CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AS CARRIERS OF URBAN IDENTITY AND DRIVERS OF DEVELOPMENT: FROM DIRECTIONAL TOWARDS PARTICIPATIVE BRANDING

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ABSTRACT

The severe recession in 2008-2009 seriously undermined growth, employment and quality of life. It called for a more effective global governance system as well as new resources for local development. Since creative industries showed to be more resilient to external shocks, many decision makers invested in them to be the drivers of urban regeneration as well as of city branding. Western cities proved to be leaders in these processes, transitional ones often trying to copy them. The aim of this article is to propose a new methodology of creating the so called "identity system" of a community. The mentioned methodology has been applied in the research of the identity of the Croatian cities Zadar and Zagreb and the results are presented in the article. They serve as a starting point in the proposal of the necessary steps in the city identification and consequently its regeneration based on creative industries.

Keywords: cultural/creative industries, creative cities, urban development, branding, identity

LE INDUSTRIE CREATIVE COME ARTEFICI DELL'IDENTITÀ URBANA E MOTORI DELLO SVILUPPO: DAL BRANDING DIREZIONALE A QUELLO PARTECIPATIVO

SINTESI

La grave recessione nel periodo 2008-2009 ha seriamente intaccato la crescita, l'occupazione e la qualità della vita, sollecitando un sistema di governance globale più efficace e nuove risorse per lo sviluppo locale. Poiché le industrie creative si sono rivelate più resistenti a shock esterni, molti decision maker hanno investito in esse perché potessero diventare motori della rigenerazione urbana e del city branding. Le città occidentali hanno dimostrato di essere i leader in questi processi, e quelle di transizione spesso hanno cercato di copiarle. Lo scopo di questo contributo è proporre una nuova metodologia di generazione dei cosiddetti "sistemi d'identità" di una comunità, che è stata usata nella ricerca d'identità delle città croate di Zara e Zagabria. I risultati sono presentati nel contributo e servono come punto di partenza nel proporre le misure da adottare nel processo dell'identificazione di una città e, di conseguenza, della sua rigenerazione basata sulle industrie creative.

Parole chiave: industrie culturali e creative, città creative, sviluppo urbano, *branding*, identità

INTRODUCTION

The world economy faced the most severe recession in 70 years in 2008-2009, which seriously undermined growth, employment and quality of life. The crisis provoked a reality check calling for a more effective global governance system in which emerging countries are no longer outsiders. As global demand sharply contracted in the most advanced countries, the fast-growing developing nations performed relatively better, surviving the crisis with less damage. South-South regional trade and investments have been vital to mitigating the effects of the global recession. While the traditional manufacturing industries were seriously hit, the more knowledge-based creative sectors were more resilient to external shocks. In 2008, despite the 12 per cent decline in global trade, world trade of creative goods and services continued its expansion, reaching $592 billion and reflecting an annual growth rate of 14 per cent during the period 2002-2008. This reconfirms that the creative industries have been one of the most dynamic sectors of the world economy throughout this decade (UNDP/UNCTAD, 2010, XX).

In many advanced economies, the creative economy is now recognized as a leading sector in generating economic growth, employment and trade. In Europe, the creative economy generated a turnover of €654 billion in 2003, increasing 12 per cent faster than the overall economy (KEA, 2006). At present, it is estimated that the cultural and creative industries contribute to around 2.6 per cent of the total GDP of the European Union (UNDP/UNCTAD, 2010, 28).

In the United Kingdom in 2007 the creative industries accounted for 6.2 per cent of the economy, measured as value added; during the period 1997-2007 creative output grew at 5 per cent annually as compared to 3 per cent growth for the rest of the UK economy, and its exports of services by the creative industries represented 4.5 per cent of all goods and services exported (DCMS, 2010). In Germany in 2008, total turnover of the culture and creative industries was estimated at €132 billion, contributing €63 billion towards value added, representing 2.5 per cent of national turnover and of the gross domestic product (GDP). There are about 238,000 enterprises in the sector, accounting for 7.4 per cent of all German enterprises (Ministry of Economics and Technology, Germany, 2009). In Italy, the cultural and creative industries accounted for over 9 per cent of the national GDP and employed over 2.5 million people in 2004 (Napoletano, according to Santagata, 2009[1]). High scores of creative economy are also shown in the USA, Canada and Australia.

In the regional context of the Southeast Europe, creative industries are still developing. Several levels of changes have been going on simultaneously in the

countries in transition such as democratisation, globalisation, consequences caused by the war (in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia) as well as the impact of EU integration process. Regardless of the specific context of each of the Southeast European countries, they all share the same problems: small markets, production in small series, huge impact of international creative industries, problems of distribution of creative industries goods. In the context of transition, the volume of cultural activities and creation is growing, and the production is dynamically changed and diversified. These trends are connected to the development and advancement of new technologies, with the recently formed and still modest cultural entrepreneurship, small-sized cultural industries and visible increase of the investment of public means in culture throughout the years (Švob-Đokić, 2010). In this context, it should be pointed out that the creative industries often incorporate also sectors which do not share 'industrial' characteristics in its type of production (Primorac, 2007). In Southeast European countries, cultural diversification prevails on local levels, not because it is less exposed to global influences but since the type of cultural production is still mainly in the area of arts and crafts, and not industrial (Švob-Đokić, 2002).

