

CLUSTERING, ANALYSIS AND CHALLENGES OF THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES IN SLOVENIA

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WORKING PAPER No. 62, 2012

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Printed by Institute for Economic Research – IER

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Published by Institute for Economic Research in April, 2012 Number of copies – 50 pieces

WORKING PAPER No. 62, 2012

Editor of the WP series: Boris Majcen

CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

338.4(497.4)

MUROVEC, Nika

Clustering, analysis and challenges of the creative industries in Slovenia / Nika Murovec, Damjan Kavaš, Aidan Cerar. - Ljubljana : Inštitut za ekonomska raziskovanja = Institute for Economic Research, 2012. - (Working paper / Inštitut za ekonomska raziskovanja, ISSN 1581-8063; no. 62)

ISBN 978-961-6543-97-2 1. Kavas, Damjan 2. Cerar, Aidan 261813760

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Abstract

The article analyses the concept of clustering in the context of creative industries, which present a challenge, since they require a redefinition of the notion of a cluster. Spatial ties are the most stable ties between creative individuals, while and all the other ties are just placed on top of these spatial ties. If a spatial tie is absent, the glue between the creative enterprises is less obvious and most often only short term. The support and analysis of creative industries in Slovenia is lagging behind. In this article, the first attempts of the analysis of creative industries and their concentration in Slovenia are presented. While in Slovenia so far no creative clusters have been identified, there are some areas in which a concentration of creative enterprises could be claimed and a potential for cluster formation has been identified. However, additional support is usually offered in order to increase the economic potential of the cluster members. Slovenia is lagging far behind with regard to the support of creative industries as well. Therefore, in this article, special attention is given to the challenges which Slovenia faces in this field, and recommendations for policy-makers are also presented.

Key words: creative industries, clustering, creative occupations, support policy, Slovenia, Ljubljana.

JEL classification: L52, L69, L89, O25, R12, Z11, Z18

1. Creative economy in spatial context

1.1 Spatial ties as a foundation of a cluster

The concepts of creative industries¹ and creative economy² have been included in the development strategies at the EU level – Green Paper, national levels and municipal levels as well. The reason is that it has been widely accepted that creative economy has a potential to significantly contribute to the economic prosperity, the level of employment (especially among younger generations) and general innovativeness in the post-industrial societies. The data show that the growth in the cultural and creative sector has been higher than the growth in general economy (KEA Report, 2010). Therefore, it has mainly been agreed that stimulating and supporting creative economy at the policy making level presents a legitimate aim in terms of economic growth and quality of life at the local level. However, a simple question which is "How to support and stimulate creative economy locally?" made things rather complicated because the generic answers that have been offered mostly left us unsatisfied, particularly when dealing with the matter at the local level.

Mainly, it has been argued that support aimed at creative industries at the local level contains three aspects: financial support, spatial support and support aimed at networking and clustering. Financial support mainly stands for the need to attract investors willing to invest in the creative sector. Therefore a need for encouraging investors with public policies has been noted (KEA 2010). Spatial support usually contains provision of affordable production and residential premises for the creative enterprises and individuals. The mentioned approach has been used in several states and cities across Europe, to name just a few: Leipzig -Tappetenwerk, Cabalero Rotterdam etc. The third aspect or approach towards stimulating creative economy locally is to support the networking among creative enterprises to cooperate, share and address foreign markets together. On the issue of networking and clustering among the creative enterprises, a theory of community from Pitrim Sorokin (1969) as well as other theories dealing with the notion of community (Bauman, 2001, for example), could be applied. The application of the mentioned theories on the issue of clustering is based on the assumption that cluster or a network has some characteristics of a community incorporated in it.

Sorokin based his approach of analysing changes in rural (and urban) communities on ties between members of a community. What matters is the amount of ties. Members could be connected with more or less ties, and if there are more ties than one, we deal with cumulative communities. The nature of the ties matters as well. Ties can be demanding and last for long, or a member of a community can retain all the freedom and participates in common actions when he decides so. The ties in such cases exist, but are not deep and long lasting – they exist as long as participants have interest in them.

^{...}are those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property.

Activities included in the definition are: advertising, architecture, the arts and antique market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, radio and television.

Source: DCMS, 1998, UK.

² Creative economy could be defined as transactions in creative products, where the value of creative products is multiplied by the number of transactions. (Hawkins 2002).

Now the above mentioned theory will be applied to the case of networking among the creative enterprises, because we claim they represent cumulative communities based on the short term weak ties. On one hand, creative individuals tend to cluster or stick together spatially³ but on the other hand creative enterprises or individuals rarely cooperate professionally between themselves on the long-term – it is much more usual that they cooperate for a project and then form new partnerships with other creatives. Perhaps a cooperation started in the local café with the lunch break chit chat. Therefore, we claim that spatial ties are the most stable ties between them and all the other ties are just placed on top of these spatial ties. That makes creative enterprises and individuals a community. If a spatial tie is absent, the glue between the creative enterprises is less obvious and much harder to define especially in terms of predicting it on the long run, because it is based on a particular interest and if the interest is a joint project, the "community" existence would be limited on the duration of the project.

