarters in very different ways. One common way in European cities is the implementation of so-called "flagship" projects, where large-scale cultural complexes are built with the intention to create a pinpoint for the creative quarters and to attract both the locals and the visitors from elsewhere. Examples include the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao or the Calatrava complex in Valencia. It's a strategy based on culture and the rest of the public sphere are supposed to follow.

On the basis of comprehensive analysis of policies and strategic plans Evans has found that creative economic strategies fit into one of the six broad categories comprising: ownership, business support services, subsidies and loans, budget and tax schemes and physical and soft infrastructure (Evans 2009: 1028).

Based on the above categories Evans distinguishes three different types of regeneration strategies, in which cultural and creative industries play a key role. Those are:

1. Culture-led regeneration: In this model, cultural activities are seen as the catalyst and engine of regeneration.
2. Cultural regeneration: In this model, cultural activities are more integrated into an area strategy alongside other activities in the environmental, social and economic sphere.
3. Culture and regeneration: In this model cultural activities do not form an integrated strategy, but occur only in specific segments or phases of the project. These are often smaller interventions (Evans, 2005:967-969).

1.3. Dangers of gentrification and long-term persistence of creative quarters

Some authors have pointed out that interesting scenery, a recognisable city brand, tolerant environment and a high degree of heterogeneity in cities can attract some members of the creative class. However, excessive efficiency of this policy is not to be expected. People still decide on where they live according to their social ties, e.g. proximity of one's family and friends or ownership of real estates. Even if a city is able to attract foreign members of the creative class it is not guaranteed that they will stay for a longer period.

Therefore priority of urban regeneration politics is to address city's residents. Otherwise indigenous population feels undesired in their own city, which is often the case in gentrified neighbourhoods. Urban regeneration through the promotion of creative industries very often leads to gentrification.

Gentrification "involves both a change in the social composition of an area and its residents, and a change in the nature of the housing stock (tenure, price, condition etc)" (Hamnett 1991, 176). Usually that means that a working-class quarter is being invaded by the middle class or other high-income groups. "It involves the physical renovation of what was a highly deteriorated housing stock and its upgrading to meet the requirements of its new owners" (Hamnett 1991, 175). As a result housing expenses rise enormously and the character of the neighbourhood completely alters. Residents of a different profile attract other services; in this case services get more exclusive and expensive. Original occupants with lower income, including artists and other member of the creative class, are mainly replaced or displaced.

Gentrification is widely observed as an inevitable process occurring as a result of many broader socio-economic processes such as changes in the demographic and household structure, the impacts of urban growth and consequent changes in the relationship between space and accessibility, etc. Since gentrification is often assumed to be part of a natural flow of urban change it is often supposed to be unstoppable.

Ley and Dobson (2008) explored on the example of Vancouver places where gentrification has not taken place to find out what conditions islands of affordable housing. They claim there are three sets of factors that might prevent gentrification: impaired supply, policy responses and community resistance. In the category impaired supply they range characteristic as: »a minimal stock of older or newer residential properties with architectural character, limited access to environmental amenities or desirable cultural institutions, places near working industrial sites, generally lower-income and immigrant neighbourhoods, districts of deep poverty and distance from existing élite areas« (Ley and Dobson 2008, 2475).

They highlight community resistance as a powerful tool that can only be effective when sufficiently supported by public opinion and acknowledged at the governmental level. Besides supporting local initiatives there are other tools government can employ to prevent gentrification. Over the past forty years, a wide range of policy instruments has been used by the state to lessen the impacts of the private market in removing affordable housing units as neighbourhoods gentrify. A frequent intervention is removing property from the private market through land purchase and building social housing units. Some years ago also protective zoning was a common practice of the local state, but it has often proven itself to be counter-productive.

In addition, in order to keep creative quarters present in a city despite gentrification local government can simply keep the creative spirit alive. Although the clusters would move spatially through time the creative potentials would not be lost. Therefore it is of significant importance to promote engagement of local population. Scott (2010) highlights five main factors that would promote creativity with local population. These are:

» (1) A local system of traditions, norms, and sites of memory (such as museums and exhibitions dedicated to local crafts or skills) through which certain kinds of creative impulses are preserved and transmitted.

(2) A visual landscape that reflects and supports the creative ambitions of the city by projecting a distinctive image and spectacle. For example, a number of older European cities seeking a creative renaissance have fashioned very effective imageries out of recycled factories and warehouses.

(3) A system of leisure opportunities and amenities that provide relevant forms of recreation, distraction and edification for the citizenry at large and for creative workers in particular.

(4) A mosaic of residential neighbourhoods offering appropriate housing and infrastructural services for workers in the urban cultural economy.

(5) A framework of education and training activities. These activities typically play a major role in supplying skilled labour for the local production system« (Scott 2010, 125).

As we have seen long-term persistence of creative quarters can be achieved in different ways. However, we should not resist gentrification at any price; mobility of creative clusters through urban space can have many positive effects on city’s cultural and social atmosphere.

2. Attractive environment for creative businesses and creative individuals

2.1 The role and meaning of spatial planning at creating sufficient conditions for the development of creative industries

In a modern society should urban policy implement a complex formalised and institutional system management within a place, however it has to be mentioned that urban policies are a reflection of previous wide spaces and beside physical management of place is joining also others soft/socio-economic factors in the place. This is especially important in the context of developing appropriate base for development and inviting creative potentials and so called creative industries. Role and importance of social, soft factors are especially highlighted in cases, when formal system is spatially managed which assures the basic economical and physical conditions for development of creative industries, however at the same time did not manage to attract appropriate creative potentials, which have demanded appropriate social atmosphere or living conditions, quality of life, which function stimulative and promotes creativeness (see Florida, 2002, 2005).

Appropriate social environment for development of creative industries, is actually constituted from a wide range of factors, which have real effect in the place and have completely different names, categories, subsystems, which in formal and institutionalised system of spatial planning are more often unfortunately not expressed or are even comprehended as unimportant and needless in a sense of promising a suitable quality of life or creative atmosphere for creative businesses and creative individuals. Creative businesses and creative individuals at looking for suitable living and working conditions and actually using the system of gradual tapering of the most negative elements and leaning towards selection of the most appropriate options to meet their needs. Moreover they are leaning towards cost benefit analysis and deciding for position or they choose a validate location as an appropriate only when they think the majority of conditions have been satisfied and the costs have been minimal. Potential radicals of location for creative industries are estimating all kinds of costs and not only the economic values of rent or buying the place. For the potential users the costs could also represent the actual time to get to a place, psychical/emotional burden, which is needed for the function of the location or the level of heterogenic culture, comply and respect diversity, close or open local culture, value, tradition, etc. Each of the listed elements could for the potential users of the location present an important cost, burden/advantage, relief which can influence on its quality of life and to divert/or attract from the location- push and pull factors. Since in this case of creative businesses and creative individuals goes for high educated and skilled activities, the researchers are often finding that economic factor is an important element of the recommend or creating conditions for development of creative industries, however it is not necessary the main factor as only the combination of suitable life conditions and economic well-being can guarantee successful 'pull' factor to form creative industries. It is important question in the context of guaranteed conditions to form creative industries, to what extend are potential users of location prepared to except different costs or where is tolerated border line in the mean of where users are still allowing that the situation in socio-cultural environment are generating the changes in their way of living. In other words more than the costs increase, the lower utility and the greater the chance that an individual will react to the negative trend, which might influence. In the case that costs which are rising from socio-cultural environment and over the point of balance or tolerated line between benefits and unprofitable and individuals costs are rising, it comes to the point of wakening, when individual knows there is no alternative cost benefit options. From that moment, in view of the individual's subjective cost benefit analysis of any further delay and investment time, effort or money recklessly, would be aimless, which results in a change of activity. The balance point when the costs outweigh the income or benefits, the individual finds himself in the area of structure restraint (Giddens, 1984) and chooses a different mode of action or either to run, sabotage or resistance and changes location, place, city, country where the creative activities are active.

2.2 Choice of appropriate basis, factors, element for development of creative cities

The mechanism of the individual assumptions of costs and benefits shows how complex the system is of social space formation and which factors should be considered if we are to achieve appropriate flexibility in creating appropriate conditions for the development of creative industries.

Analysis of the social space formation represents an attempt to declare or define the elements needed to make it interests to the needs of different creative groups and individuals, at least roughly satisfied and which could Ljubljana present on attractive basis for the development of creative industries. What would appropriate basis be and social factor for the development of creative industries it is in majority depended of joint creative individuals or creative sectors, which we want to attract into a city, region or country. Creative sectors defined by DCMS (2001) are:

- Advertising
- Architecture
- Art and Antiques Markets
- Crafts
- Design
- Designer Fashion
- Film & Video
- Interactive Leisure Software
- Music
- Performing Arts
- Publishing
- Software & Computer Services
- Television and Radio

UK's Department for Culture, media and Sport have defined the existence of 11-14 creative sectors, which are generally attributed to the economic categories and scheme of "cultural production" where culture, art and other creative industries in particular are construed as an important support element for the successful functioning of society and the economy. From this which sectors of creative industries we wish to support, promote, and attract is in a mass majority dependant also on the strategy of appropriate modelled conditions, guaranteed actors, which would offer the support for development of wanted creative industries. Below (tables 2.2.1, 2.2.2 and figure 2.2.1) are described, stated different factors and characteristics of attractive environment for creative businesses and creative individuals. Because all of the factors are not appropriate for the all forms of creative sectors, it is needed to combine, adapt and to adjust individual characters with a demanding individual creative sectors and its needs of local environment or community, which is essentially based on the overall strategy for the development of appropriate "creative atmosphere" at the site. In this context, individual

Table 1: Factors of "attractiveness" (pull factors) for the development of an environment suitable for creative businesses and individuals

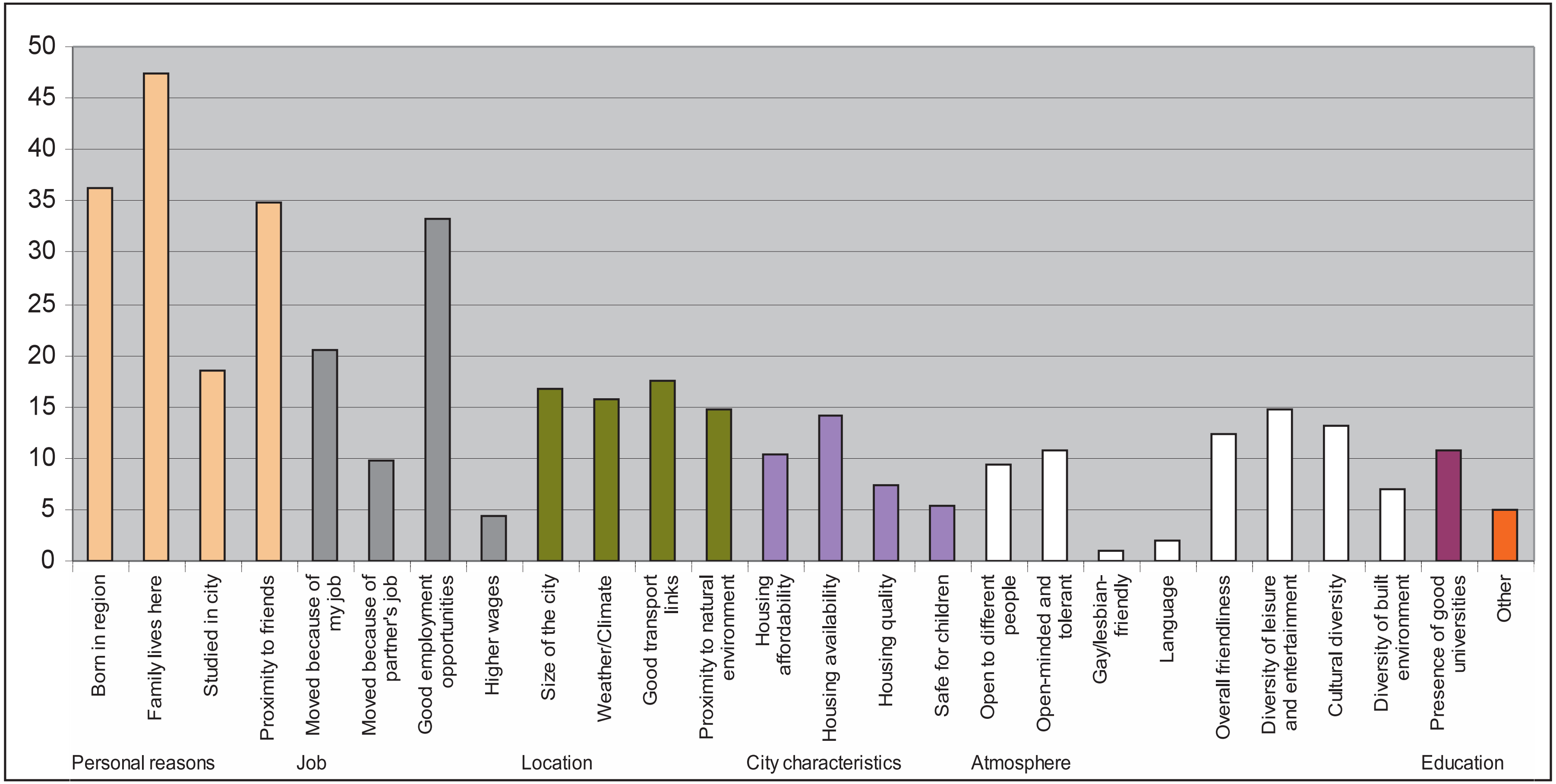
	Factors of high importance	**Factors of lower importance**
„Hard", political – programatic factors	Possibilities and safety of employment	Quality of dwellings available
	Possibilities for study and education	Working conditions
	International accessibility (airports, mobility ...)	Technical infrastructure
	Social infrastructure (social, health system ...)	Living conditions
	Salaries	Decisions of management (CEO) about location of company (lobying)
	Professional networks, possibilities for promotion	Spatial accessibility, locations close to public administration, services, institutions, social services
		Prices of real estate, basic necessities
„Soft", social factors	Environmental quality (nature, climate, parks ...)	Mobility, closeness of work, home, recreation
	Overall quality of life	
	Quality of working environment	
	Quality of urban architecture (possibilities of suburban areas, sprawl)	
	Accesibility and quality of living environment (mobility, recreation facilities, areas)	
	Attractiveness – level of tolerance, cohesion, cultural diversity („diversity index"), nightlife, accessibility to music, visual, performative arts, diversification of lifestyles ...	
	Adequacy of cultural „milieu" (culture, tradition, value system), socio-historic properties of environment	
	Security	
	Social networks (accessibility to friends, social interactions ...)	
*** Adapted from Gottlieb 1994; Eastway, 2009 etc.		

city specifically attract various specialized forms of creative sectors, but few can take advantage of appropriate conditions for the development of all sectors, because of its specific or extraordinary "attractive" (pull factors) power. In this context we can speak about world global cities (Sassen, 1994) with a large critical mass of residents, visitors and users.

Rank	Factor	Importance in percentage
1	Quality of living in the community	33,00%
2	Closeness, acessibility to family and friends	19,00%
3	Benefits at work, cost of living, etc.	17,00%
4	Profit share, entrance to the shareholder structure	14,00%
5	Company reputation	7,00%
6	Salary	1,00%

Table 2: Importance of individual conditions and factors for the development of creative industries - case of the city of Pittsburgh
- percentages in the table show how much each factor contributes to the increase of the importance of attractiveness of location for creative individuals
- Adapted from R. Florida, 2005

Figure 3: Factors of attractiveness for the development of creative industries in the case of Barcelona, (from Pareja Eastaway et al. 2008)
- The rate in the table explains the importance of factors for individuals from the creative sectors in the area of Barcelona. This illustrates the utmost importance of "localistic" factor.



2.3 Review of relevant policies at national and city level

Ljubljana as a capital city represents a leading economical and cultural centre. The majority of creative sector, important official (state financed) and unofficial (financially independent), cultural institutions are in Ljubljana, where they function as a key core of a wide cultural network, which consists of the whole country. Despite this important role and the national importance, Ljubljana still does not comprise profiled or appropriately designed strategies for the creative industries development at a local, regional and national level, (ex. see Green Paper - Unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries, 2010, 2011); Strategy of the cultural development in the Municipality of Ljubljana 2008-2011; National Programme for Culture 2008-2011; Sustainable development strategy of Municipality of Ljubljana 2002). The majority of creative sector industries accumulate spontaneous and incremental primarily in the vicinity of the major network points, hubs and enhanced flows of capital, information, human resources, which are usually located in different locations of the capital Ljubljana.