As it was mentioned supporting creative industries with the affordable production space actually already is a part of several urban policies across Europe. It could be claimed, that offering such spaces actually incorporates the other two ways of supporting creative industries within: financial support and stimulation of networking and clustering. However, organising such spaces from scratch often does not result in clustering therefore it has been recommended to focus on the existing or latent clusters as Champain (et all, 2010) calls them. Placing institutions and individuals together in a top-down manner often results in a spatial cluster in which the location remains the only tie between the members who never start to cooperate with each other. Quartier 21 in Vienna could be used as an example of such cluster: space has been offered to creative companies but because the Quartier had been located in a expensive part of town, where the rents are rather expensive, the ability to afford the rent became the only selection criterion for the tenets even though the rent was subsidised. However, no synergies between the tenants emerged. The bottom line would be they all relocated themselves there in order to use new attracting buildings, not to cooperate (Mokre in Raunig, Ray and Wuggenig 2011)

Therefore a recommendation for policy makers could be that supporting existing networks of creative individuals and enterprises actually might result in a creative cluster generating economic potentials. But then again, why would public sector establish affordable production spaces? After all affordable means bellow market price. Why would a city let profit slip away by donating a particular spatial asset to creative industries which basically represent private sector? The answer is: decayed urban areas. Plenty of decayed urban areas are suitable for such regeneration, because their market value is relatively small especially in times of economic recession in which a lack of interested developers has been noted. Decayed urban areas therefore often become places in which creative clusters and even creative milieus are located. On the long run these areas are often gentrified as a result of successful creative regeneration but that will not be discussed in this paper. The bottom line would be that having decayed urban areas with a wide range of diverse urban amenities⁴ might actually be enough to improve the share of the creative economy locally. If a municipality invests a bit in a renewal of the housing stock or supports housing cooperatives as an initiator of renewal it might actually result in a flourishing creative cluster, eventually. However, the relation between economic growth and affordable production space could not be put on a linear scale it depends on several other factors but even though we claim that such support of clustering

³ Lloyd analysed a development of a creative neighbourhood Wicker park.

⁴ Urban amenities function as an attractor of creative professionals claimed T.N. Clark. Florida added the importance of diversity and tolerance as factors that can lure creative individuals in particular geographical areas.

often has spill over effects. It contributes to the quality of life at the local level and has a potential in stimulating involvement of the general public in a creative production as well. It also works as an input or stimulant of the future creative production.

Our main argument is that creative economy presents a challenge to all of us, basically it requires a redefinition of the notion of cluster. Providing spaces in which creative enterprises and individuals can cooperate or network actually presents a foundation for clustering, but it can never be a top down approach but a combination of a top down and bottom up particularly if a goal is a long term cooperation. Anyway, an additional support is usually offered, in order to increase the economic potential of the cluster members as spatially organised clusters usually deal with several activities and not all of them have economic ambitions, some are even passion driven therefore increasing the entrepreneurship among the cluster members often does result in economic figures.

1.2 Local perspective

In Slovenia or Ljubljana there are no creative clusters that would be named so. However, there are some areas in which a concentration of creative enterprises could be claimed. Some of them are located in the areas close to the city centre. It could be noted that if we take the national level there is a significant concentration in Ljubljana but within Ljubljana concentrations are less obvious.

At the policy making level there are claims which emphasise the importance of a cluster formation – the Regional Development Agency of Ljubljana Urban Region is aiming to form a network of creative professionals and enterprises that could eventually evolve itself in a cluster organisation. Aim has been set at the transnational level, considering the fact that the whole process is a part of the European project called Creative Cities⁵. The establishment would start with the contact point which would provide a platform for networking and cooperation at the national and transnational level. It would as well provide courses aimed at increasing entrepreneurship as creative professionals often lack that. At the later stages it is planned to add a spatial support - however, this part is heavily dependant on the cooperation of various institutions operating at the municipal and regional level. By taking this path eventually a cluster organisation would be formed although the size and nature of the cluster has not yet been defined in details as the project is in the phase of preparation activities. We can conclude that there are quite a few case studies which could be used as the good practise models but eventually local specifics have to be incorporated in the establishments otherwise the same generic approach could be used all over Europe.

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⁵ Project Creative Cities is part of the Central European Programme. Creative Cities stands for Development and Promotion of Creative Industry Potentials in Central European Cities. On the project Creative Cities five Central European cities are cooperating: Leipzig (DE), Genoa (IT), Gdansk (PL), Pecs (HU) and Ljubljana (SI). The Slovenian partners on the project are Regional Development Agency of the Ljubljana Urban Region and Institute for Economic Research.