Ljubljana as a city will possible never be on a creative map of Europe beside Amsterdam, Berlin or Manchester, and have lost the competition in advance with those cities for the creative specialists and businesses. Therefore, it is a sensible goal of Ljubljana urban policy to encourage and support its own creative individuals and their integration in creative community in the creative quarters. Ljubljana in reality does not have that kind of quarters; therefore a spatial location of young artists is fundamentally less predictable, thus hindering the formation of the quarters, which would be overloaded with attractions, scenes and creativeness.

Study is based on key policy documents mentioned above, important for a development of creative industries in the city, and will represent the context for analysis and mapping in the 3rd chapter.

3 Case study

3.1 Theoretical basis behind the preparation of databases

The definition of creative industries for the purpose of research

To define creative industries, there are several definitions and classifications of creative industries that were critically examined and evaluated for the purpose of the study. A key task was also to apply the definition of creative industries to the statistical classification of activities whose purpose is primarily different.

AJPES (Agency of the Republic of Slovenia for Public Legal Records and Related Services) data is conducted by the Statistical classification of economic activities, which is in the line with the European classification NACE and it was revised in 2008 under NACE (SKD-Standard Classification of Activities in RS and NACE Rev.2). SWOT analysis was done in advance within the project (IER, 2011) that has been taken by the principles of the European classification NACE rev. 1.1. on the third level.

Significant differences were found between the SKD 2002 and SKD 2008 in the field of creative industries. Since data on business entities have been managed for several years by the new classification it was used in this study the SKD 2008 no matter of the SWOT analysis.

The first source of definition on creative industries was used by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport of the UK (DCMS) from 1998 and 2001. DCMS defined the creative industries as ‘"...those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent which have a potential for job and wealth creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property’.

The standard definition of the creative industries used by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport of the UK (DCMS 2001) includes 13 industries:

- advertising
- architecture
- art and antiques
- computer games
- crafts
- design
- designer fashion
- film and video
- music
- performing arts
- publishing
- software
- TV and radio.

For comparison, the brochure by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia: Cultural and creative industries - Slovene style: CCI (Močnik et al., 2011) was also important in view of applications on SKD 2008.

Cultural industries under the Cultural and Creative Industries –Slovene Style (CCISS) are:

- Performing arts,
- Visual arts,
- Cultural heritage,
- Film,
- DVD and video,
- Radio and television,
- Video and computer games,
- New media,
- Music,
- Books and publishing;

Creative industries under the Cultural and Creative Industries –Slovene Style (CCISS)are:

- Architecture
- Design
- Graphic and fashion design
- Advertising

The publication (Močnik et al., 2011) specifically states the SKD 2008 codes (the fourth level, which is kept in the AJPES database) for activities, which are among the cultural and creative industries and are reflected in the statistics for the needs of the brochure. These activities are:

C32.990	Other manufacturing n.e.c.
G47.610	Retail sale of books in specialized stores
G47.621	Retail sale of newspapers in specialized stores
G47.622	Retail sale of stationery in specialized stores
J58.110	Book publishing
J58.120	Publishing of directories and mailing lists
J58.130	Publishing of newspapers
J58.140	Publishing of journals and periodicals
J58.190	Other publishing activities
J59.110	Motion picture, video and television programme production activities
J59.120	Motion picture, video and television programme post-production activities
J59.130	Motion picture, video and television programme distribution activities
J59.140	Motion picture projection activities
J59.200	Sound recording and music publishing activities
J60.100	Radio broadcasting
J60.200	Television programming and broadcasting activities
J63.910	News agency activities
M71.111	Architectural planning
M71.112	Landscape architecture, urban and other planning
M71.129	Other engineering activities and related technical consultancy
M74.100	Specialized design activities
M74.200	Photographic activities
N79.900	Other reservation service and related activities
P85.520	Cultural education
R90.010	Performing arts
R90.020	Support activities to performing arts
R90.030	Artistic creation
R90.040	Operation of arts facilities

R91.011	Library activities
R91.012	Archives activities
R91.020	Museums activities
R91.030	Operation of historical sites and buildings and similar visitor attractions
R91.040	Botanical and zoological gardens and nature reserves activities
R93.210	Activities of amusement parks and theme parks
R93.299	Other amusement and recreation activities n.e.c.

The following sources are Eurostat pocketbook Cultural statistics from 2007 and 2010, which consists of NACE Rev. 1.1 (2007) and NACE Rev. 2 (2010) codes for the demarcation of cultural activities.

A new brochure (Eurostat 2010) is quoting the activities on the NACE Rev.2 level, which was prepared by the Eurostat coordination of national statistic organizations ESSnet-culture, which have not finished its work yet, therefore the list is not finalized. The list should present a joint understanding of the cultural activities in the EU (and not the creative industries). The list by the third level presents:

G47	Retail trade, except of motor vehicles and motorcycles
G47.4	Retail sale of information and communication equipment in specialised stores
G47.43	Retail sale of audio and video equipment in specialised stores
G47.6	Retail sale of cultural and recreation goods in specialised stores
G47.61	Retail sale of books in specialised stores
G47.63	Retail sale of music and video recordings in specialised stores
J58	Publishing activities
J58.1	Publishing of books, periodicals and other publishing activities
J58.11	Book publishing
J58.13	Publishing of newspapers
J58.14	Publishing of journals and periodicals
J58.2	Software publishing
J58.21	Publishing of computer games
J59	Motion picture, video and television programme production, sound recording and music publishing activities
J59.1	Motion picture, video and television programme activities
J59.11	Motion picture, video and television programme production activities
J59.12	Motion picture, video and television programme post-production activities
J59.13	Motion picture, video and television programme distribution activities
J59.14	Motion picture projection activities
J59.2	Sound recording and music publishing activities
J59.20	Sound recording and music publishing activities
J60	Programming and broadcasting activities

J60.1	Radio broadcasting
J60.2	Television programming and broadcasting activities
J63	Information service activities
J63.9	Other information service activities
J63.91	News agency activities
M71	Architectural and engineering activities; technical testing and analysis
M71.1	Architectural and engineering activities and related technical consultancy
M71.11	Architectural activities
M74	Other professional, scientific and technical activities
M74.1	Specialised design activities
M74.2	Photographic activities
N77	Rental and leasing activities
N77.2	Renting and leasing of personal and household goods
N77.22	Renting of video tapes and disks
P85	Education
P85.5	Other education
P85.52	Cultural education
R90	Creative, arts and entertainment activities
R90.0	Creative, arts and entertainment activities
R90.01	Performing arts
R90.02	Support activities to performing arts
R90.03	Artistic creation
R90.04	Operation of arts facilities
R91	Libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities
R91.0	Libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities
R91.01	Library and archives activities
R91.02	Museums activities
R91.03	Operation of historical sites and buildings and similar visitor attractions

The concepts of creative industries in a broader sense covers firms whose main business activity is one of the creative industries, as well as individuals in companies whose prime activity is not one of the creative industries, but activities they provide are covered by the definition of creative industries. For the study only firms that primarily belong to the creative industries were considered, which means that a certain part of the creative individuals falls out of the analysis. In some activities this part of creative class is more important, in others less. Therefore complete design and marketing sectors of production companies, architects in construction companies and almost all branch of fashion design are excluded from analysis. The exception is individual and independent fashion designers that are in the category of artistic creation 90.030, together with painters, poets, composers etc.

There are some more or less important methodological problems at the close scrutiny of each of these industries. Above all, the basis of any definition of creative industries is primarily drawn from the professions and not from the activities. Music for example is divided between artistic creation where composers are in the same category as painters of writers and performing arts, where musicians are no different from actors, puppeteers or dancers.

Advertising

Advertising is to a certain extent tied to companies, not covered by the classification. The Media representation has been by the old classification part of the 74.400 category. In NACE Rev.2 the problem is solved by two categories at the third level M73.11 Advertising agencies and M73.12 Media representation.

Advertising falls within the field of creative industries, rather than the cultural industries. Therefore it is not listed in the lists of the Ministry of Culture and Eurostat.

Architecture

In the field of architecture on the third level M71.11 (Architectural activities), Ministry of Culture lists also M71.129 (Other engineering activities and related technical consultancy). This activity is not considered elsewhere so it was excluded from the study. Because of large numbers of companies it is crucial decision whether to include it in the list or not. By exclusion some comparatibility with the Ministry is lost, but the picture of creative industries is better.

Art and antiques market

R90.03 category (Artistic creation) covers a relatively wide range of artists, from arts and crafts, the choirs associations to painters, composers and writers. Also some individual independent architects, journalists, translators, photographers ... are listed in the category that would normally be classified in other categories within the field of creative industries. Some art sales conected also to arts and crafts could be hidden in that category.

On the other hand, antiques market is not specifically addressed in the classification of economic activities so sale of art and antiques is normally classified in other retail, therefore is not possible to be recognized by the SKD classification. As of that the Retail antiques in not in the study, except the portion included in the G47.782 category (Retail sale services of commercial art galleries). G47.790 (Retail sale of second-hand goods in stores) could also cover some antiques trade but is far to general to consider.

Arts and crafts

Part of arts and crafts is incorporated in the category R90.03 (Artistic creation), and it is impossible to find out what portion of arts and crafts is this. However we can assume it is a main part of the industry.

Design

Design is entirely included in the category M74.1 by the SKD classification (Specialized design activities), but it is not further detailed unfortunately. So object and industrial design are in the category together with graphic and fashion design. The data for any single sort of design is not available.

Fashion Design

Fashion design does not have its own category in the SKD, neither have the field of crafts manufacturing textiles. Fashion designers and also individual manufacturers of unique fashion accessories are partly hidden in the M74.1 category (Specialized design activities) and partly in R90.03 (Artistic creation). Part of the fashion designing is certainly hidden in C14 category (Manufacture of wearing apparel) and (Manufacture of leather and related products). Therefore the study can not draw any conclusions considering fashion design.

Film, video and photography

Despite the fact that activities related to film and video are well covered with their own categories a part of activities is also hidden in general category R90.03 (Artistic creation). Similar situation is for the photographers, which are in the category M74.200 (Photographic activities) with quite diverse businesses and partly in R90.03 (Artistic creation).

Computer equipment, games and electronic publishing

Computer programming activities is covered by the SKD J62.010 category (Computer programming activities) and software publishing by the categories J58.210 (Publishing of computer games) and J58.290 (Other software publishing). Some electronic publishing is included also in the category J59.200 (Sound recording and music publishing activities). Classical publishers are also dealing with electronic publishing, so part of electronic publishing is covered also in the publishing industry.

Music

Music is partly covered by the R90.03 category (Art creation). This is particularly true for composers, but also for some individual instrumentalists and also societies, which are also partly covered by the R90.010 category (Performing arts) and J59.200 category (Sound recording and music publishing activities).

Visual and performing arts

Classical visual arts (partly without video, photography, architecture...) are covered by the R90.03 (Artistic creation), and performing arts are mainly covered by the R90.010 (Performing arts).

Publishing

Classical publishing is mainly covered by the categories J58.110 (Book publishing), J58.120 (Publishing of directories and mailing lists), J58.130 (Publishing of newspapers), J58.140 (Publishing of journals and periodicals) and J58.190 (Other publishing activities). Publishing of directories and mailing lists and Other publishing activities are considered in the base of Ministry for culture but not in the Eurostat list. Because of comparability they are not listed in this study.

Television and radio

Television and radio are in the separate categories J60.100 (Radio broadcasting) and J60.200 (Television programming and broadcasting activities).

3.2 Preparation of definitions, indicators and databases

The study uses its own list or activities, grouped in 11 groups or branches. The list is prepared considering all of the above mentioned definitions and lists and comprises 32 categories from SKD 2008.

Survey is based on data with 32 SKD 2008 categories, which are managed in AJPES database at the fourth level, as the main descriptor of enterprises. Categories SKD 2002 (NACE Rev. 1.1) are also listed below, but just as added information, for traceability, as they are not generally uniquely translatable vice versa. The listed categories are below:

SKD.2002 (info.)	**SKD.2008**	**Description**
52.471	G47.610	Retail sale of books in specialized stores
52.472	G47.621	Retail sale of newspapers in specialized stores
	G47.630	Retail sale of music and video recordings in specialized stores
52.486	G47.782	Retail sale services of commercial art galleries

22.110	J58.110	Book publishing
22.120	J58.130	Publishing of newspapers
22.130	J58.140	Publishing of journals and periodicals
72.212	J58.210	Publishing of computer games
72.212	J58.290	Other software publishing
92.110	J59.110	Motion picture, video and television programme production activities
92.110	J59.120	Motion picture, video and television programme post-production activities
92.120	J59.130	Motion picture, video and television programme distribution activities
92.130	J59.140	Motion picture projection activities
22.140	J59.200	Sound recording and music publishing activities
92.200	J60.100	Radio broadcasting
92.200	J60.200	Television programming and broadcasting activities
72.210	J62.010	Computer programming activities
92.400	J63.910	News agency activities
74.203	M71.111	Architectural planning
74.202	M71.112	Landscape architecture, urban and other planning
74.400	M73.110	Advertising agencies
74.872	M74.100	Specialized design activities
74.810	M74.200	Photographic activities
92.340	P85.520	Cultural education
92.310	R90.010	Performing arts
92.310	R90.020	Support activities to performing arts
92.310	R90.030	Artistic creation
92.320	R90.040	Operation of arts facilities
91.511	R91.011	Library activities
91.512	R91.012	Archives activities
92.521	R91.020	Museums activities
92.522	R91.030	Operation of historical sites and buildings and similar visitor attractions

3.3 Spatial analysis of the distribution of creative industries

3.3.1 Location of creative industries companies

The maps show individual locations, defined with house numbers with the data from the Business Register of Slovenia. The size of a dot presents number of business entities (both firms and registered individuals) from the above defined activities chosen under the SKD 2008. Individual hotspots are nicely visible, partly reflecting the locations of higher overall density of businesses, but at least in part specific hotspots can be recognized, which cannot be attributed to the fact that in certain area of the city there is simply more business entities, regardless of their sector.

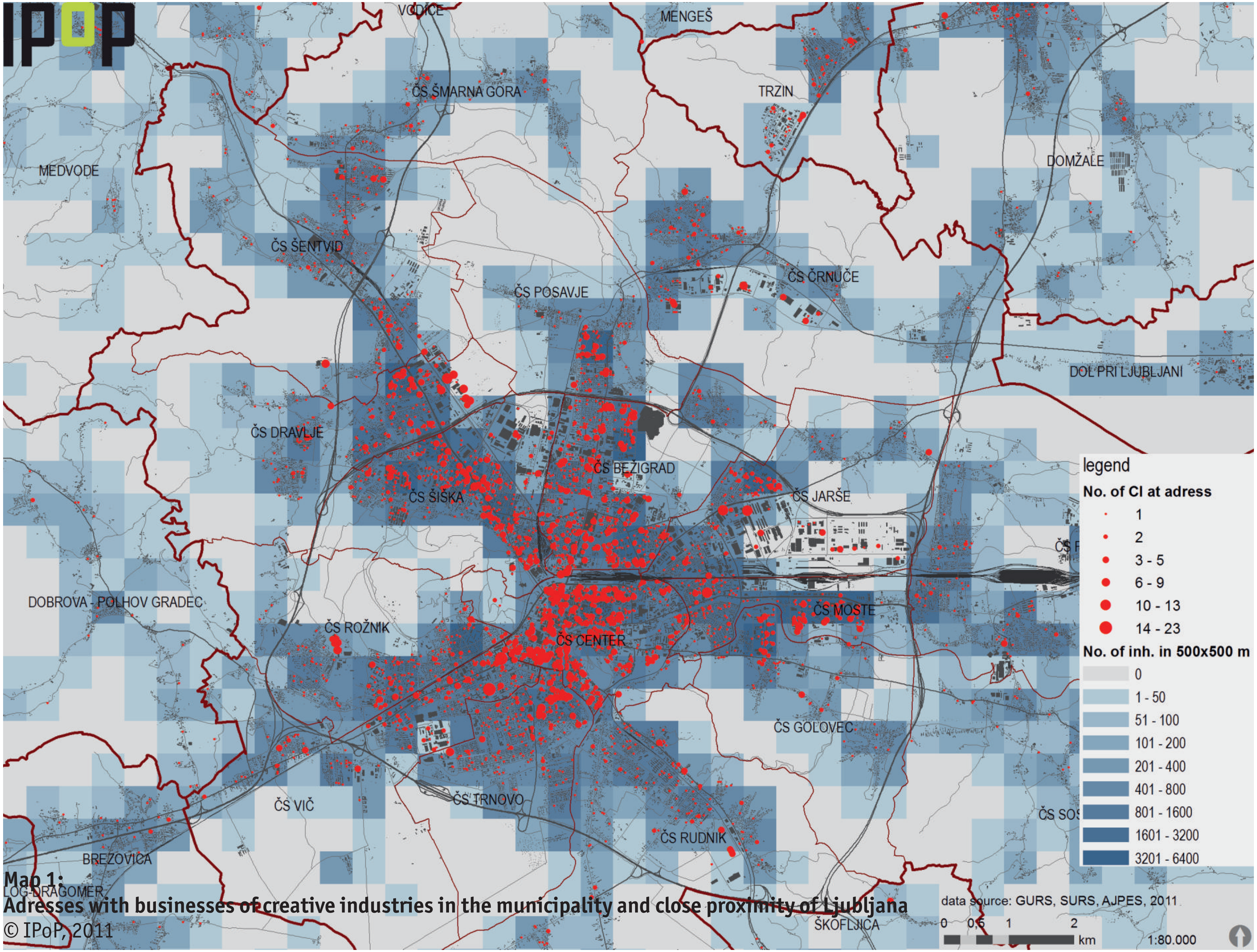
Such locations are, among others: Technology park, Mirje, Rimska Street with Vrtača and abandoned tobacco factory (Tobačna), south Bežigrad, Ajdovščina, dense areas at Celovška Road in Šiška and by Dunajska Road at Mercator business centre, Tabor, Trubarjeva road. Those are marked with yellow squares on the map 2.