2. Analysis of the creative industries in Slovenia

Historically, art and culture have always played an important role in Slovenia, since they were in a way a substitute for the lack of national, political and government institutions. Nowadays, Slovenia has a well-developed network of cultural institutions, organisations and associations, which are comparable to the most developed European countries. A relatively colourful cultural life exists not only in bigger cities, but also in more rural areas of Slovenia. Despite the polycentric organisation of cultural institutions, the main share of resources for culture (around two thirds) presents the state budget; Public funds, reserved for culture present around 2% of the total GDP (http://www.mk.gov.si/). The local communities or municipalities contribute only a minor share. This includes the programmes and projects in the field of international cultural cooperation, an important share of the publishing industry, cultural activity of the Italian and Hungarian minorities and Slovenians who live abroad. Local communities are mostly responsible for libraries and some other cultural institutions (local museums, galleries and cultural centres), and NGOs which are active in the field of culture.

While the cultural sector in Slovenia is well supported, the situation with creative industries is a bit different. Over the recent years the issue of creativity has been in and out of policy discussions in Slovenia but unfortunately, no significant progress has been made towards an integrated strategy or support policy for creative industries (see section 3.4. Creative industries support in Slovenia) In 2011, the Ministry of Culture issued a booklet, presenting the measures that the Ministry is undertaking in 2011 to encourage the cultural and creative industries (Stepančič, 2011). In the mentioned booklet, the results of the Ministry's analysis of the available statistical data on cultural and creative industries were also presented. At the same time, a more extensive analysis of creative industries in Slovenia and Ljubljana was presented as well (Murovec, Kavaš, 2010). This analysis was a result of a Central Europe Programme project Creative Cities. In the next paragraphs, some of the challenges and results of the analysis of creative industries in Ljubljana and Slovenia will be presented.

When dealing with the creative industries, the analysis itself presents a big challenge. Contrary to other industries, the creative industries are still a pretty vaguely defined concept. Even a greater challenge for the analysis presents the dilemma about the scope of the creative industries, since the creative industries are not a well-defined branch, sector or occupation in the statistical sense. While in the future we will probably have proper statistical data for cultural and creative industries (see ESSnet Culture project), meanwhile, one must find the best solutions in the existing statistical categorisations.

In order to gather at least partially comparable results, partners on the project Creative Cities had to develop a common methodological framework for the analysis of the creative industries. Trying to achieve that, and at the same time get the best possible results, we encountered several constraints. In addition to the already mentioned problems of the definition of creative industries, it was soon realised, that the scope of the creative industries could also be regionally dependent. For example, the partners from Genoa (IT) insisted, that the food sector was part of the creative industries in their region. Even though the food sector has not usually been included in the creative industries, based on their arguments we had to agree that for the mentioned region food should by all means be included as one of the creative industries sub-branches. Since that was not the only example, the decision was made to develop an opened methodology, allowing regional specifics. Therefore, we distinguished

the analysed creative industries sub-branches in two groups. The first group was named "fixed and common sub-branches". In this group all the branches, that are most often considered to be part of the creative industries (according to different definitions and analyses) were included and analysed by all partners. These branches are: artists' and performing arts, broadcasting industry/film industry, journalists/news agencies/press/publishing, museum shops/arts exhibitions, retail sale of cultural goods, architecture, design industry, advertising market and software/games industry. The second group included "flexible branches", which were defined as branches that may usually not be included in the creative industries, but are regionally identified as branches with high creative component. These branches were analysed only by specific partners for whom this applies, and include for example food, tourism, crafts, musical instruments, software services, etc.

The next constraint is connected with statistical data availability. Statistical offices in different countries gather data on different levels. While some countries have many data available also on regional or city level, others do not. Furthermore, the data are often not even available for research purposes. An additional problem when researching creative industries presents the fact that statistical offices do not treat creative industries as a statistical category and do not have any data collected or analysed for this specific purpose. Therefore, it is very difficult or sometimes even impossible to distinguish the data on the creative industries from other industries, specially on regional level, This is also due to the before mentioned fact that there has been no consensus on which statistically defined sectors or occupations creative industries encompass.

To cope with these matters the project partners have agreed to analyse the creative sectors using NACE Rev. 1.1. on a 3-digit level. Due to the inconsistencies between NACE Rev. 1.1. and NACE Rev. 2., the former was chosen because it enabled comparison of data for more years and therefore also possible identification of trends. The NACE sectors that were included in the analysis are presented in the table below.

Table 1: Creative industries sub-branches (NACE Rev. 1.1.)

SUB-BRANCH	NACE Rev. 1.1.	
Artists' and Performing Art	92.3 Other culture and entertainment activities	
Broadcasting Industry / Film	92.1 Motion picture and video activities	
Industry	92.2. Radio and TV activities	
Journalists / News Agencies / Press	92.4 News agencies activities, activities of own-	
/ Publishing	account journalists	
	22.1 Publishing	
Museum Shops, arts exhibitions	92.5 Library, archives, museums, botanical and	
	zoological gardens	
	92.33.0 Fair and amusement park activities	
Retail sale of cultural goods	52.4 Other retail sale	
Architecture	74.2 - Architectural activities	
Design Industry	74.8 Design activities	
Advertising Market	74.4 Advertising	
Software/Games Industry	72.2 - Development and publishing of software	

The analysis of the sub-branches on a 3-digit NACE level means, that in some cases also other activities, which are not creative, are included, and subsequently, the number of creative firms can be overestimated. Also, industrial categorisation includes all employees within the branches included, regardless if they are creative workers or not. Furthermore, even taking into account 5-digit NACE, it is not possible to come to very exact results, since many companies are just not creative, regardless what their main activity is categorised as. On the other hand it is also true, that many other firms, not included in the analysed sub-branches, incorporate a vast amount of creativity in their work.

The analysis of the private sector shows, that the creative industries present an important part of the economy in Ljubljana and Slovenia. Taking the number of firms into account, the creative industries present a share of 18% in Ljubljana, while taking the number of employees into account, the creative industries present a 12% share. These shares are a bit lower in Ljubljana Urban Region and even more so in the whole country.

The industrial statistics show that architecture is the most important of the creative industries branches in terms of number of firms with the number of firms being almost twice as high as in retail of cultural goods which is following. In the Ljubljana Urban Region the situation is almost identical, while in Slovenia the only difference is that architecture is a bit more closely followed by the retail of cultural goods. In the studied period (2001-2007) the number of the firms was increasing in architecture as well as in all other creative sub branches. Museum shops and arts exhibitions, artists' and performing art, and design experienced the highest growth in number in the period 2001-2007. In terms of the number of employees the retail sale of cultural goods, architecture and software/games industry employed the most people in all the studied years in Ljubljana. The same holds true for the Ljubljana Urban Region and Slovenia. The number of employed grew in all sub branches in the period 2004-2007, except in design. The analysis of the firms' size shows, that firms with 0 or with 1-5 employed present the main share of the firms in all of the sub branches in Ljubljana, Ljubljana Urban Region and Slovenia. Only in architecture (2001, 2007) followed by retail sale of cultural goods (2001, 2007) and software/games industry (2007), the share of the firms with over 6 employed is more notable.

Since the analysis of the industrial data (in our case acquired from the annual reports database) obviously has many disadvantages, we decided to analyse also the occupational data (acquired from the Statistical register of employment) in order to improve the estimations. Contrary to industrial categorisation, occupational categorisation includes all creative workers independent of the industry they work for. Occupations were classified according to the Standard Classification of Occupations (SKP-V2) occupational categories and are comparable to the categories of Art and Cultural occupations defined in "The Warhol Economy" by E. Currid (2007), except for the Optical and electronic equipment operators not elsewhere classified, which are a missing category in this classification. The occupations, which were selected as creative are presented in the table below.

Table 2: Creative occupations (SKP-V2)

OCCUPATION	SKP-V2 code
Architects, town and traffic planners	2141
Authors, journalists and other writers	2451
Sculptors, painters and related artists	2452
Composers, musicians and singers	2453
Choreographers and dancers	2454
Film, stage and related actors and directors	2455
Photographers and image and sound recording equipment operators	3131
Broadcasting and telecommunications equipment operators	3132
Decorators and commercial designers	3471
Radio, television and other announcers	3472
Street, night-club and related musicians, singers and dancers	3473
Clowns, magicians, acrobats and related associate professionals	3474
Fashion and other models	5210
Musical instrument makers and tuners	7312
Jewellery and precious-metal workers	7313
Glass, ceramics and related decorative painters	7324
Handicraft workers in wood and related materials	7331
Handicraft workers in textile, leather and related materials	7332

The occupational analysis results show, that among the creative occupations in Slovenia, authors, journalists and other writers are the most frequent, followed closely by decorators and commercial designers. In general, the occupational statistics did not reveal any major differences between the distribution of specific creative occupations in Ljubljana, Ljubljana Urban Region and Slovenia. The comparison between the share of creative occupations and all occupations in the case of Ljubljana, Ljubljana Urban Region and Slovenia does however indicate a preference on the part of creative people to be settled in Ljubljana. The share of individuals with a creative occupation living in Ljubljana is twice as large as the share of individuals with a creative occupation on the national level. Moreover, the share of individuals with a creative occupation living in Ljubljana (with regard to individuals with all kinds of occupations living in Ljubljana) is significantly larger than the share of individuals with a creative occupation working in Ljubljana (with regard to individuals with all kinds of occupations working in Ljubljana). Therefore, it can be concluded that creative people tend to concentrate in Ljubljana; however, there is no single creative sub-branch that would that would stick out in Ljubljana, in relative comparison to other creative sub-branches.

Next to the analysis of the private sector, the public sector was analysed as well, since it plays a very important role for the creative industries in Slovenia and Ljubljana. Privately owned firms present only a minor part of the cultural sector. Furthermore, even generally privatised sectors (e.g. publishing, film, music distribution and production) generate a significant share of budgets from public sources. A very important role in the field of culture is played by the NGOs.