Some areas with strong eonomy, especially BTC and Rudnik commercial and bussines zones do not show any higher concentration of the creative industries. Those areas do not seem attractive for creative industries at all regarding the data.

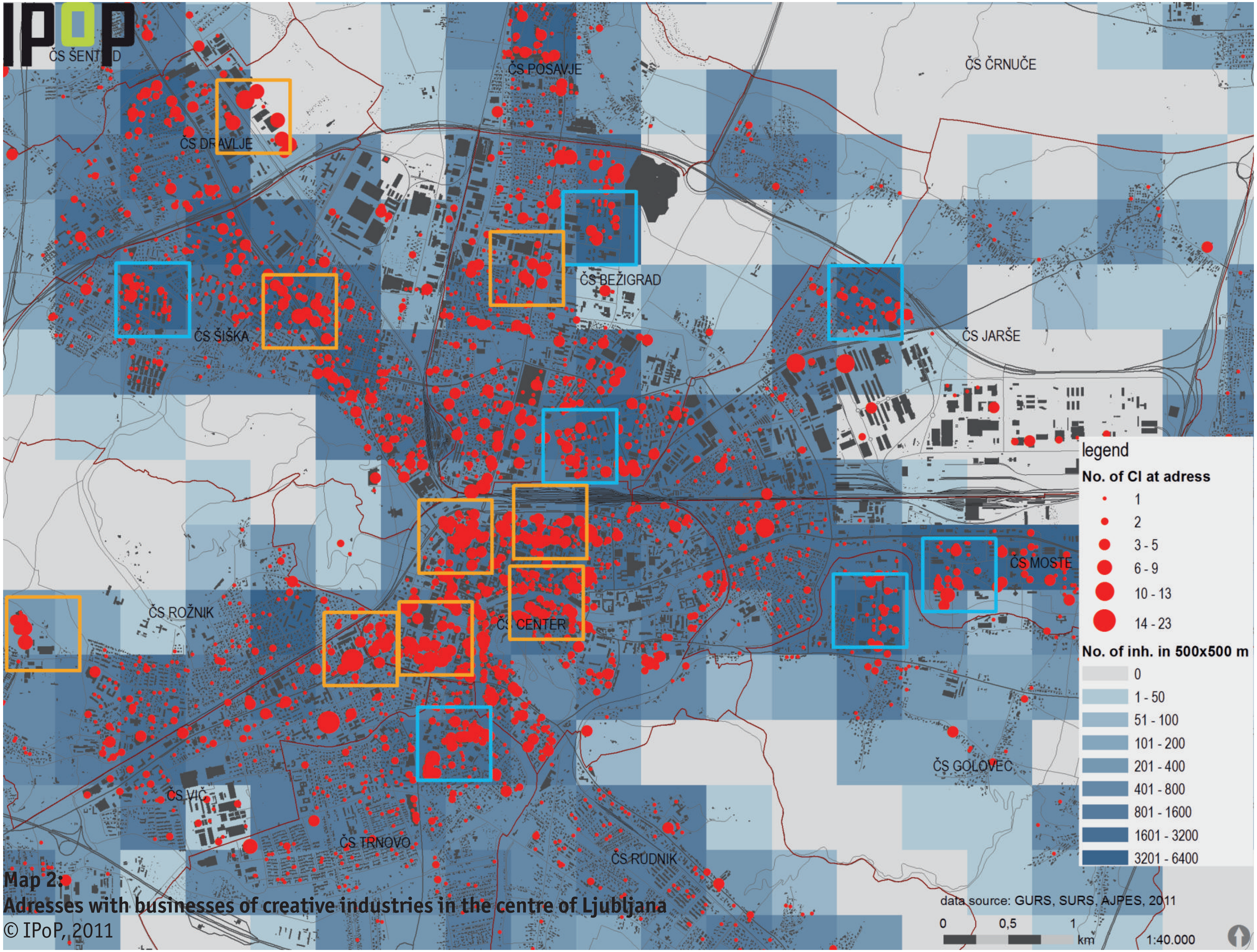
Hotspots are also seen especially in the middle-aged neighbourhoods, for example Trnovo, Župančičeva jama, Fužine, where there are many mainly self employed businesses and independent cultural workers and journalists, which activities are registered at the living address and not necessarily at the address where they are actually carrying out their activity. Those are marked with blue squares on the map 2.

To determine the amount of the problem mentioned above, a survey was made, discussed in the chapter 3.3.2.

Interesting fact is also that in some oldest planned neighbourhoods there are only a few of creative industries companies or individuals. This correspond with the age structure of inhabitants, the mean age in those older neighbourhoods are higher than in above mentioned areas.



Map 1:
Adresses with businesses of creative industries in the municipality and close proximity of Ljubljana
© IPoP, 2011



Map 2:
Adresses with businesses of creative industries in the centre of Ljubljana
© IPoP, 2011

Mapping the differencies among individual branches of creative industries

There are considerable differencies in actual decision about work locations among branches within creative industries. The branches are also not uniformly populated so the results for all sectors are not completely comparable.

There are only few companies in the branch of arts and antiques sale, mainly concentrated in the old city centre. The concentration is understandable, for the sale the shops are definitely needed. On the other hand there is a large number of individuals and companies in the branch of artistic creation. The locations are generally everywere where people work or live. The problem of mapping individuals registered at home address, some of them working at home but many working on site or in the working place shared with someone else, is probably present the most in the branch of artistic creation.

Size of dots represents the number of creative industries subject at single address. The larger the dots are, the more companies or individuals are concentrated in one building. Such tipe of concentration is most notably present in software production where companies are concentrated in older office buildings or, in the case of old and new Technology park (Tehnološki park) they are offered the opportunity institutionally.

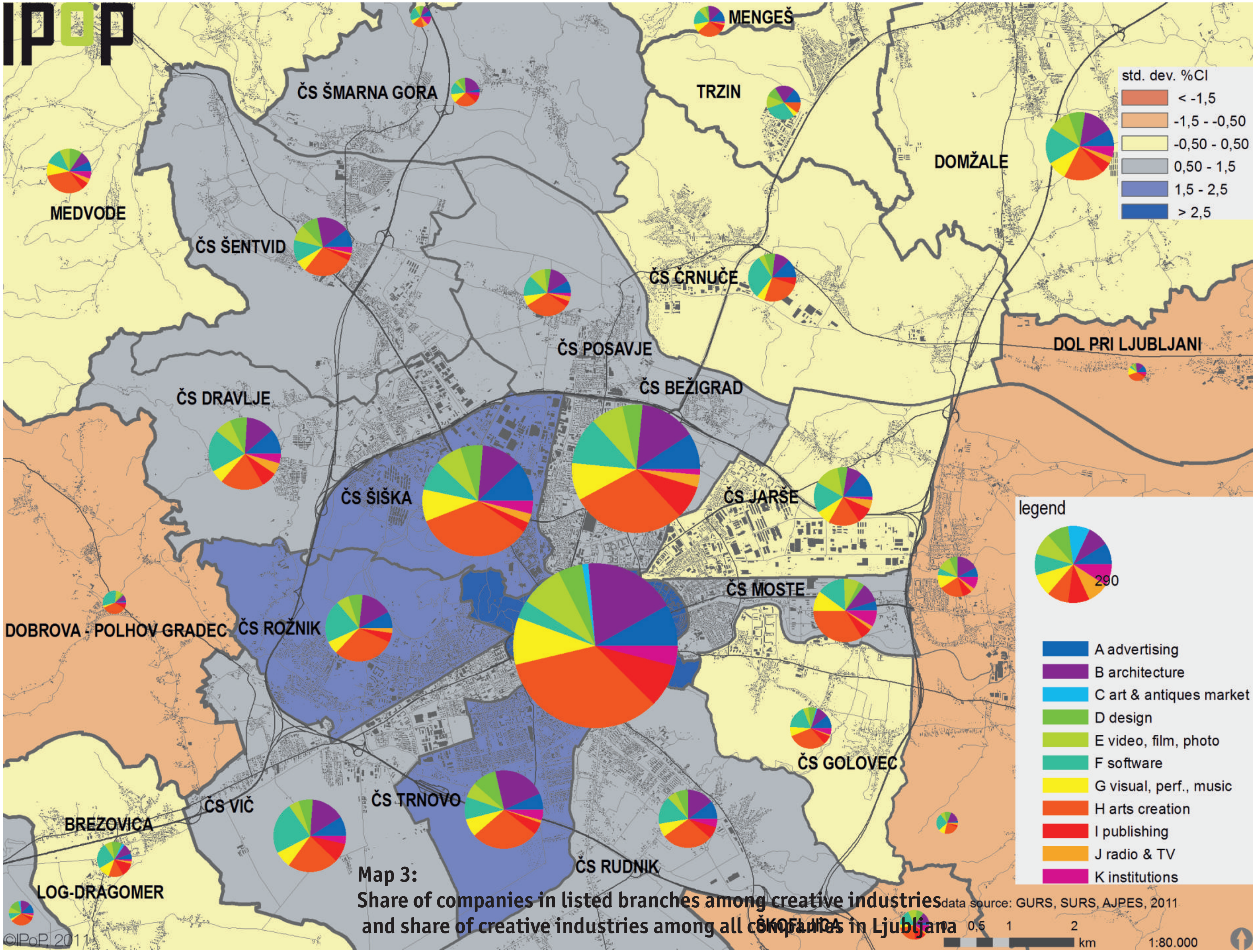
The differences in individual branches location distribution are observed also on the map 4. Software, for example is much more accented in some more peripheral locations, as Trzin and Domžale and the outer Ljubljana quarters (ČS Črnuče, ČS Dravlje, ČS Vič). The lower share of software companies in all creative industries companies in an area is in city centre, where the share of CI companies is generally highest. The background colour on the map indicates the share of creative industries companies in all companies of an area. The yellow colour represent average share, blue tones indicate above average share of CI and reddish tones indicate below average share of CI.

Share of the branch architecture is on contrary highest in the city centre and areas close to centre, as ČS Trnovo and generally tends to be higher in the areas with higher share of creative industries, as the quarters on the western side of city has, comparing to the eastern side.

The share of branches in Trzin is very specific. The above mentioned very high share of software firms is complemented with fairly high shares in architecture, advertising, design, and video, film & photo on one hand and very low share of visual & performing arts, artistic creation, cultural institutions and publishing. One could conclude that Trzin with it's strong bussines zone is far more attractive to core creative industries than to so called cultural industries.

Table 3: Number and share of companies in combined branches of creative industries in the area of Ljubljana Urban Region. Data source: AJPES

branches, groups of activities		no. of companies (LUR)	share in CI (LUR)
A	advertising	543	9,0%
B	architecture	879	14,5%
C	art & antiques sale	31	0,5%
D	design	392	6,5%
E	video, film & photo	477	7,9%
F	software	798	13,2%
G	visual & performing arts, music	515	8,5%
H	arts creation	1682	27,8%
I	publishing	385	6,4%
J	radio and TV production	130	2,1%
K	culture institutions	228	3,8%
CI	**SUM**	**6060**	**100,0%**



Map 3:
Share of companies in listed branches among creative industries and share of creative industries among all companies in Ljubljana

3.3.2 Survey – Creative industries in the metropolitan region of Ljubljana

Since this study is based on official spatial data acquired from an agency disposing with public legal evidences (AJPES) we anticipated the possibility that actual positioning of creative industries could deviate from the official evidence. For enterprises and individuals active in creative branches it is especially characteristic to be flexible concerning workplaces.

In Slovenia as well as in the metropolitan region of Ljubljana a great amount of creative industries consists of one person. Many cultural and creative workers are registered as "self-employed cultural workers" or "independent artists" and therefore enjoy special patronage of the state. Regarding that fact spatial data we obtain can easily deviate from the actual state of things. It is possible that creative workers either work at home but have their firm registered elsewhere or the other way around.

For this reason we decided to undertake a test on a representative group of creative industries active in the metropolitan region of Ljubljana. Deriving from the data we obtained from AJPES we constructed a random sample considering the share of each creative industry in the complete data base. This random sample consisting of hundred (100) creative industries was invited to take part in our survey. The invitations were send out through e-mail. Since the data from AJPES is not being updated regularly we immediately got a negative answer from 24 respondents because of nonexistent contacts. However, the survey was filled out by 17 respondents. Considering the immediate deficit this is a response of 22%.

The survey was positioned online and consisted of four questions. First part of the questionnaire was compounded of questions on whether respondents work where their firm is registered and whether they work at home. More than a half - 53% most of the time did not work where their firm had its headquarters. Almost three quarters – 69% did not work at home most of the time. Combining answers to those two questions we found out that 29% worked at home where they had their registered headquarter. Whereas 41% had registered headquarter at home, but most of the time worked elsewhere.

The second part of the survey focused on the respondents' particular workplace. First we asked: "Do you use your workplace on your own or do you share it with other individuals/firms from the same or similar branch?" 53% answered they used their workplace on their own, but the remaining 47% shared it.

To get a better insight in the decision-making process when choosing a location for their firm we composed a range of factors and posed the following question: "How important were the following factors, when you were choosing the location, where you work"? Respondents had to decide whether each factor was (1) not important at all, (2) not important, (3) neither important neither not important, (4) important or (5) very important for them.

The most important factors affecting the choice of a location were:

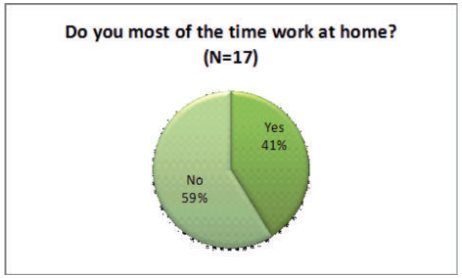
1. "Rental costs", which was important to 47% of respondents and very important to 35% (=82%),

2. "Time I spend to get to work", which was important or very important to 77% and

3. "Overall attractiveness of the environment" with 59% for important or very important.