The statistical analysis was combined with interviews with experts form different creative industries sub-branches, in order to put the quantitative dimension into the right perspective and to discover some other main characteristics, strengths and weaknesses of specific creative sub-branches. Based on this, the creative industries SWOT matrix has been created. With regard to the methodology used, it should be noted, that specific arguments, presented in the qualitative analysis, are based on the subjective views of the interviewees.

The results of the analysis show, that further efforts should be put in the promotion of the term creative industries and its content, promotion of the importance and potential of creative industries, and promotion of cooperation and its benefits. Based on the results of the analysis, architecture and design were selected as the two sub-branches of further interest for the analysis and networking support. Architecture steps out in the analysis as one of the most developed creative industries sub-branches with strong tradition, internationally recognised architect bureaus and faculty, and with both demand and supply concentrated in Ljubljana. Furthermore, fragmentation is one of its biggest weaknesses and one of the main reasons for uncompetitiveness on the international markets. Subsequently, there is a great need for fostering cooperation among different specialised actors. Design (mostly industrial design), on the other hand, seems to have the largest and the most overlooked potential not only as a creative industries sub-branch, but as a mean for restructuring of the wider business sector as well. Compared to the more developed countries, and also to other creative industries subbranches in Slovenia, (industrial) design is lacking some of the basic support (e.g. National Design Centre, national design strategy and support policy). Last, but not least, there is a clear interest of state and local authorities for the support and further development of these two subbranches.

3. Public policy to support creative industries

Accounting for 3.3% of total EU GDP and 3% of employment, creative industries are one of the most dynamic sectors in Europe with a large growth potential. Europe's creative industries are becoming ever-more important to the rest of the economy, because they bring fresh ideas and new ways of thinking to the European economy, which is increasingly characterised by the customisation of products and services. In particular, the creative industries are capable of shaping consumers' requirements and aspirations much better than many other industrial sectors. The capacity for innovation, combined with their "spillover" into other areas of business means that the creative industries are vital to the long-term health and competitiveness of the entire economy.

When considering the support for creative industries, it is important to note some of the specific characteristics of the creative industries. First of all, creative industries comprise a highly diverse set of economic activities. They can be classified in three basic segments: mainly market-based, culture-related with the nature of a public good, and not clearly attributable segments with elements from both categories (Cultural and creative industries: Growth potential in specific segments, 2011). On the other hand, it is also important to consider several common characteristics of the creative industries. Most of the firms in the creative industries are micro firms, and most of the workers are highly skilled self-employed professionals. In addition, many people within the creative industries work part time and/or have temporary contracts. Furthermore, creative industries face considerable uncertainty and volatility in demand, which makes it difficult for them to attract finance. Creative industries

also often feature a high degree of networking, an intensive supply chain and other inter-firm linkages, and are concentrated in major cities, in many cases organised in regional clusters. Regional authorities can play an important role as facilitators and catalysts of such clusters in order to boost their competitiveness (European Competitiveness Report, 2010).

To unlock the full potential of the creative industries, the main challenges, which this sector is facing, should be tackled through regional, national and EU policies. Although the relationships between tiers of government are different for every city and nation, the cooperation between these tiers is considered crucial for the development of a more focused and efficient support system for the creative industries.

3.1. EU level support

In the last few years, the word creativity has become more and more prominent at EU level⁶. In 2007, one of the three objectives of the European Agenda for Culture was culture and economic growth, and Council conclusions on the contribution of the cultural and creative sector to the Lisbon strategy were adopted. The year 2009 was labelled as European Year for Creativity and Innovation, and new Council conclusions were published in this context entitled Culture as a Catalyst for Creativity and Innovation (http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/educ/107642.pdf).

In the year 2008, a working group on creative and cultural industries has been set up by the Council (as part of its three year work plan 2008-10) to consider, report and make recommendations (including in the form of validating and disseminating best practices, taking into account new technologies, making proposals for cooperation initiatives between Member States or at EC level and for elements of methodology to evaluate progress), as appropriate, on the following areas:

- Identification of national strategies and producing an inventory of the existing national measures, aiming to create an environment conducive to the establishment and development of cultural and creative industries (e.g. access to investment, access of SMEs to finance and bank guarantees, networking, strengthening the position of SMEs within hubs of competitiveness, fiscal aspects, promotion of exports, intellectual property issues, in particular in the context of the development of new technologies);
- Training of professionals of the culture sector (managerial competences, entrepreneurship, knowledge of the European dimension/market activities);
- The impact of cultural and creative industries, including cultural tourism, in local and regional development;
- The impact of, amongst others, European Regional Policy measures and financial instruments on capacity building and entrepreneurship in the fields of cultural and creative industries:
- Proposing possible new ways and means to promote cultural and creative industries at the Community level.

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⁶ It is important to note, that the European Commission is currently using the term "cultural and creative industries". "Cultural industries" include the traditional arts sectors (performing arts, visual arts, cultural heritage – including the public sector), film, DVD and video, television and radio, video games, new media, music, books and press. "Creative industries" are those industries which use culture as an input and have a cultural dimension, although their outputs are mainly functional. They include architecture and design, which integrate creative elements into wider processes, as well as subsectors such as graphic design, fashion design or advertising (Green Paper on unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries, 2010).