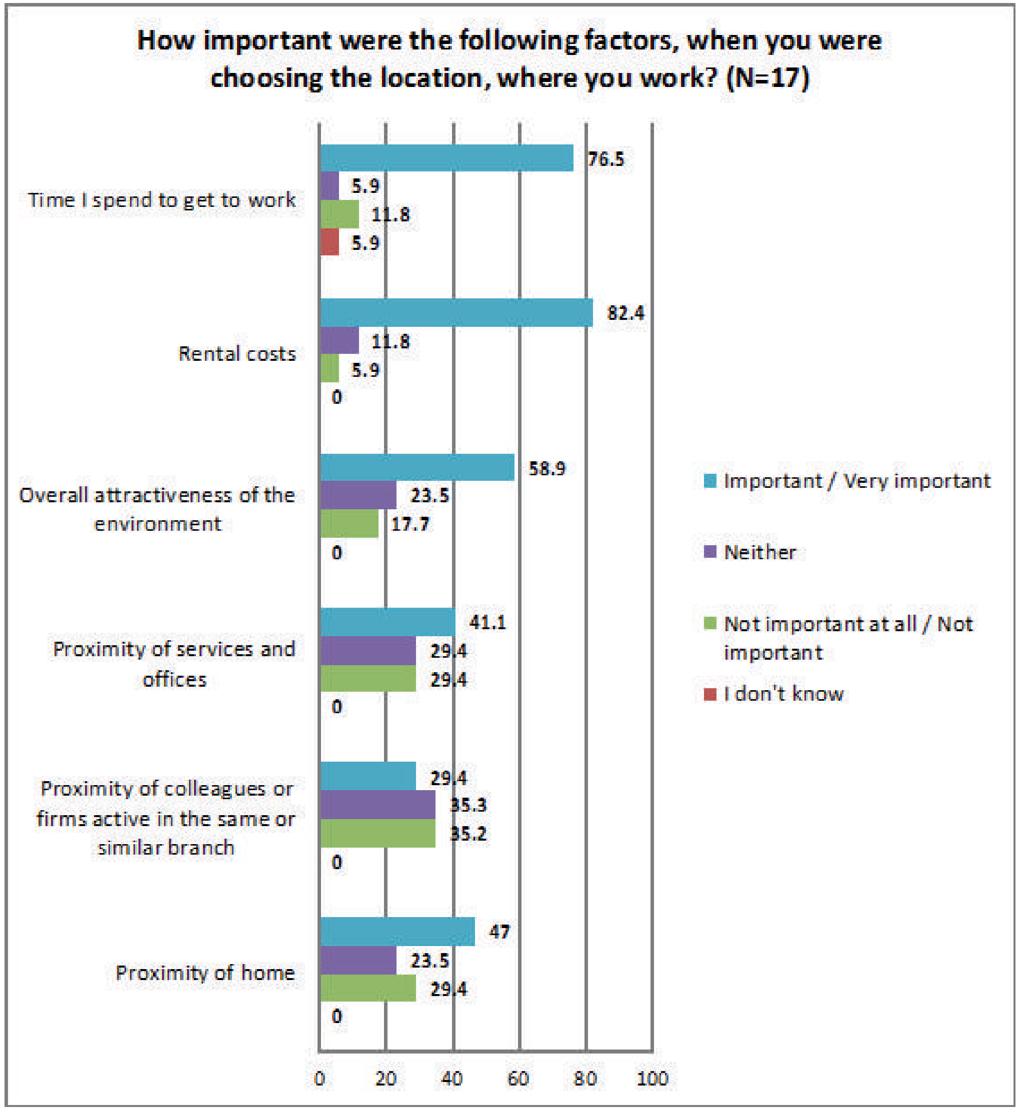
"Proximity of home" was important or very important to 47% of respondents. "Proximity of colleagues or firms active in the same or similar branch" seems not as important as we

Figures 4, 5:
Two answers from the survey.



expected. 35% stated it was not important or not important at all and 35% stayed undecided. “Proximity of services and offices” proved to be fairly important since 41% chose important or very important, but still 29% were undecided. In the open question a respondent pointed out that parking lots, accessibility, IT infrastructure and functionality of rooms are of great importance as well.

Figure 6: Answers from the survey.

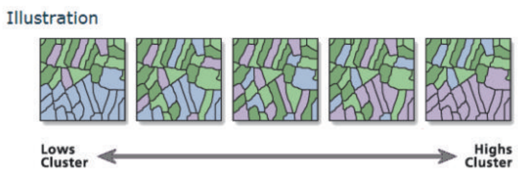


The survey confirmed our hypothesis of an existing gap between official data and the actual state of things. However, we cannot claim with certainty that our survey is representative for the whole metropolitan region of Ljubljana because of the rather small sample we employed. Additionally other factors mentioned above (e.g. one man firms) can be credited for possible errors in our results. Despite that we believe the survey is a sufficient proof of the existing gap and indicates that additional research in this field is required.

3.3.3 High / Low clustering analysis for sectors of creative industries in Ljubljana

We have analysed the spatial pattern of different types of creative industries in the city of Ljubljana, to see whether they are randomly distributed or they show any statisticaly significant rate of clustering. We have done the analysis in Arcmap with High Low clustering tool.

The High/Low Clustering (Getis-Ord General G) tool returns 5 values: Observed General G, Expected General G, Variance, z-score, and p-value. It is an inferential statistic, which means that the results of the analysis are interpreted within the context of the null hypothesis. The null hypothesis for the High/Low Clustering (General G) statistic states that there is no spatial clustering of feature values. When the p-value returned by this tool is small and statistically significant, the null hypothesis can be rejected. If the null hypothesis is rejected, then the sign of the z-score becomes important. If the z-score value is positive, the observed General G index is larger than the expected General G index, indicating high values for the attribute are clustered in the



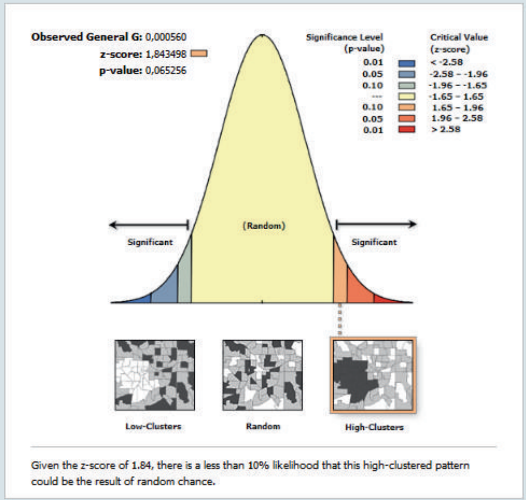
study area. If the z-score value is negative, the observed General G index is smaller than the expected index, indicating that low values are clustered in the study area.

The High Low Clustering analysis of software firms in the city in Ljubljana has shown that the pattern of companies of this type of creative industries does not appear to be signitificantly different than random. The same can be said for spatial distribution of advertising, software, radio and television, video, film and foto production as well as for cultural institutions. Distribution of publishing, for example, with the same number of companies as software shows that there is a less than 5 % likelihood that high clustered pattern could be the result of random chance. Similarly, art creation as well as music and visual performance show statistically important rate of clustering in the spatial distribution of their companies while architecture and design show a relatively low rate of spatial clustering.

The method was not completely tested so we have rather analysed the patterns graphicaly further on.

Figures 7, 8 and 9:
Results of the High / Low clustering analysis for Architecture, Publishing and Software.

High-Low Clustering Report



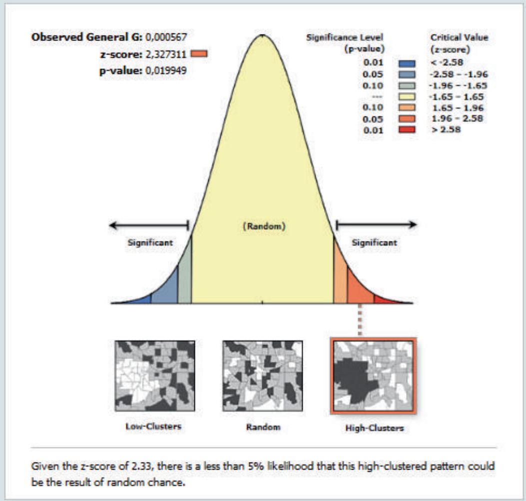
General G Summary

Observed General G:	0,000560
Expected General G:	0,000545
Variance:	0,000000
z-score:	1,843498
p-value:	0,065256

Dataset Information

Input Feature Class:	Architecture
Input Field:	N_TETJEODE
Conceptualization:	INVERSE_DISTANCE
Distance Method:	EUCLIDEAN
Row Standardization:	False
Distance Threshold.:	20020.5
Weights Matrix File:	None

High-Low Clustering Report



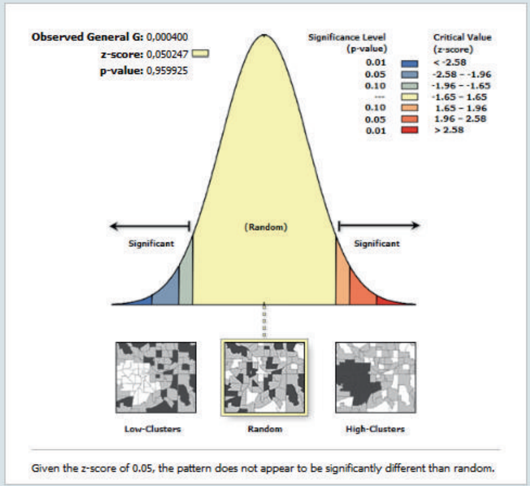
General G Summary

Observed General G:	0,000567
Expected General G:	0,000534
Variance:	0,000000
z-score:	2,327311
p-value:	0,019949

Dataset Information

Input Feature Class:	Publishing
Input Field:	N_TETJEODE
Conceptualization:	INVERSE_DISTANCE
Distance Method:	EUCLIDEAN
Row Standardization:	False
Distance Threshold.:	18571.5
Weights Matrix File:	None

High-Low Clustering Report



General G Summary

Observed General G:	0,000400
Expected General G:	0,000399
Variance:	0,000000
z-score:	0,050247
p-value:	0,959925

Dataset Information

Input Feature Class:	Software
Input Field:	N_TETJEODE
Conceptualization:	INVERSE_DISTANCE
Distance Method:	EUCLIDEAN
Row Standardization:	False
Distance Threshold.:	21159.0
Weights Matrix File:	None

3.4 Analysis of spatial factors

3.4.1 Analysis of the spatial factors describing environment attractive for creative industries

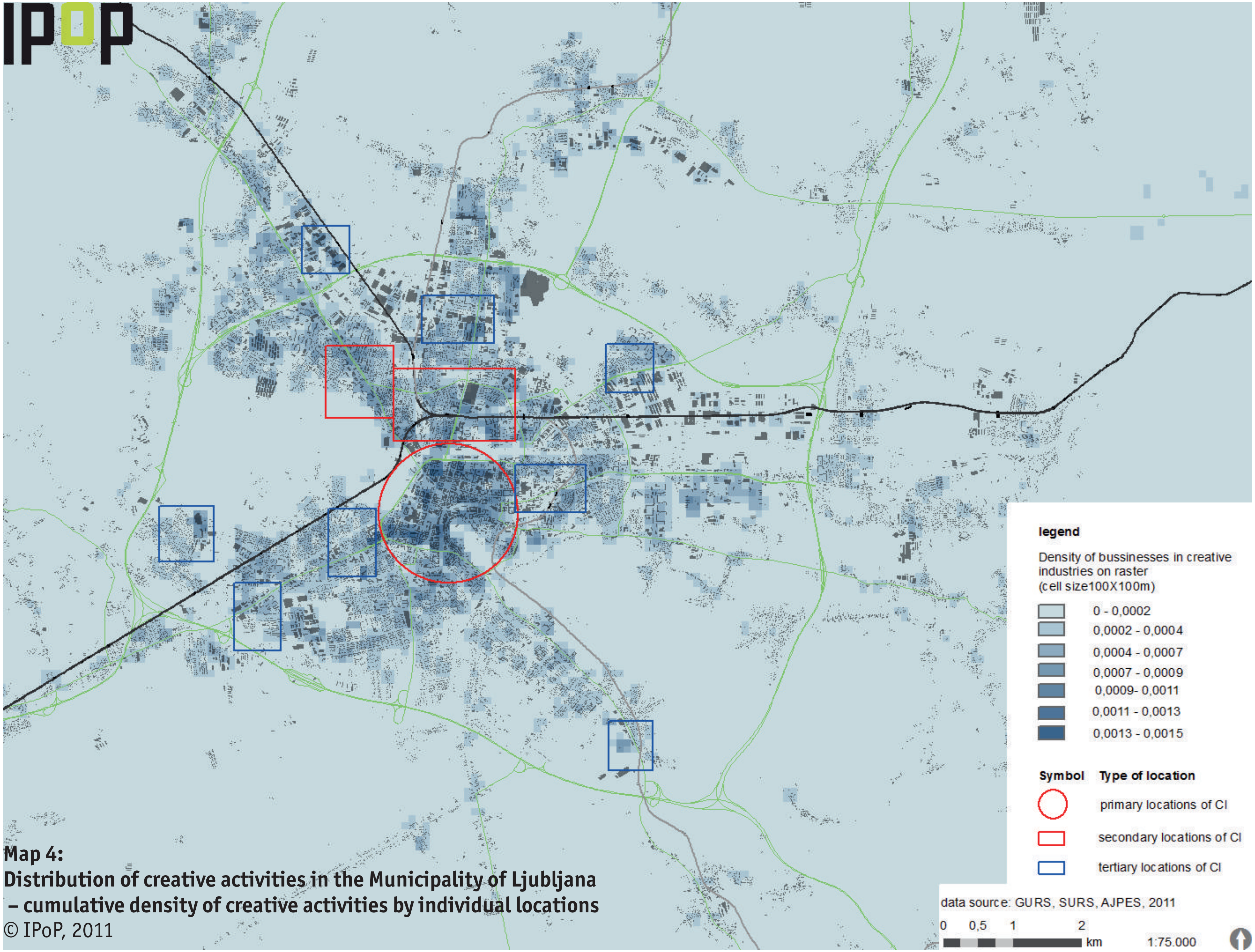
The maps of spatial density of individual activities were acquired through an analysis of data from Business Register of Slovenia (PRS) abut companies and business subjects of selected categories from the Standard Classification of Activities, V2 (SDK 2008, equivalent to NACE rev.2). They show specific areas or locations and the spatial distribution of creative activities in Ljubljana and the urban region of Ljubljana. Certain areas comprised in the analysis stand out as to their relation with other areas, so we can speak of specific circumstances, conditions, and socio-economic context which made possible the existence and development of the creative nuclei observable on the maps. The outset od special microlocations which are, in view of the development of creative industries, more successful than other locations represents an important piece of information, but it has to be supported by an adequate analysis of the context and the circumstances that led to the conditions suitable for the so-called "creative class" (Florida 2002, 2005) or groups of people connected in some way with creative activities.

Due to the specific quantitative nature of the Business Register of Slovenia data which do not permit a precise insight into the companies' mode of functioning [1] (e.g. defining the actual place/location of performing certain business activities, the actual number of employees in creative lines of work inside the company ignoring the support staff such as the maintenance crew, accountants etc.) explaining the circumstances responsible for the outset of creative industries in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana region is a great challenge and is based mostly on a relational analysis of contextual conditions or an analysis of elements of "attraction and repulsion" of creative industries or the so-called "push-pull" factors that are expected to exist on a certain location.

A series of activities has been worked out for the area of the Municipality of Ljubljana and the Ljubljana Urban Region which belong among those in Standard Classification of Activities and are connected with creative industries. The analysis comprises first of all activities which, as to the context of Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region, stand out most obviously and should, maybe, be accorded more attention. For that reason some branches of creative activities were, for the benefit of the analysis and an adequate visual presentation of creative industries, thematically united. Our analysis of spatial factors of the development of creative industries included the following groups of activities combining several branches of creative industries: advertising, architecture, artistic production, art sales and antique shops, design, institutions in the field of culture and arts, musical and visual production, publishing, radio and TV production, computer programming, video, film and photo production.

1 To acquire these data extensive qualitative analyses with larger economic resources would be necessary, in order to provide a set of adequate information and permit comparison/adjustment of these information with those from quantitative studies. Only crossing or comparing different kinds of information would give a really precise insight into the structure of creative activities and the importance of separate (social, economic, cultural) factors for the development of creative industries.

A brief analysis of the key spatial factors affecting the development of creative industries in the Municipality of Ljubljana and the Ljubljana Urban Region has been made for each of the above named activities. Further, the most important locations representing the key nodes for carrying out these activities have been determined. The locations are divided into three groups – of primary, secondary and tertiary locations. Primary locations are those with the greatest densities of creative activities, i.e., the largest creative nuclei which are well visible also on the maps. Smaller hotspots, somewhat less noticeable on the maps, but still playing an important role in the system of creative activities count among secondary locations. And tertiary locations are represented by potentially interesting spots of creative activities which are noticeable on the maps and could mean important upgrading or opportunity for further development of creative activities included in the analysis.



Map 4:
Distribution of creative activities in the Municipality of Ljubljana – cumulative density of creative activities by individual locations

A visual analysis of the spatial distribution of creative activities on the level of the Municipality of Ljubljana and the Ljubljana Urban Region has shown the majority of primary locations, e.g. locations where creative industries are most condensed, to be in the Ljubljana city center (see maps 29, 30, 31). But in spite of these rather obvious and expected results we have to emphasize that the visual analysis revealed also some important details or features of the spatial distribution regarding the extent, the span and the direction or manner of spreading of separate groups of creative industries in the city. It is these additional pieces of information that give the study its greatest value and offer indications for foreseeing the procedures, mechanisms, ways of further development and placement of creative industries in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana Urban Region.

One of the important characteristics of the analysis of spatial distribution of creative activities in Ljubljana is shown through the direction of further spreading of these activities or new beginnings – "nuclei" of creative activities appearing on the analyzed maps in the form of smaller focuses. A cumulative or overall survey of the majority of the analyzed groups of creative activities shows that in the case of Ljubljana creative activities tend to spread from the center towards the outskirts. This corresponds to the so-called Concentric zone model conceived already by Park and Burgess (1925) where the "critical mass", i.e., the strongest hotspot of commercial, social and cultural activities, typically appears in areas with a great density of people, areas which are extremely frequented or transitional and attractive as ambiance for a large number of inhabitants and visitors. Since a lot of these factors are usually intertwined most densely in the city center it was characteristic of cities in the period of modernization and industrialization that the activities condensed at first in their centers spread gradually towards their other (outer) parts.