The Working Group produced its final report in June 2010 (OMC-EWC on maximising the potential of Cultural and Creative Industries, in particular that of SMEs: Final Report, 2010). In the report, the 9 specific action areas were considered by the experts, as those, in which the European Union (EU) can play a key/larger role.

- 1. Access to finance: development of financial mechanisms and venture capital funds.
- 2. Raise general awareness about the importance and economic value of the CCIs.
- 3. Better European funding for CCIs.
- 4. Digitalisation of cultural heritage and copyright issues and policy.
- 5. Talent recognition, education programmes and competences.
- 6. Foster incubation.
- 7. Foster the technological and legal basis that enables new business models, promote the use of Creative Commons licenses for intellectual property.
- 8. Develop networks and clustering: towards a creative cluster strategy.
- 9. Support exports and internationalisation, thus including CCIs as a significant component of EU competitiveness profile.

In 2010, the European Commission published the Green Paper "Unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries" exploring different ways to empower international or regional cooperation and EU-wide activities in the cultural and creative industries sector. The objective of the consultation that took place from 27.04.2010 to 30.07.2010 was "to gather views on various issues impacting the cultural and creative industries in Europe, from the business environment to the need to open up a common European space for culture, from capacity building to skills development and promoting European creators on the world stage" (http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-policy-development/doc2577_en.htm).

Cultural and creative industries have become a part of EUROPE 2020 strategy, because their role as conduits of innovation in European cities and regions has been recognised in the Innovation Union flagship initiative that was adopted in October 2010.

3.2. National level

Creative and cultural sector is very wide and variety of the sector is considerable. This also means that the practice of mapping the sector and the methodology for collecting its statistical information and data varies widely between the member states.

United Kingdom is at the forefront of creative industries support, but nevertheless, lessons could also be taken from other EU countries experiences and programmes as: "Creative Estonia", "Development Programme for Business Growth and Internationalisation in the Creative Industries 2007-2013" (FI), "KreaNord" (Nordic Creative Industries), "Creative Value – Dutch policy on Culture & Economy" (NL), the "Plan de Fomento de las Industrias Culturales" (ES), the "White Paper on Creativity – towards an Italian model of development" (IT) or the "Third Austrian Report on Creative Industries" (AT). Initiatives on this subject are spreading all over the 27 Member States through specific working groups as in Cyprus, Malta, Slovakia, Lithuania and Bulgaria (OMC-EWC on maximising the potential of Cultural and Creative Industries, in particular that of SMEs: Final Report, 2010).

Despite intensive developments in the last years integrated approach is still lacking in many countries. Creative industries are "mainstreaming" into cultural, economic, social, spatial and other policy areas. It is a multidimensional and intersectoral policy area.

In most New Member States, the task of developing creative industries policies has been assigned to the division of the national administration that is responsible for the protection and development of culture. Conflation of market and consumer oriented creative industries with traditionally elitist cultural policy can however create a rather conflicting mix.

3.3. Regional and local level

Creative industries do have an important impact on the regional and local (city) development, because they can contribute to generating jobs, innovation and productivity, as well as to enhance the quality of life in an area and stimulate new ideas and thinking within communities (Investing in the Creative industries?: guide for local communities, 2009).

Potential of certain locations to support the growth of the creative economy depends on the different dimensions, such as (Comunian, Chapain, Clifton, 2010):

- 1. Infrastructure: local availability of business spaces, wealth of the local population or tourism and/or transport infrastructure of a place.
- 2. Governance: policy strategies and initiatives, engagement of the creative industries with various policy arenas such as local regeneration, economic development, social inclusion, etc.
- 3. Soft infrastructure: soft, idiosyncratic reasons such as networks, a specific image or identity of the place, the presence of traditions.
- 4. Markets: the creative industries operate in very fast changing markets. Uncertainty of demand and interaction with clients and customers play a key role for the sector. Markets are also important in reference to the link between creative industries and other related aspects of consumption, in particular tourism and the image of a city.

Support of the development of creative industries varies between regions and cities due to the different approaches to the creative industries, and the differences in support systems reflect the different stages of development of the cities. Their goals are shaped by the problems they face, and the possibilities they have. They could be the following (Creative Metropoles Portfolio 2010, 2010):

- The organisation and provision of space. This is often the case if affordable and suitable space is scarce within the city, so that creative people or businesses cannot afford or find premises, places and spaces in which to produce and present their work.
- Employment. If there is underemployment, cities look at the creative industries as a source of employment, be they self-employment or regular employment.
- To make the city more visible. The creative industries have the potential to raise the profile of the city. If this is a goal, then preference is given to such initiatives or firms that are visible and of some interest to the wider public. Often, cultural policies and creative industries policies are in close collaboration here.
- The use of creative industries as pioneers of the city development. Some city districts (often older and run-down areas, former industrial sites and such like) need development, and creative enterprises are seen as pioneers or ice-breakers in a deliberate attempt to gentrify.

3.4. Creative industries support policy in Slovenia

After Slovenia gained its independency in 1991, a new legal framework was adopted in 1994 (Exercising of the Public Interest in Culture Act) to replace the old socialistic cultural model with a democratic one. Despite that, no significant structural changes have been noted within the cultural system. The cultural market is weak and the support schemes and tax incentives are underdeveloped, which does not present a good alternative to the traditional model. Culture is not placed in the centre of social development and its economic potentials are not mobilised.

Over the recent years the issue of creativity has been in and out of policy discussions in Slovenia. In 2008, the 9th Development Group for Creative Industries was established by the Government. Its mission was to prepare content starting points for forming a state strategy for more successful enforcement of the creative sector (design, architecture and marketing communications) at creating added value of Slovene economy. The 9th Development Group's recommendations present the first document, focused on creative industries. The main findings of the group were that Slovenia is lagging behind, that professional infrastructure exists, but is not closely linked, that non-programme financing does not motivate and that researches and analysis are needed in order to provide support for an efficient strategic plan of measures (Klinar, Miklavc, Oven, 2008). Unfortunately, despite the findings of the group, a strategy for creative industries at the national level has not been formed at that time as the Government changed.

The National Programme for Culture 2008-2011 (Ministry of Culture, 2007) mentioned the potential of the creative sector in the economic sense, but it did not include any support for this kind of activities in the cultural policy. Slovenia had no specific overall policy framework, within which the Slovenian creative industries can be promoted and developed. According to the National Programme for Culture, which is the central document of cultural policy in Slovenia, culture that should be supported was culture, which is perceived as public good and mostly provided by public bodies.

Recently however, things started to move forward again. In November 2010, architecture and design have been additionally included into the National programme for culture. In the year 2011, intention of Slovene government to support cultural and creative industries was announced. The Ministry of Culture has published brochure on cultural and creative industries in Slovenia where definitions, statistics and planned policy measures of Ministry of Culture were presented (Stepančič, 2011). Policy measures are dealing with spaces, exhibitions, with partnerships between schools and business, with digital information and communication technologies, with the power of creativity in community and with a sustainable local food supply (creative cooking festivals).

Despite the fact, that he subject of creativity has been introduced in strategy papers there is still no integrated creative industry support policy. As in many New Member States, there is a notable confusion about official policies towards creative or cultural industries, because the common perception of cultural policy is that it presents one of the subsidies for the arts and cultural sector from public funds. The concept of market oriented cultural production (creative industries) is by many cultural producers perceived as an attempt to undermine the existence of the traditional cultural institutions that have predominantly been dependant on state support.

4. Action plan for the development of creative industries in Slovenia focusing at the Ljubljana Urban Region

There is no specific and integrated overall policy framework within which the Slovene creative industries can be promoted and developed. There are specific measures for support of film industry or publishing, for example. The support measures for design or for architecture do practically not exist. Therefore, as part of the Creative Cities project, the Local Implementation Plan (LIP) was developed as well.

LIP's focus is very local. In our case that means the LIP is focused on the Ljubljana Urban Region and Ljubljana municipal level. Nevertheless, Ljubljana is by far the most important location regarding creative industries in Slovenia, especially in the quantitative terms and it has the best opportunities for their future development. Therefore, it could be claimed that the LIP is also a relevant document at the national level, dealing with the planned support and stimulation of the creative industries. Formally, LIP's time focus is set between 2011 and 2015. However, some of the activities listed in LIP could go beyond the mentioned time limit. The six pillars of the LIP are the following:

- Infrastructure
- Networking
- Marketing
- Transfer of Knowledge
- Education and Employment
- Finances

Each pillar contains several other subordinated activities and each one of these activities has a particular aim. Activities in the LIP are in accordance with the particular local specifics, which have been analysed in the SWOT analysis and other research activities of the Creative cities project, such as focus group research and theory and case studies research.