Even if nowadays the processes of globalization and modernization of traffic and communication infrastructures are causing relocation and suburbanization of a great number of activities formerly typical of city centers (e.g. consumption), the spatial distribution of creative industries in the case of Ljubljana still shows patterns based on the great importance of space or value of the location represented by the city center. Spatial distribution of creative industries in Ljubljana is done according to the principles of "spontaneous" development, which means that creative activities are placed on the basis of critical mass of population, visitors and activities accumulated in the course of an extended period of time. In the process creative industries adapt to a certain extent to new trends and move to new locations outside the city center (e.g. Technology Park, vicinity of city ring junctions), but so far these are just more or less rare exceptions or beginnings of potential clusters of creative industries. The importance of the city center of Ljubljana as nucleus of creative industries – it is considered to be absolutely the primary location of CI (creative industry) – is evident also from data proving that most secondary CI locations are in the immediate vicinity of the city center, which supports the conclusion that CI activities are spreading concentrically outwards, from the center towards the outskirts.[2] Areas like the lower part of Šiška along Celovška Road or the lower and upper parts of Bežigrad along Dunajska Road up to the city ring are typical secondary locations and areas of spreading of creative activities from the center towards the outskirts.

The next important factor influencing the location of creative activities in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana Urban Region is the so-called "ambience component" where attractiveness of the area, locations and places where a large number of interesting, historical-architectural, cultural and other important social elements are accumulated affects the choice of locations as suitable for creative activities. In view of the importance of the

2 We assume that renters of premises for creative industries look for locations in the city center, estimated as primary location for creative activities, and then, not finding any suitable offer there, move into its immediate vicinity.

ambiance component for carrying out creative activities mainly the following three aspects are to be considered:

a) ambiance attractiveness permits better access to buyers or customers: attractive environment and qualities of the microlocation make them feel better, so they like to stay there more

b) ambiance attractiveness of places and locations is used as a factor of "prestige", so it assumes a PR function promoting the power and influence of certain interest groups in the field of creative activities and helps attract potential customers

c) ambiance attractiveness of the location of creative activities also helps attract a suitable profile of employees and affects the comfort and well-being of people working in the framework of creative industries and wanting to have good working conditions combined with the best possible conditions of everyday life.

Due to its historical-architectural elements, protected historical-cultural heritage and a relatively rich supply of specific leisure activities and pastime spaces the center of Ljubljana obviously represents a primary location attracting the greatest number of creative activities in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana Urban Region.

The next important factor influencing undoubtedly the spatial distribution of creative industries in Ljubljana is the price, or rent sum for real estate designed for CI. In cases where creative industries are not developed systematically and according to preplanned strategies, where there are no mechanisms for strategic development, guidance and stimulation of certain groups of creative activities in specific fields, processes occur where the conditions on the real estate market as well as accidental, unforeseen circumstances decide upon the establishment of separate groups of CI in certain areas. In this context a web of circumstances can make opportunities for the development of creative industries open in certain areas and at the same time close in others. This fact was confirmed by an analysis of data regarding a building's age in comparison to the year of its renovation and in connection with hotspots of groups of separate creative activities.[3] Abandoned degraded industrial areas or former business buildings of large business systems in the city are typical examples of this kind of development: after the cessation of their industrial, production, economic-business activities large premises become available for smaller firms and individuals engaged in creative activities. Relatively low rents due to the nonrenovated state of former industrial buildings and good location (vicinity of the city center) make them a strong magnet for this kind of activities. Let us name two good examples of this kind of development of a node of creative industries which often appears also in our analyses: the area of Mirje with Rimska Street and part of the Tobačna factory (area of mixed activities in the field of CI), and the area along Šmartinska Road where a great number of computer and programming firms are located in former storehouses (by the building of the old Emona).

Chronological coincidence of the cessation of one kind of (industrial) activities and availability of those areas for other (creative) activities where random events control the development of the major part of creative industries (with rare exceptions such as the Technology Park and similar areas) indicates self-management of the conditions in the field of creative industries. This is the so-called "entropic dimension of the socio-economic system" (see Kirn, 2008) where the energies or the people and companies involved in the development of creative industries gather, accumulate on certain locations, but there is always some risk that after a certain period of time these potentials or beginnings of potentially successful creative industries will, as a consequence of bad economic foundations, weak stimuli

3 For more detailed information see maps where spatial distribution of creative industries is connected with data about the age of buildings (year of construction), dates of their renovation and other information concerning the state of buildings.1 To acquire these data extensive qualitative analyses with larger economic resources would be necessary, in order to provide a set of adequate information and permit comparison/adjustment of these information with those from quantitative studies. Only crossing or comparing different kinds of information would give a really precise insight into the structure of creative activities and the importance of separate (social, economic, cultural) factors for the development of creative industries.

from the surroundings or incapacity to upgrade their activities because of limited spatial, social and human resources, disperse or even stop their activities. As all beginnings of creative industries in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana Urban Region are strongly connected with the accessibility of spatial resources with a low rent value, such activities are often understood also as a form of "temporary gentrificator" (Smith, 1996) occupying older unrenewed buildings and contributing to their keeping and to revitalization of a wider area, but when the process of renovation of the area is launched these activities are forced to change their locations because the real estate prices and rents go up.

The rules are similar in the context of wider spatial distribution of creative industries in the Ljubljana Urban Region as in the area of the Ljubljana municipality. The key nucleus or node of creative industries is situated in the area within the Ljubljana city ring road with a specifically outstanding focus in the city center. This key primary location of central condensation is joined by secondary locations of creative industries along some most important traffic connections and other important hotspots of inhabitants, social and economic activities. The concentric spreading from the center towards the outskirts is shown, in the context of the Ljubljana region, in beginnings of creative activities in some centers around Ljubljana (areas of Kamnik, Grosuplje, Vrhnika with Logatec, and partly Medvode) which are located along good motorway connections and represent potentially interesting tertiary locations with possibilities of further upgrading of creative industries in case of adequate stimulation. An especially strong axis of secondary locations where certain segments of creative industries are being developed runs from the direction of Črnuče towards the triangle Trzin–Domžale–Mengeš: because of good traffic connections, the vicinity of Ljubljana, suitable premises for developing creative activities, and relatively low prices of real estate in the past socio-economic subjects accumulated there rapidly, resulting in a greater hotspot in the field of creative industries.

Based on the analysis of collected data on spatial distribution of separate groups of creative activities an evaluation has been made of the influence or power of individual factors or factors of attraction affecting the development of separate groups of activities on locations in the Municipality of Ljubljana and the Ljubljana Urban Region (tables 9 and 10).

The analysis includes the following factors:

- population density (critical mass of population, users, visitors),
- ambiance component (environmental, ambiance attractiveness of location, "atmosphere" – suitability of environment for performing certain life styles and for leisure activities),
- real estate price / rent (age of the building, renovation, etc.)
- importance of infrastructure (size of premises, mobility, vicinity of traffic networks),
- access to customers (role of the market, microlocation),
- manner of planning, starting the node of creative activity:

a) gradual accumulation of creative production (certain /structural/ factors are formed which remain present in the area for a longer period of time and make possible, trigger the starting or gradual accumulation of subjects, interest groups, companies dealing with creative activities; this is the so-called "snowball effect" where gradual growth of the extent of creative acivities is brought about by favourable conditions on selected locations)

b) exponential fast accumulation of creative production ("chance effect" or "open door effect" where all of a sudden favourable conditions occur for increasing the extent of creative industries and lead to a sudden, fast creation of a hotspot of business subjects, firms, interest groups dealing with creative industries).

Table 4: Power of attractive factors that influence development of individual sector activities at the location of the Municipality of Ljubljana

Sectors of Creative activities	Population density (critical mass)	Ambiance component (environmental, aesthetic attraction of location)	Price of real estate/ rent (age of building, renewal etc.)	Importance of infrastructure (size of space, mobility, closeness to a transport network)	Accessibility of customers (markets, micro locations)	a) Gradual accumulation of creative production ("effect of a snow ball")	b) Exponential, rapid accumulation of creative production (efect of coincidence, "open door", suddenly create favourable conditions for CI)
Advertising	++	++	++	+++	+	++	+
Architecture	+++	+++	++	++	+++	++	+++
Creative production	+++	++	+++	++	++	+	+++
Retail sale of arts and antiques	+++	+++	++	O	+++	++	O
Design	++	++	+++	+	+	+	++
Institutions of culture and creativeness	++	+++	+	+	+++	+	+
Music and visual production	+++	++	++	+	++	++	++
Publishing	++	+	+	O	+	+	+
Radio and TV production	+	O	O	+	O	O	++
Computer programming	++	+	++	++	++	++	+++
Video, film and photo production	++	+	++	++	+	+	+++

*** most powerful activities are marked with: "+++", less powerful activities: "++", least powerful activities: "+"; in case of non seen difference in the individual sector/perceived as influential is marked as: "O".

Table 5: Power of attractive activities/factors that influence development of individual sectors activities on the location in Ljubljana Urban Region

Sectors of Creative activities	Population density (critical mass)	Ambiance component (environmental, aesthetic attraction of location)	Price of real estate/ rent (age of building, renewal etc.)	Importance of infrastructure (size of space, mobility, closeness to a transport network)	Accessibility of customers (markets, micro locations)	a) Gradual accumulation of creative production ("effect of a snow ball")	b) Exponential, rapid accumulation of creative production (efect of coincidence, "open door", suddenly create favourable conditions for CI)
Advertising	++	++	+	+	++	++	+
Architecture	+++	+++	++	+	++	++	++
Creative production	+++	++	+	++	+++	+	++
Retail sale of arts and antiques	+++	+++	O	O	+++	++	O
Design	+++	++	++	++	+	+	++
Institutions of culture and creativeness	+++	++	+	O	+	+	+
Music and visual production	+++	++	+	+	+	++	+
Publishing	+++	++	+	+	+	++	+
Radio and TV production	+++	+	+++	+++	+	+	+++
Computer programming	++	++	++	+	+	+	+++
Video, film and photo production	++	+	+++	++	+	++	++

*** most powerful activities are marked with: "+++", less powerful activities: "++", least powerful activities: "+"; in case of non seen difference in the individual sector/perceived as influential is marked as: "O".

3.4.2 Opportunities for urban regeneration and development of creative quarters in the Ljubljana Urban Region

Analysis of spatial characteristics, influencing the attraction of the milieu for the development of creative industries has shown that in the context of Ljubljana and the Ljubljana Urban Region specific factors do exist, that could encourage further development of creative activities. At the same time it must be stressed that these factors currently do not stand out as particularly important in everyday context, or for various reasons do not come to the fore. We can note in particular concentric spatial distribution of creative activities and spontaneous changes in growth of the creative industries. The latter seem to be more a consequence of "incremental", sporadic interventions in individual fields of activities rather than a result of deliberate, strategic decisions about the development of creative industries.

Key location factors, influencing the spatial distribution and geo-location of creative industries in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana Urban Region, and have been included in our data analysis, include:

- population density (critical mass of population, users, visitors),
- ambient component (environment, ambient attraction of location, »atmosphere«
- appropriate environment for conducting specific life styles and free-time activities),
- price of real estate/ rent (age of building, renewal etc.)
- importance of infrastructure (size of space, mobility, closeness of a transport network)
- accessibility to customers (role of markets, micro locations)
- how did the hotspots of creative activity emerge:

a) gradual accumulation of creative production (specific structural factors emerge in the area over time and trigger the creation or the gradual accumulation of entities, interest groups and companies, engaged in creative activity; so-called "snowball effect", where there is a gradual increase of the volume of creative activity due to favourable conditions at selected locations);

b) rapid, exponential accumulation of creative production (the "coincidence effect" or "open house" where favourable conditions suddenly emerge for increasing the volume of creative industries; there is a sudden, rapid increase in the concentration of business entities and interest groups engaged in creative industries);

Based on the characteristics of spatial factors that were identified during our analysis, we can list some recommendations or guidelines for urban policies, able to affect the further development of creative industries in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region. These guidelines for further development of creative industries represent both the basis for establishing appropriate procedures, mechanisms and methods for the regeneration of some former industrial sites as well as for the development of creative quarters in the Ljubljana urban region:

- The structure of creative industries in the Municipality of Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region shows that the most propulsive branches of CI are architecture, advertising and art production. Especially for the latter it is not entirely clear to what extent this is a consequence of the financial incentives from the state and what role plays the success of the branch as a whole. In general it holds that the creative industries in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region are relatively non-diversified and poorly distributed both in spatial and in functional terms. The biggest and most successful branches of creative industries are located in the city center of Ljubljana, which represents the primary location from where the secondary hotspots of creative industries expand in concentric form (from the center towards the periphery). Low functional heterogeneity of the creative industries is also notable, as the most successful branches of CI are the ones that have a wide background and can respond to the broad needs of business and economics. In this way, power is lacking as well as development of specialized branches of the creative industries, which are characteristic of strong economic systems. These build its domination on generating innovation, research, knowledge, patents, and special skills. Low spatial and functional diversification of creative industries is the result of »incremental« approach that does not follow elaborated development strategies of creative industries in the global context, but only responds to the current situation and is confined to the local and regional market.

- In the context of further development of creative industries in the Municipality of Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region more attention should be paid to the needs of creative industries in the areas of design. Analysis of the spatial distribution of creative industries in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region showed that this branch of creative industries is rather scattered in the area of Ljubljana, and partly also the wider Ljubljana Urban Region. One can observe larger number of small concentrations, but only in few locations they can come to the fore. In this context, it might later be advisably ta analyze the conditions for promoting a wider range of activities in this sector and the emergence of concentrations that would result in the synergies and better possibilities for success of this creative branch at the wider European and global level.

- The spatial distribution of a set of creative industries that are related to computer programming is also interesting in terms of their positioning in the wider regional level. The analysis showed that the individual cases of creative industries are scattered throughout the Ljubljana urban region. Degree of spatial dispersion in this branch of creative industries is the largest and partially confirms the hypothesis about the potential creation of jobs related to telecommunications, including the more remote and less networked traffic areas in the region. This is a case of "work at home" or "tele-work" (Toffler, 1980) where dependence on the location of work decreases with the increase in capacity of communications networks, thus enabling teleworking. The concept of further promoting creative industries, which are linked to this form of work, is even more relevant due to the already existing potential in the Municipality of Ljubljana and Ljubljana urban region.

- In the context of the development of creative industries in the Municipality of Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region the impact of transport infrastructure is worth mentioning. A large number of different start-ups of creative industries, which make up "tertiary locations" is observed near the motorway connections and the motorway ring. These locations represent potentially interesting areas for further densification of certain segments of the creative industries. It should be mentioned, however, that certain limitations occur with high dependence of creative industries on automotive accesibility. A sudden change in terms of accessibility (increasing automobile congestion, rising prices of petroleum products, the establishment of alternative locations with good access to transport networks, including public transport) reduces the attractiveness of these locations for conducting creative activities.

- High dependence of creative industries in the

Municipality of Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region on the real estate market conditions and local economic needs highlights the need for a more detailed strategies designed to promote the spatial development of specific fields of creative industries. The need to constantly adapt to the current situation significantly affects the growth and decline of creative industries in specific locations in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region. Strong "generational" or "demographic" component of creative industries should be particularly noted. These are often bound to the young, non-established businesses, interest groups, creative centers. Their basic problem can be the access to appropriate (financially more sustainable - less expensive) spaces. In the circumstances where certain creative initiatives are often subject to market conditions, the development of any specialized creative core may be very difficult.

4. Application of the study in partner cities

4.1 Summary and conclusions of the study

Key elements of the allocation of creative industries in relation to the current situation

The creative industries are considered as increasingly important to economic well-being, proponents suggesting that »human creativity is the ultimate economic resource«, (Florida, 2002) and that »the industries of the twenty-first century will depend increasingly on the generation of knowledge through creativity and innovation« (Landry & Bianchini, 1995). This view owes a lot to the concept of the »creative city«, developed mostly by Charles Landry since the late 1980s. It is described in his The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators (Landry, 2000) and other writings and has since become a global movement reflecting a new planning paradigm for cities.

The concept of the »creative city« encompasses various dimensions, but the main idea behind it is that creativity is somehow related to a specific location, a place. This has important implications both for creative economy and policies supporting the creative industries on the one hand, as well as for urban development and urban policies on the other hand.

According to Landry, the »creative city« identifies, nurtures, attracts and sustains talent so it is able to mobilize ideas, talents and creative organizations. The built environment – the stage and the setting - is crucial for establishing the milieu. A creative milieu is a place that contains the necessary requirements in terms of hard and soft infrastructure to generate a flow of ideas and inventions. A milieu can be a building, a street an area, a city or a region. Urban policies in this view become a key tool for attracting talented people and creative industries.

Creative quarters seem to be the key urban policy tool, aimed at boosting the creative economy. Landry (2008), among others, emphasizes the role of clustering and of creative quarters. Clustering of talent, skill and support infrastructure is central for the creative economy and the creative milieu.

The analysis of creative industries in the Ljubljana urban region, conducted within this study, has on the one hand confirmed some of the basic assumptions of the relevant theories, and on the other hand it has expanded the knowledge with findings on the specific situation in the Ljubljana urban region. In short:

- The spatial distribution of firms from the creative industries within the Ljubljana urban region is very uneven. Not only are the vast majority of companies located in Ljubljana, they are also mostly located in the city center and concentration of firms in and around two main hotspots are also evident within the city center itself. The city center of Ljubljana represents the primary location from which the secondary hotspots of creative industries expand towards the periphery.

- Spatial distribution differs a lot between different sectors of creative industries. While the distribution of some most propulsive sectors, such as architecture, art creation or advertising, is rather similar and consistent with the overall pattern, distribution of firms in sectors such as software, radio & television and arts & antique markets is very different from the overall pattern. These sectors either tend to locate in few hotspots, different from the main two within the city center, or they tend to be more dispersed around the region.
- It is relatively difficult to determine soft location factors for creative industries in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region. It can be stated that not all typical location factors matter in the case of Ljubljana. The time spent to get to work, rental costs and overall attractiveness of the milieu stand out as key factors from the survey. On the other hand, from the mapping exercise we could conclude also that »history matters« - the way, in which the hotspots of creative activity emerged seems to be important especially for the secondary hotspots.

The importance of creative industries in urban regeneration

Need for urban regeneration occurs as an outcome of broader socio-economic processes, like transition into the post-industrial age and suburbanisation, which both result in empty city centres and deserted industrial sites. These abandoned neighbourhoods are often the scene of bottom-up regeneration stimulated by the creative class, a concept developed and promoted by Richard Florida (2002).

The very beginners revitalising abandoned quarters and industrial areas are assumed to be migrants, artists and other alternative creators, which on the one hand use those areas to seek for new inspiration and on the other affordable housing. An abandoned area populated by artists then becomes interesting for other members of the creative class, which accelerates the processes of revitalisation and regeneration.

The process through which creative quarters emerge is therefore self-organised and functions as a bottom-up initiative launched by the locals. In case the bottom-up initiative is well supported by suitable top-down urban policies it can be an effective tool for both, urban regeneration policies and for policies for supporting creative economy.

Main conditions for the development of creative quarters are affordable housing, social community life, lively cultural happening, unclear boundaries between the places of work and leisure - 24/7 lifestyle, proximity of learning oriented institutions, informal networks, ... (Bell and Jayne 2004, Fleming 2011, Florida 2002, etc.)

Within the Ljubljana urban region most of these factors are emphasized in the city center of Ljubljana, so it should not come as a surprise, that the two most evident hotspots of creative activity are located there. While affordable housing is scarce in both locations, affordable office space can be found in both. Likewise, both are centers of 24/7 lifestyles, Tabor being also increasingly the place of lively cultural happening, and the area around Rimska street benefitting in particular from the proximity of learning institutions.

Opportunities for implementation of urban regeneration policies in relation to the allocation of creative industries in the Ljubljana urban region

Analysis of spatial characteristics, influencing the attraction of the milieu for the development of creative industries has shown that in the context of Ljubljana and the Ljubljana Urban Region specific factors do exist, that could encourage further development of creative activities. At the same time it must be stressed that these factors currently do not stand out as particularly important in everyday context, or for various reasons they do not come to the fore. We can note in particular concentric spatial distribution of creative activities and spontaneous changes in growth of the creative industries.

From the urban regeneration point of view, two primary hotspots within the Ljubljana city center have already contributed to improved image of the surrounding areas - but these have also never been very bad either. In the case of Ljubljana it is in fact not the city center that is most in need of urban regeneration, so the focus of urban policy should be on supporting creative clusters outside of city center. Secondary hotspots and hotspots of specific sectors, such as radio & television, which are distributed in a few locations around the city and the region, can present the greatest potential for creative clusters and thus for urban regeneration.

4.2 Methodology for partner cities based on the Ljubljana case study

Relevance of the analysis for partner cities

One of the aims of the study is also to assess whether the methodology used in the analysis presented above has the potential to be implemented in partner cities as well. Despite the problems that might arise with regard to local definitions and available data, we believe that this is not only possible, but would have a significant added value. Some key findings for Ljubljana urban region, such as concentration of creative industries in the Ljubljana city center and diversity of distribution patterns between different sectors of creative industries, are not very sensitive to the methodological details. Comparison of results between different cities and regions could yield important new insights about the location factors and the potential for the development of the creative quaters.

Draft methodology for partner cities

The main part of the methodology can be summed up in a few steps, briefly described below.

1. Defining and fine-tuning the aim of the analysis: In the case of Ljubljana urban region, this was to investigate the potential for urban regeneration through creative industries. This analysis has focused on firms only, in other cases it could include creative workers as well, depending on the aim and the scope of the analysis.
2. Defining the relevant creative industries: Problems with definitions of creative industries are well known in general, but there are also specific local twists to these problems. National legislators have, for instance, interpreted the NACE2 classification in different ways, which makes a common list of relevant categories almost impossible.
3. Mapping the spatial distribution of the creative industries: This is a key part of the analysis, in the case of Ljubljana the locations of headquarters of firms in the creative industries were mapped. Some key maps include:

a. Maps showing the detailed spatial distribution for each of the sectors within creative industries separately;

b. Maps showing densities of creative industries across different spatial units, such as municipalities, districts or square grids;

c. Maps showing shares of firms in creative industries in relation to all firms accorss different spatial units;

d. Maps showing shares of specific sectors within creative industries accross different spatial units.

4. Detailed case studies for pilot areas: This allows for a more qualitative analysis, needed to better understand the location factors. This includes for instance cross-checking the results of the mapping exercise with the data about specific buildings.

Discussion about the methodology

During the course of the study a number of methodological problems became evident, only some of which could be properly addressed. The ones that remain include:

1. The problem with the relevance of data about firms. In some cases, the firms are not the right subjects to map. Mapping of creative workers might prove more meaningful for some purposes, although it could be considerably more demanding.
2. The problem with the relevance of the data on the headquarters of micro firms and self-employed. It turned out, for instance, that a large share of self-employed does not work at the official bussiness address. Similar problems often arise also with large firms, having many branches and operating in dispersed locations.
3. Detailed case studies would benefit a lot, if there would be a possibility to conduct in-depth interviews. This would give an important added value to the analysis.

4.3 Spatial potential for the development of creative industries in the Ljubljana urban region

The study contributes important insight into spatial distribution of creative industries in the Ljubljana urban region and assesses location factors, that affect this distribution. The results should be a valuable contribution to both, policies aimed at stronger creative economy as well as urban development policies, especially with regard to urban regeneration. The results can be particularly useful with regard to supporting the development of creative quarters, being the main policy tool for both mentioned policies.

The biggest and most successful branches of creative industries are located in the city center of Ljubljana, which represents the primary location from where the secondary hotspots of creative industries expand in concentric form (from the center towards the periphery). Low functional heterogeneity of the creative industries is notable, as the most successful branches are the ones that have a wide background and can respond to the broad needs of business and economics. Lack of economies of scale hinders the growth of specialized branches of creative industries.

Recommendations for policy makers focusing on the conclusions of the study and further development of creative quarters

Low spatial and functional diversification of creative industries is the result of »incremental« approach that does not follow elaborated development strategies of creative industries in the global context, but only responds to the current situation and is confined to the local and regional market. The main recommendation with regard to support for creative economy therefore addresses the need for targeted strategies aiming at more specialized branches of creative industries.

From the urban regeneration point of view, secondary hotspots and hotspots of specific specialized branches, such as radio & television, software, arts & antiques market or video, film & photo, which are distributed in a relatively few locations outside of the city center, can present the greatest potential for creative clusters and thus for urban regeneration.

Specific recommendations:

1. In the context of further development of creative industries in the Municipality of Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region more attention should be paid to the needs of creative industries in the area of design.

Analysis of the spatial distribution showed that design is rather scattered in the area of Ljubljana, and partly also the wider Ljubljana Urban Region. One can observe larger number of small concentrations of these creative industries, but only in few locations they can come to the fore. In this context, it might be useful ta analyze the conditions for promoting a wider range of activities in these areas and the emergence of concentrations that would result in synergies and better possibilities for success of this creative branch at the wider European and global level.

2. High dependence of creative industries in the Ljubljana urban region on the real estate market conditions and local economic needs highlights the need for more elaborate strategies designed to promote the spatial development of specific fields of creative industries.

The need to constantly adapt to the the current real-estate market situation significantly affects the growth and decline of creative industries in specific locations in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region. Strong "generational" or "demographic" component of creative industries should be particularly noted. These are often bound to the young, non-established businesses, interest groups, creative centers. Their basic problem can be the access to appropriate (inexpensive) housing and office space. In the circumstances where creative initiatives are subject to market conditions only, reaching the tipping point of market success and thus the development of any specialized creative core and may be very difficult.

3. Supporting creative clusters in areas outside of city center in need of regeneration can be based on existing secondary hotspots of creative activity. This is of particular relevance for the two large urban regeneration projects, Partnerstvo Šmartinska and Partnerstvo Celovška.

The analysis shows that radio & television and software branches have high densities in and around the prospective urban regeneration area of Partnerstvo Celovška and can thus present a core of a thematic creative quarter, that could boost the regeneration of the area. Similarly, although less emphasized, video, film & photo and advertising branches form secondary hotspots in the area of Partnerstvo Šmartinska. A creative quarter could thus be supported at least in one part of this vast urban regeneration area.

4.4 Creative industries in Gdansk

Methodology

Analysis of structure and distribution of creative industry companies in Gdansk and the Pomeranian Voivodeship, which was based on the official REGON database (in accordance with the defined types of creative industries activities) has been supplemented with a questionnaire survey conducted among creative companies in Gdansk. The aim of the study was to gain information about location factors of creative enterprises in Gdansk as well as to determine their potentialities and opportunities for development.

The study was carried out using two of the following methods: computer-aided telephone interviews (CATI) performed among 150 enterprises, and direct interviews method using traditional questionnaire (PAPI) performed among 25 enterprises. CATI survey was conducted using a basic version of the questionnaire, whereas PAPI survey was conducted using its extended version.

Selection methods and sample size

The sample in the basic research comprised 150 enterprises, and was drawn from the REGON database of business entities, using a random-quota method. The sample was drawn proportionally to the size of the company and the number of creative industries registered in Gdansk in 12 areas of activity:

- 1) architecture, 2) software, 3) advertising, 4) jewellery/ amber, 5) publishing, 6) retail sale in specialized shops, 7) video/film/photography, 8) design, 9) artistic activity, 10) cultural institutions, 11) literary activity, 12) radio/television.

The sample in the extended research was purposively selected. From the group of the enterprises cooperating with Gdansk Enterpreneurs' Foundation in implementing projects, 25 entities were examined.

Overall results encompass the entire group of the examined enterprises (N=175). Certain aspects are presented separately for the purposive sample (N=25), in which the conducted research was more thematically wide-ranging. Due to insignificant numerical force of this group, the results are given in numerical, not in percentage terms values.

Characteristics of the research sample

Majority of the examined companies constituted micro-enterprises that employ up to 9 employees (83,4%) and small enterprises that employ from 10 to 49 people (13,1%), middle-sized enterprises that employ from 50 to 249 people (3,4%). The structure of the sample slightly diverges from the population structure of the creative industries sample, in which micro-enterprises account for 96,3%, small enterprises 3,2%, middle-sized enterprises 0,5% and big enterprises 0,04%. It was attempted during sampling to draw a slight over-representation of small and middle-sized enterprises, at the expense of micro-enterprises.

Spatial distribution

The map of spatial distribution of creative industries in Gdansk indicates the location of particular business entities, based on the addresses from the National Official Register of Business Entities REGON. The size of the point on the map reflects the number of entities (both, companies and enterprises) in a particular place.

It is noticeable that the distribution of creative industries in Gdansk's urban landscape is not even. The particular points, chiefly those indicating single companies, distinctively present locations of increased concentration of creative industries in the city. Particular attention should be paid to the largest points on the map which indicate characteristic locations of creative industries' concentration in the city, e.i. Gdansk Science and Technology Park, Śródmieście (historical part of the city), Aleja Grunwaldzka (the main line of communication in the city) running through the following districts: Wrzeszcz, Zaspa, Oliwa, Przymorze Małe and Przymorze Wielkie (concentration of shopping centres) and Gdansk's airport vicinity.

Small points on the map, which relate to typically residential districts, are well-defined, these are e.g. Chełm, Ujeścisko-Łostowice, Osowa. They relate to bigger individual businesses or small companies registered in place of residence.

In some of the districts, the density of entities is low due to present forests and other green areas (mainly in the following districts: Oliwa, VII Dwór, Wyspa Sobieszewska, Krakowiec-Górki Zachodnie), watercourses or industrial areas (Młyniska, Stogi, Przeróbka, Nowy Port).

It has been stated in the summary of the survey results, that most of the surveyed companies representing creative industry in Gdansk, are based in Wrzeszcz, one of Gdansk's districts. It was found that almost 30% of the surveyed creative industries are based in Wrzeszcz. 15% of the surveyed companies are based in the historical part of Gdansk - the Main and Old Town. It has been noted that Wrzeszcz has taken over certain functions of the city centre over the past half-century.

Selection of the potential creative district

In the survey carried out in the framework of the Creative Cities project, undeveloped city areas and city-owned buildings in Gdansk's districts were analyzed, in terms of their intended use for the creative industries. 5 potential locations have been indicated. Taking into consideration the following: requirements submitted by the creative industries, the character of actions implemented in the decayed city areas and the results of the survey concerning the potential of the urban areas, the survey was focused on 2 districts with the most substantial development potential: Nowy Port and Dolne Miasto (the Lower City). In both of those districts, appropriate buildings were found that are available and could potentially be converted into venues suitable for creative industries. Depending on the source and possibilities of co-financing the investment, and whether the creative industries will show their interest in the venue, the building in Dolne Miasto will be renovated in the first place. The building has a surface area of 230 m^2, and is located next to an area suitable for a car park and for possible further development and regeneration. Though, if the creative industries express huge interest in renting the venues, then the next recommended location for the Creative Industries Incubator, is a former hotel building with surface area of 2000m^2. This building, located in Nowy Port, requires regeneration and considerable financial outlays.