Figure 1: The structure of the LIP

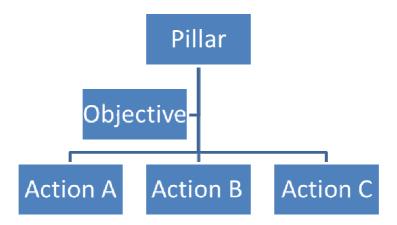


Table 3: Overview of the planned actions

Pillars	Baseline situation	Objectives	Actions
Pillar Infrastructure	 Lack of policies aimed at the infrastructural stimulation of the development of the creative industries. Lack of affordable production space. A significant share of the brownfield areas has been privatised or regenerated. Most of the brownfield regenerations have been based on the private initiative. Potentials of creative industries to regenerate and revitalise particular urban areas which have been neglected or decayed. No defined creative district at the municipal level. Cooperation between bottom up creative initiatives and top down policies is rare. 	 Providing sufficient workspace supply for creative industries at the municipal and regional level. Supporting the potentials of the creative districts in economic, social and spatial aspect. 	Action 1: An increase of the affordable production space supply Action 2: Establishment of the office in which a cluster contact point would be located Action 3: Suggestions to policy makers
Pillar Networking	 Only some inter(sub)sectoral networks are present, and it is very unusual that these networks associate themselves with the term 'creative industries'. Networks mainly operate at the national scale. No institutional approach towards linking the existing 'creative' networks and subsectors has been noted. No institutionalised facilitation of cooperation between diverse creative enterprises. 	Institutionalised facilitator of the networking between different creative individuals, enterprises, and other stakeholders such as university, public sector etc.	Action 1: Establishment of a cluster contact point with an aim to stimulate networking between creative industries and other stakeholders Action 2: Support aimed at the existing and functioning networks
Pillar Marketing	 The term "creative industries" is insufficiently branded in Slovenia. Knowledge related to creative industries is low among all stakeholders in Slovenia and Ljubljana. No evident public strategy or plan regarding creative industries. No marketing of creative industries at the national level. 	 Raise awareness at the national level. Promote Slovenian creative industries at the international level. 	Action 1: Elaboration and implementation of a (marketing &) communication concept for Ljubljana Action 2: Promotional action "Creative Ljubljana!" Action 3: Promotion of creative industries and CI cluster initiative

	 No international support or marketing of Slovenian creative industries abroad. 		Action 4: Articles related to dissemination
Pillar Transfer of Knowledge • At the national level there is a lack of courses aimed at the creative professionals. • Some European countries are more developed in terms of creative industries stimulation. • An existing network of creative clusters within the CC project. • Lack of business skills. • Rapid technological development.	lack of courses aimed at the creative professionals.	• Establish a knowledge network between the	Action 1: Providing courses at the project level
	 clusters of the project. Stimulate cooperation between the cluster members. 	Action 2: Providing an interface with an aim of matchmaking among the members of the cluster at the transnational level	
Pillar Education and Employment Almost no cooperation between creative industries and educational institutions. Provided education often does no match the needs of the economy. Creative professionals often claim a significant lack of entrepreneur knowledge. No specialized employment matchmaking portal for creative sector.	 creative industries and educational institutions. Provided education often does not match the needs of the economy. 	Networking educational and scientific institutions on the one hand and creative	Action 1: Organization of training programmes for CI stakeholders
			Action 2: A research and equipment lists
	 industries on the other. Stimulating the labour market in creative economy. 	Action 3: Job service	
	 There is a lack of financial support for (investments of) businesses in creative industries. No tailor-made instruments addressing specific needs of creative industries (e.g. cadre). 	 Stimulating the labour market in creative economy. Stimulating investments in CI businesses 	Action 1: Regional scholarship scheme
			Action 2: Regional guarantee scheme

5. Conclusions

As it has been analyzed in the previous chapters, supporting and stimulating creative industries became a goal of the several different policies at the EU level, which has an impact on the national, regional and municipal policy-making across Europe. In the text, three aspects of approaching towards creative economy stimulation have been analyzed. It has been dealt with the theoretical aspect of the support aimed at the creative industries with an emphasis on the clustering and networking. The analytical aspect, focusing at the researching creative economy locally, followed. The third part dealt with the policy making aspect from the transnational, European, level to the local levels, as the approach of the Ljubljana Urban Region has been presented – *local implementation plan*. The most important feature of stimulating creative economy locally is to combine the above mentioned approaches which often results in establishing special bodies within the administration in order to provide a holistic approach in which economic, theoretical, urban and science policy are incorporated.

The main reason for the increase of the *creative topics* within the policy making documents is a claim that the creative economy can significantly contribute to the economic prosperity. However, it has been noted that creative economy cannot be related to economic prosperity that directly, because there are creative professionals who do struggle hard to make the ends meet. That has also been demonstrated in the SWOT analysis done on the Slovenian case, which has been mentioned in the text.

In the text, the main focus has been set on Ljubljana and the Ljubljana Urban Region which is not a coincidence. In the post-industrial society a decrease of the importance of the nation state has been claimed. On the other hand, the importance of the regions and cities has been increasing (Mlinar, 1995) which does matter when dealing with the creative industries. The creative economy stimulation mostly takes place at the municipal level. After all, it had all started with Charles Landry, who dealt with the *creative city*, and Richard Florida, who analyzed the residential preferences of the *creative class* in relation to American cities. To sum it up, in Slovenia the creative economy is also addressed at the municipal/regional level (Local Implementation Plan), and even in the transnational establishments focusing on the creative economy it is usually the cities and regions who participates in them. For example Ljubljana Urban Region has been participating in the Creative Cities project; Maribor has been named European Capital of Culture etc.

As far as a cluster organization is concerned, it has been argued that our understanding of the term cluster requires some transformations when applying it on the creative economy. It has as well been noted that a creative cluster has not yet been established in Slovenia, but there are initiatives dealing with the formation of such clusters. A case of the Ljubljana Urban Region has been emphasized in the text but there are no particular conclusions regarding the mentioned cluster because it has not yet started functioning as one.

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