Figure 10: Locations of CI in Gdańsk

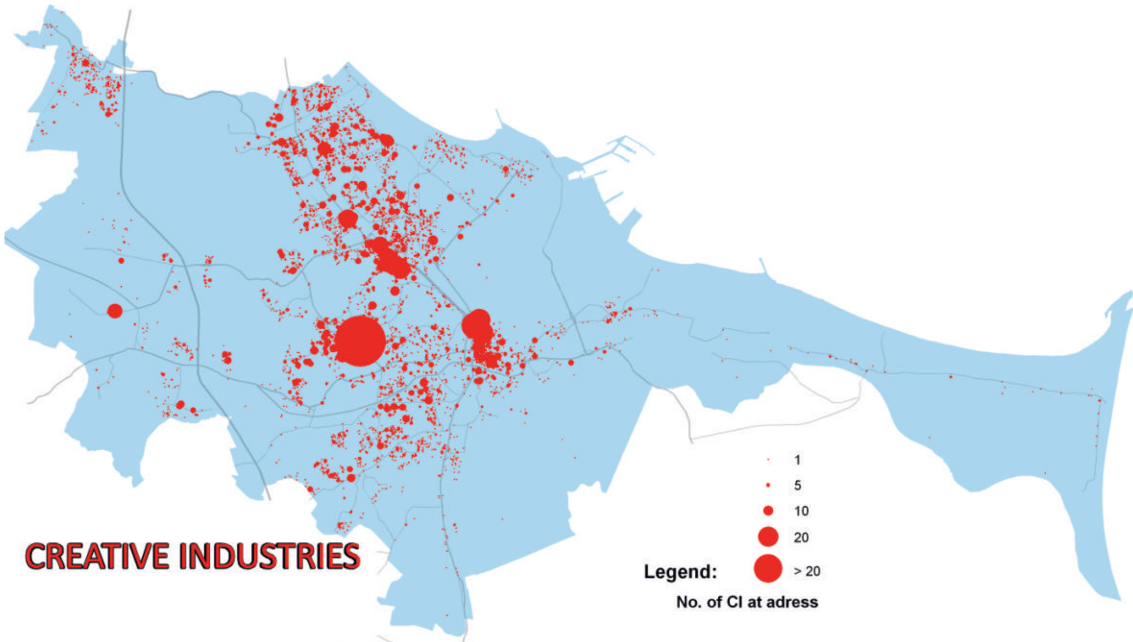
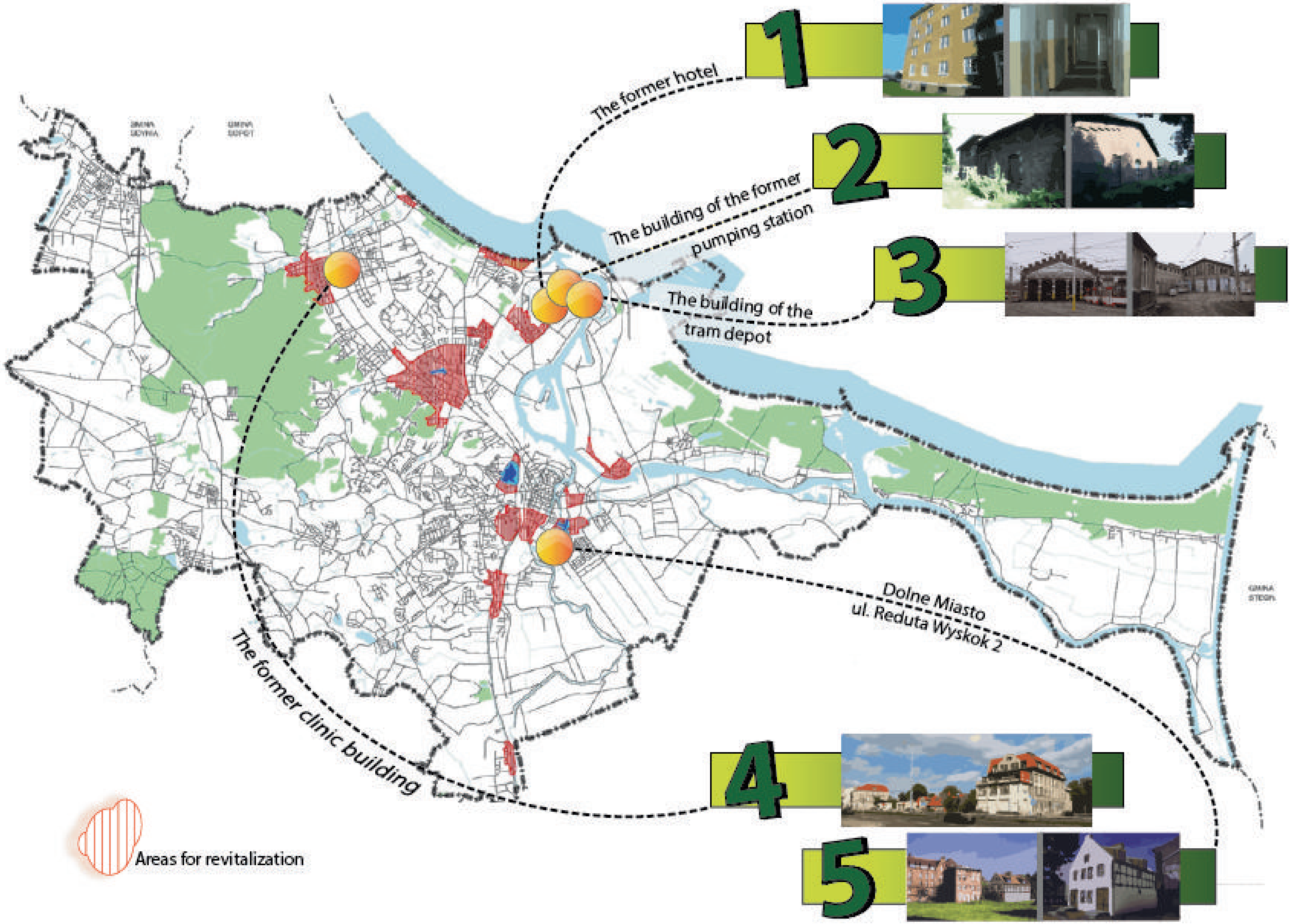


Figure 11: The CI in Gdańsk



4.5 Creative industries in Genoa

Methodology

This report is about the state of the CI in Genoa in 2011 and its spreading across the whole city area.

The analysis has been developed in five different phases:

A. **Process analysis** on the management organizational content of the ATECO code (Italian national equivalent of NACE code) descriptions, in order to highlight what dimension of the activity cycle characterizes the different categories and classifying them by priority. This was particularly relevant for understanding the settlement decisions.

B. **Secondary data analysis** based on ATECO data 2001-2011 showed trends and incidence of employed people on different CI sectors and enabled a further cluster analysis

C. **Location analysis.** Items were each enterprise belonging to the CI sectors or to the so called connected activities (see Genoa SWOT analysis). Spatial distribution has been analysed according to the post code referred to local units of each enterprise. The mapping activity higlights the significant local concentrations has been casted on the main Urban Planning Document graphical outputs, showing the infrastructure scheme adopted in 2012 and also the "local transformation districts".

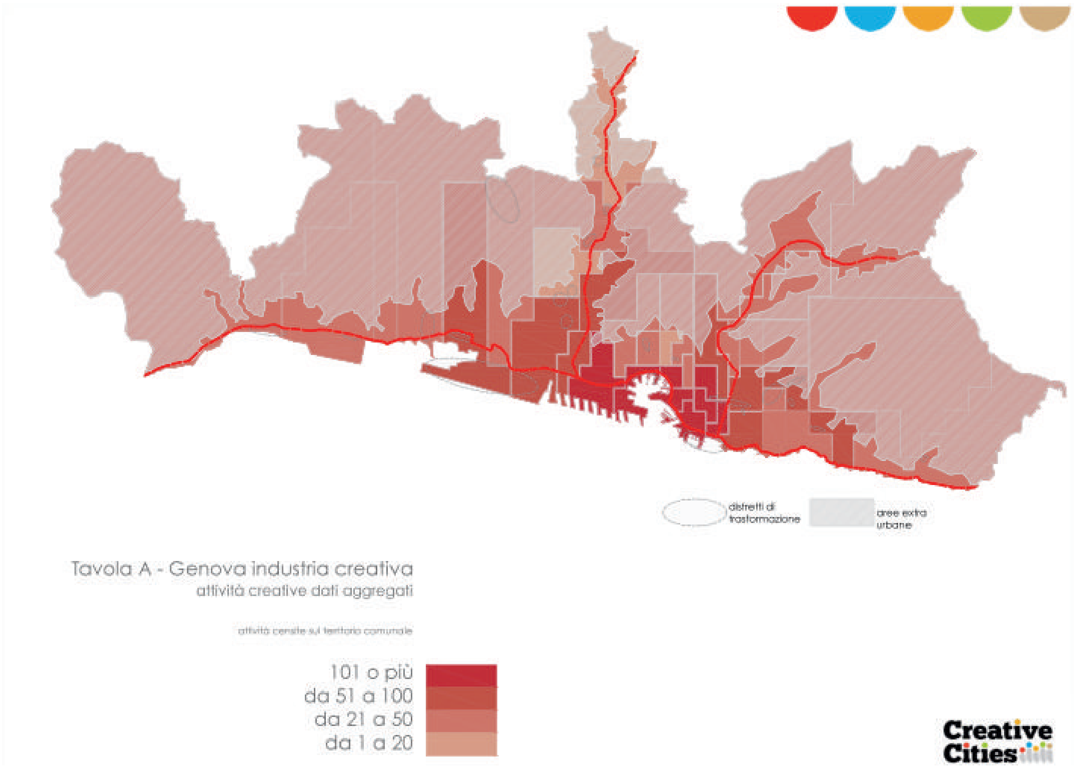
D. **Settlement factor analysis.** A matrix analysis indicating the relevance of socio-economic, managerial or local factors for settlement of the various categories of creative enterprise in different parts of the town. The matrix was constructed based on the existing know-how and information gathered crossing quantitative and qualitative data (especially from the in-depth interviews). It contains two main areas: socio-economic and managerial location and territory. The matrix is read with Discriminative Scaling method also associated with clusters of creative businesses previously

E. **Qualitative analysis.** This research strand involving about 25 qualitative interviews to local creative entrepreneurs and other stakeholders of the territory focuses on the "insiders" point of view allowing the research team to gather a broader view and to frame the whole matter. A chapter deals with the contribution of immigrated citizens in the CI development.

Spatial distribution

The mapping has been carried on by the analysis of the concentration index of the creative industry in each municipal district. The analysis has been carried on the CI as

Figure 12: The CI in Genoa



whole, and on each sub-sector of the CI.

The same mapping methodology has been applied also to the so called "connected activities" (see the Genoa SWOT analysis).

The figure A indicates a strong concentration in the city centre from Sampierdarena (1) to the Foce area (2) . The

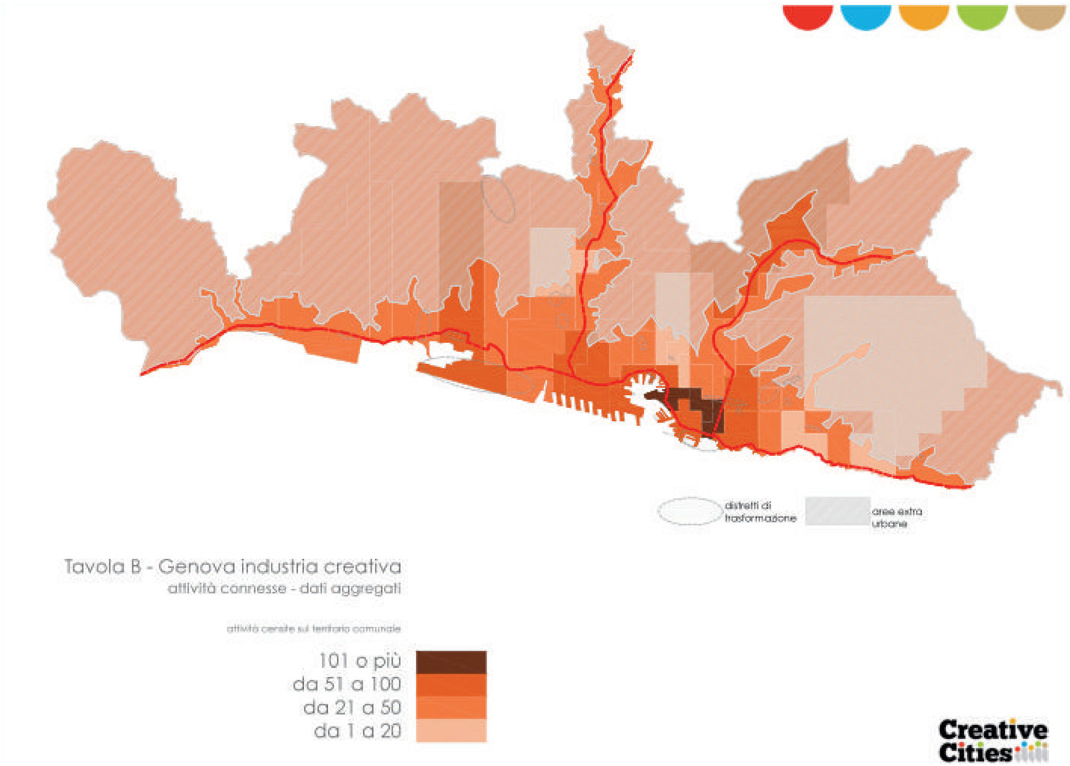


Figure 13: The CI connected activities in Genoa

map highlights also the role of other districts such as: Sestri Ponente, Cornigliano, Rivarolo and in S. Martino, Marassi and S. Fruttuoso. The Historical Centre (3), which is the oldest and the most central part of the town shows the highest concentration index; and these data are particularly impressive if related to the (small) extension of the area.

The "connected activities" are very much concentrated in the central areas, such as Brignole, Foce and Historical Centre. High concentration indexes in the western part of the city centre and in "old centres" like Sestri Ponente and Molassana.

Selection of the potential creative district

The Maddalena cultural and creative district has been chosen at the very beginning of the project trough a statement of the City Administration. This decision being, therefore, not consequent of the project local analysis.

Anyway the Maddalena district is part of the historical centre of the city which is in the central part of the town. The part of the town where the above graphs show the highest concentration indexes both of Creative Industries and of the connected activities.

4.6 Creative industries in Leipzig

Methodology

Leipzig already had a cluster-strategy to promote creative industries when Creative-Cities starts in 2010. Although the strategy mainly focuses on media there was an understanding of the importance of small and medium sized of other sub branches. The Integrated city development strategy, launched in 2010 was the second formal implementation of the cluster strategy and the first 'official' statement of the spatial dimension of the strategy. Below is shown a part from strategy. The areas printed in light brown are areas to 'promote cultural and creative industries'

The strategy took contents from discussions and research done in 2008 and 2009 and could be seen in the lower part of the picture. The map already shows the strong cluster of 'lighthouse-'companies/institutions' (in german 'Leuchttürme') and entrepreneurs in Leipzig West.

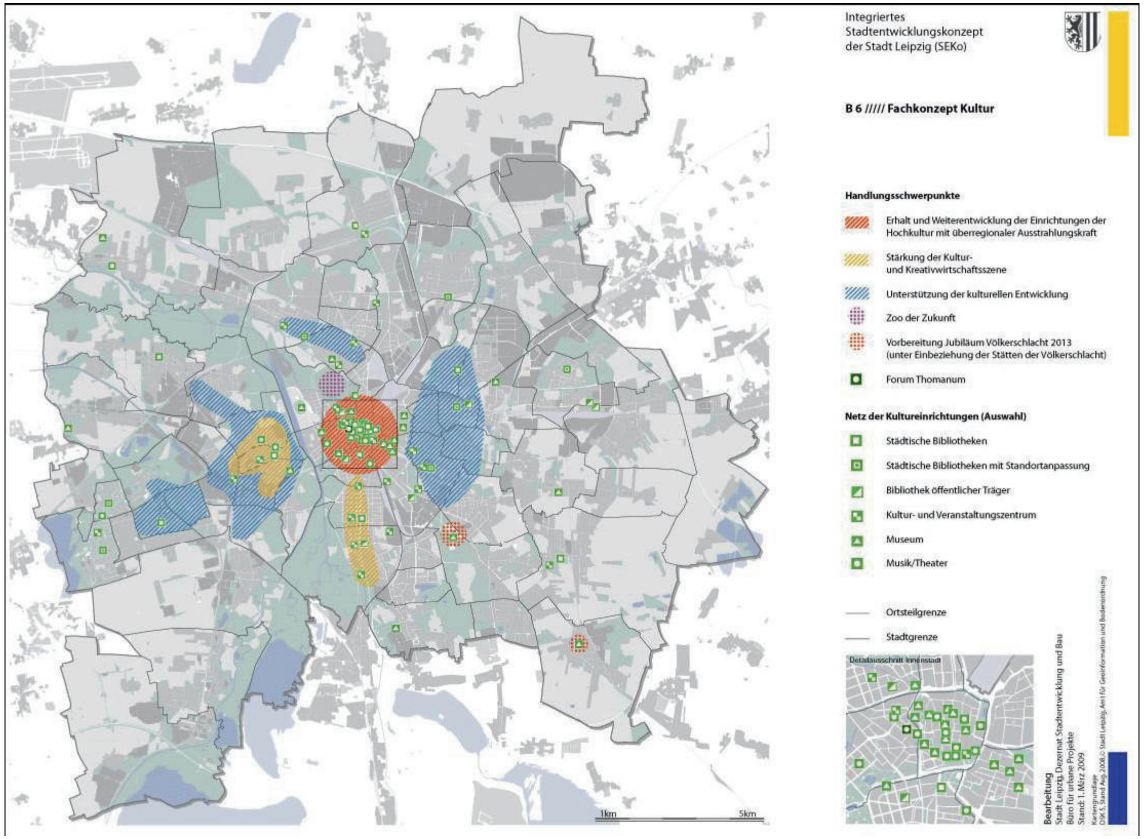
From this starting point, the further development of the strategy went in two directions: The development of a strategy focusing on the opportunities of the different branches of creative industries and a strategy which focuses on the special dimension.

For the first, a swot-analysis was elaborated within the creative cities project. Based on this analysis, first opportunities and threats will be mentioned in order to deduced adequate means and strategies to invent new steering perspectives for this rather new field of action, creative industries.

The SWOT presents explanations and aspects why specific subsectors (presented in the statistical portrait) develop positively (or not) and why others are either weak, small, unstable or only have a marginal position. Statistical data serve as a first source of quantitative information in order to be able to have an overall understanding of the quantity (employees and number of firms) of this field.

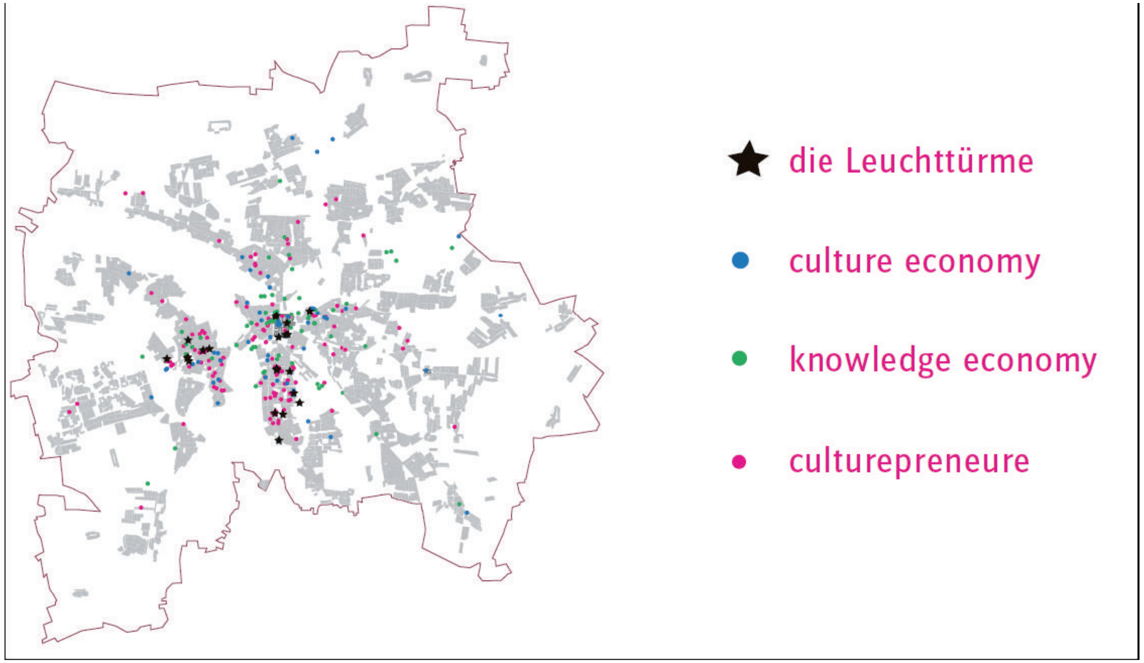
The SWOT analysis went on step further and seeks to detect factors that allow to provide additional explanations why a specific sectors could develop or not. SWOT analysis is a strategic method used to evaluate the Strengths,

Figure 14: CI in the plan of Leipzig



Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats involved in an economic field. It involves specifying the objective to promote this field and identifying the internal and external factors that are favourable and unfavourable to achieving the promotion and improvement of that field.

Figure 15: CI in Leipzig



The report understands cultural economic fields and their adjacent markets as follows:

- Who can be addressed as leading companies, central agents, intermediaries and multipliers in these segments?
- What central institutions cam be detected that promote that field best and that distribute products and knowledge from these markets?
- What kind of social platforms, economic fairs, social-cultural networks as well as important places can be named from the perspective of these markets?
- How embedded are markets, what kind of history and rootedness do they demonstrate?
- Do central representative structures (persons, agents, places...) exist?
- How are they connected among each other?

The following questions were discussed with local experts of specific sub branches as well as central intermediaries who have an overview of the whole field:

Traditionally strong segments?

- Is there a strong local tradition of one segment?
- What kinds of institutions are responsible for the promotion of specific creative competencies? What kind of creative "hot spots" can be found?
- Is there a significant brand of creative industries that is Europe wide known? Role of public /private education?

Role of social and cultural networks?

- How connected are the branches to public administration?
- Is there a shared understanding how to promote sub branches?
- Are there any contact persons for sub branches known?

Economic development

- How accessible are existing funding and support structures for the improvement of Creative Industries?
- Reflection on the role of the private and the public sector

Policy perspective

- Are there suitable policies to be detected that are aiming at improving certain sectors?
- How can the public and the private sector be described in respect the creative industries?

Spatial distribution and selection of district

The special dimension nowadays could be easily shown using new developed software tools which use a simple database and automatically produces filterable maps of creative industries companies.

Creative industries in Leipzig take mainly place in the core area of the city, and in few quarters such as Plagwitz in western Leipzig. West Leipzig currently has a good balance between the supply of moderately priced, available premises and a high number of people working in the creative industries and also living in West Leipzig. It was therefore chosen for an experimental approach on promoting creative industries on the local level.

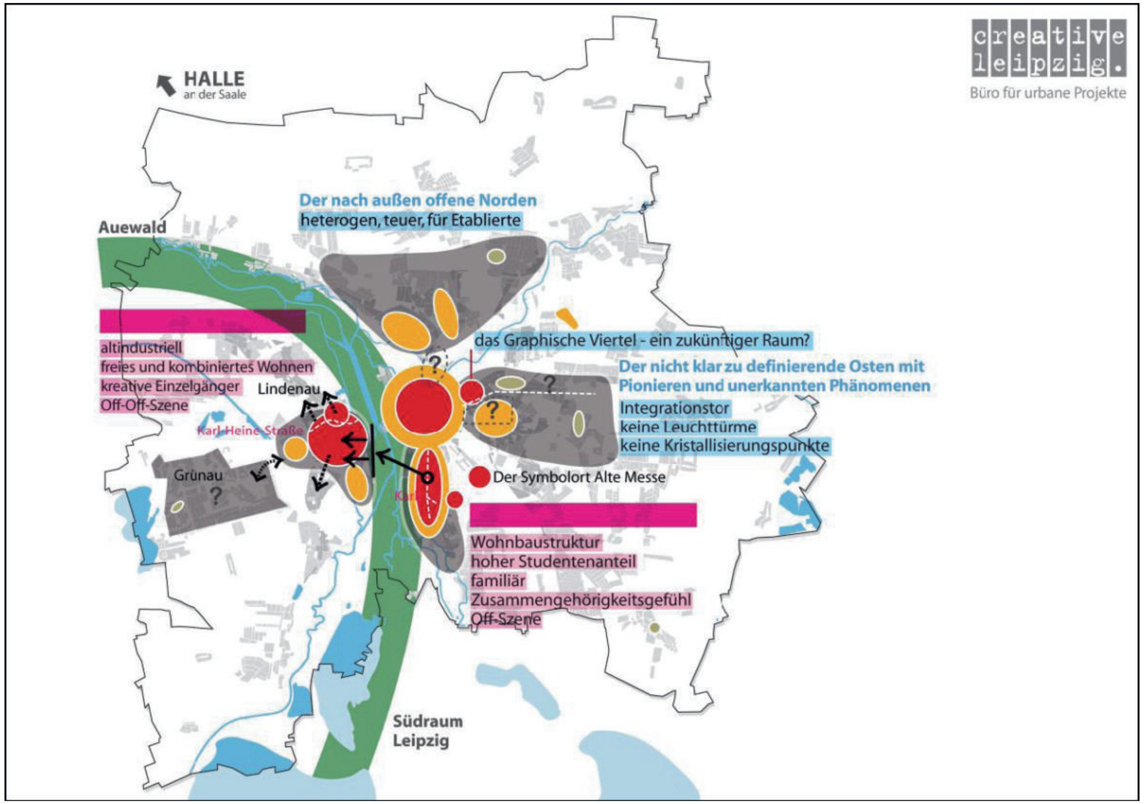
The chart below shows the result of a complex and long discussion which finally leads to this decision.

West Leipzig is distinguished by complex areas of competing interests and a simultaneity of inequality. It's a borough which is characterized by high dynamics and where many creatives feel at home. Moreover, there is a pronounced culture in the west of Leipzig for people to take matters into their own hands, e.g. 'house projects (groups of people purchasing and refurbishing tenement blocks), societies and campaigns, entrepreneurs. More than elsewhere, initiatives in Leipzig are an active part of urban development and are appreciated as such by the local authority.

Under the Creative Cities project, on 20/21 April 2012, a workshop on the sustainable development of the creative industries in West Leipzig was held by the Leipzig Office for Urban Regeneration and Residential Development on behalf of the City of Leipzig. The workshop's main purpose was to encourage representatives of politics, the local authority, the creative industries, cultural practitioners and the general public to talk to each other. The aims of the debate were to define the interaction between the creative industries and the development of West Leipzig and Leipzig as a whole, and to elaborate initial concrete steps.

The following Topics where discussed:

Figure 16: CI in Leipzig



Support

1. Which forms of strategic support have proved especially successful where, and which ones led to dead ends?
2. Do the creative industries need other forms of assistance – and if so, what?

3. Should certain areas be granted special support as incubators – and if so, where and in what form?

Property market

1. How and where have the creative industries affected the development of the property market (use and impact)?

2. Who operates on the property market and what are their intentions? What sort of specific effects which are attributable to the activities of market players can be observed – and where?

3. What types of premises offer what sort of potential – and how they can be safeguarded for the future?

4. What sort of property is in demand at specific locations? And what sort of properties are in short supply?

Infrastructure

1. How can we rate the quality and quantity of the technical and social infrastructure in West Leipzig as a centre for the creative industries? Where specifically are there shortcomings and additional requirements?

2. What role have existing cultural institutions and areas played in attracting individual actors – and what role should be played by what institutions and cultural areas in the future?

3. What networks of actors and events have especially shaped the specific atmosphere in West Leipzig as an area for the creative industries, and how can this special atmosphere be made sustainable?

Communication

1. What communication strategies with which partners (media, institutions, actors, etc.) have been implemented in West Leipzig – and how successful have they been?

2. Is specific (perhaps borough-specific) support required for the networking and communication of the creative industries – and if so, what form should it take?

3. Does it make sense to position the creative industries in West Leipzig in a national/international context? Is an umbrella brand required for the creative industries in West Leipzig – or is a label/positioning in this form unnecessary?

Interfaces with the local authority

1. What forms of collaboration exist between different local authority departments – and how does this affect the creative industries?

2. What interfaces can be identified between the creative industries, the borough and local authority departments?

3. What structures and contacts need to be established – and what tasks and aims should they have?

4.7 Creative industries in Pécs

Methodology

Firstly we would like to present the methodology and the logical frame by which we approached creative industry.

We defined creative industries on the basis of the companies` main activities ensuring that they fit the research completed by data mining method, leading to the following categorization:

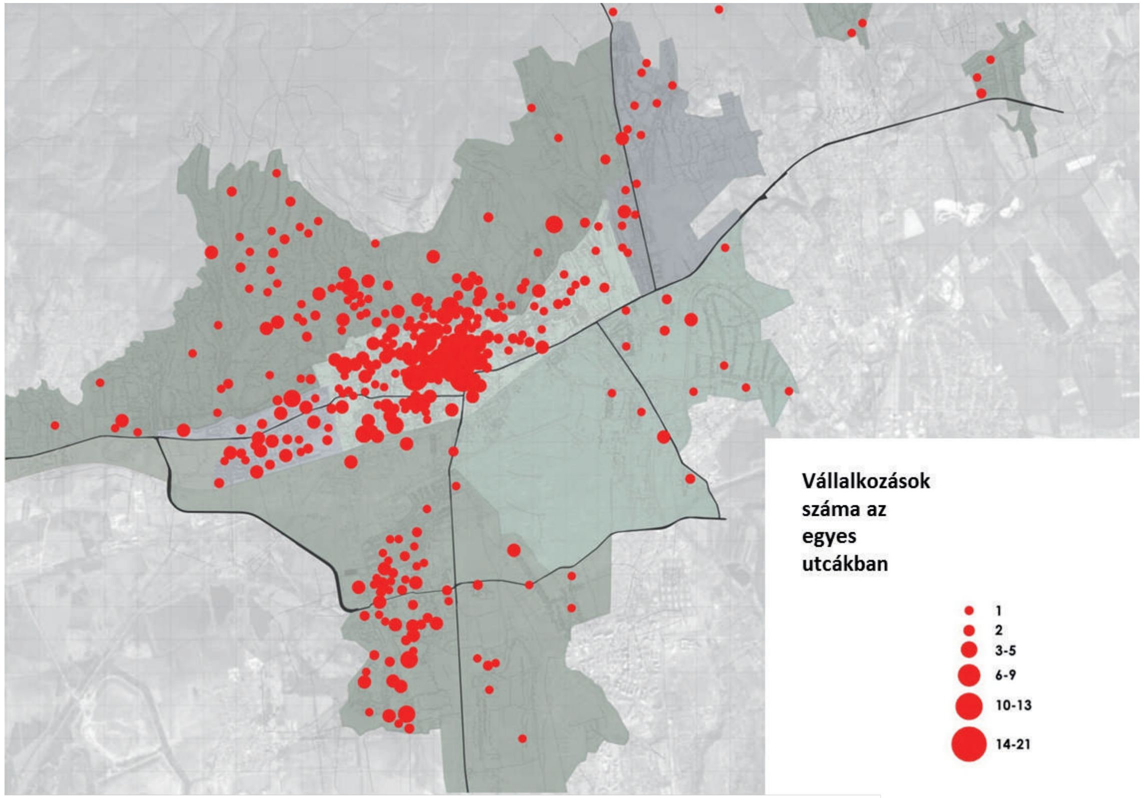
- Architecture
- Advertising industry
- Design
- Software, computer games
- Musical instrument industry
- Heritage protection
- Performing art
- Fine arts
- Film industry, film art
- Journalism, news agencies, press
- Museums, exhibitions
- Cultural trade

These are the 12 industrial sectors examined in terms of spatial distribution.

The basis of the study was provided by the database created by the South-Transdanubian Cultural Industry Cluster with data mining method reflecting the situation of the end of 2010. This database is extended to the whole South-Transdanubian region, whereas the research is concentrated only on Pécs itself.

We reached the conclusion that it was not worth examining the region as a whole, because more than half of the creative companies are concentrated in the region centre, despite the fact that there are several big cities in the region, e.g. Kaposvár and Szekszárd, the other two county centres.

Figure 17: Presence of the creative companies within Pécs



Spatial distribution

The maps (Map 1, Map 2) which are showing the spatial structure of the creative industries are based on the database presented above. The individual creative businesses were displayed on the map based on their headquarters' addresses. On the more detailed maps we indicated each creative industry in different ways.

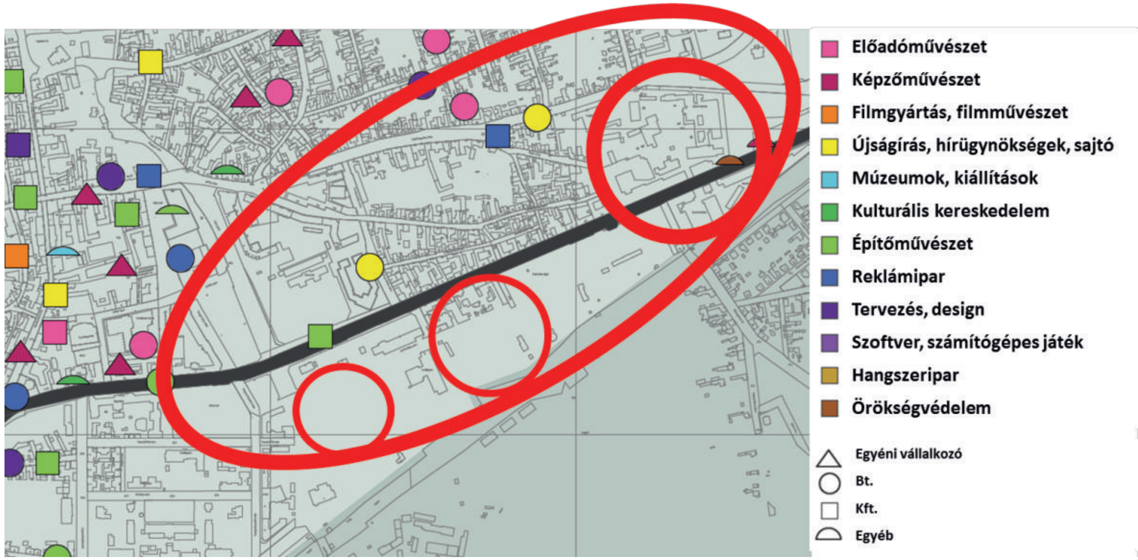


Figure 18: The selected target area

However the database reflects a state in the end of 2010, therefore on the map of the target area (Map 2) are shown three structures of the European Capital of Culture 2010 project (Zsolnay Cultural Quarter, Kodály Zoltán Conference Centre and Concert Hall, South-Transdanubian Regional Library and Knowledge Centre), which determine the life of the city.

Selection of the target area

The map that presents the city's creative industries (Map1) made it clear, that the creative zone has to be close to the downtown. On the basis of the maps the target district cannot be indicated as a rich creative industrial area. However, the major investments have created an enormous potential, and a new responsibility at the same time, since the flagship buildings of the European Capital of Culture project have huge maintenance costs which may be reproduced only if their potentials are fully exploited by the city.

In addition, the result of the questionnaire survey which searched the drivers of the placement selections of creative actors showed that the area is highly favoured after the ECC 2010 project. Since 2010 it is continuously developing, becoming a part of the downtown and creative actors appear. Unfortunately this tendency is not shown on the maps, because they show a state in the end of 2010.

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