In Croatia, statistical monitoring of creative economy is deficient, but it can be estimated that they account to 2 per cent of GDP (Švob-Đokić, 2008). Although, it does not seem important in the economic sense, it is a relevant incentive to the cultural sector which mainly depends on public financing. Besides, the impact of creative industries on cultural transformations, different consumption patterns and habits should neither be neglected nor should their strength in creating the image of a certain territory, especially through tourism.

CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND IDENTITY

More than other types of production, the cultural industries are involved in the making and circulating of products that have influence on understanding of the world (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Although any cultural product or expression, be it historical or contemporary, is a carrier of the author's/bearer's identity, cultural/creative industries' products are rather easily recognisable and perceived in our contemporary societal environment and thus associated with a certain territory or identity. We perceive them as carriers of cultural diversity for which they are especially nourished in recent times. They contribute strongly to our sense of who we are, of what it means to be a woman or a man, an African or an Arab, a Canadian or a New Yorker, straight or gay (Hesmondhalgh, 2007, 3).

Although often they have their physical form, the real bearers of identity represented by cultural/creative industries' products are of an intangible nature, as the

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1 Giorgio Napoletano, 31 December 2007, quoted in Santagata (2009).

identity itself. They can be represented by visual, audio, tactile, even olfactory elements which carry some kind of content. The content itself is actually an expression of a symbolic meaning. Due to the relatively easy identification of the audience/consumers with the contemporary products/expressions of cultural/creative industries, they became important players in the so called symbolic or cultural/creative, definitely modern economy. In this way, cultural/creative industries have become a place where to look for branding. In this way, many cultural products associated with certain territory, intentionally or unintentionally, have become recognisable labels of that territory, bearing its cultural identity. Although intangible, the content of the cultural/creative industries' products has become a very tangible and concrete feature of identity commercialisation. 'Living on thin air', as some authors call it (Leadbeater, 2000; Hesmondhalgh, 2007) found its fertile soil in the knowledge economy.

One might say that also other types of cultural expression, such as heritage is also a bearer of cultural identity of a certain territory and can have a great potential in promoting one's own identity, which is unquestionable. Moreover, it is documented by the great interest of tourists coming to visit heritage destinations. Still, it is often the case for the great nations while the smaller ones have to do additional effort as to attract visitors based on their less recognisable heritage identity. In such cases, again, cultural heritage management offers an array of marketing, presentation and interpretation techniques which make use of power cultural/creative industries have on a contemporary consumer, in order to create awareness of one's own cultural identity, to educate, or to engage in an economic activity. Cultural industries have this power to influence people, they use varied ways in which they manage the work of symbol creators and they have a significant role in bringing about more general industrial, social and cultural change (Hesmondhalgh, 2007, 25).

On the other side of intellectual spectrum and consulting practice, a vivid debate had started and project management initiatives followed from 1990's onwards considering the identity issues under the guise of "place branding" and similar concepts (Kavartzis, 2008). It is certainly true that economic and ideological change from the late 1980's on had influenced rethinking of identity values, identity policies and practices, as established at the beginning of industrial modernization and the rise of modern nation states. On the other hand, the collapse of the Eastern block has caused the start of many new identity programmes considering the symbolic establishment of newly created states in Central and South Europe and Balkans. Most of these tendencies were brought to life following the doctrine of directional branding, as elaborated throughout the 1980's and on (Olins, 1999). This doctrine follows the concept of twofold activity: application of product and service branding methods on societies and its hierarchies, or ex-

tending the concept of tourist destination management to the level of symbolic program. On both levels the basic concept was to accentuate the specific society as corporation and extend its performances towards "competitive identity" (Anholt, 2003). Basic output in identity project rationale, its management evaluation and outreach were placed within the social elite, seen as responsible for the identity issues as they are responsible for policy making.

But the uprising of the newly formed nation-states was followed by the new configuration of EC and EU policies which fostered cities and regions as new actors, and within this new state of affairs, different issues arose considering the responsibility for identity issues as a social fact. Economic and cultural importance of regions and the cities within the New Europe was obvious throughout the former Eastern bloc countries too. The issue of political and cultural participation was pushed forward and it is still an unresolved one.

This fact can be used also in the case of Croatia. Its recent accession to the European Union focused additional attention to this country and possibly brings an exceptional opportunity for its promotion towards the other state members. Zagreb, as the capital and Croatia's largest cultural centre, in this sense, has an especially important role. At the same time, this integration presents a potential threat for losing one's own identity while also opening the question of the difficulties in Croatian/Zagreb positioning in the unity of diversity. As to overcome this issue, it is necessary to choose several key elements of the Zagreb identity which will systematise the so far relatively homogeneous (Vukić, 2010), but also unrecognisable city identity for its own citizens, which will then serve as an element in the city promotion. The promotion itself is the most visible through tourism, but also through other sectors so as the city can position itself as an important factor of European culture and tourism (Jelinčić, Žuvela, 2010, 8).

CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Cities have, since their beginnings, always been showing their clear capacities for cultural production in the sense of art, ideas, styles and ways of life as well as for stimulating the development of economic innovation and growth (Scott, 2000, according to Evans, 2001). Yet, culture is also a powerful means of controlling cities. As a source of images and memories, it symbolizes 'who belongs' in specific places. As a set of architectural themes, it plays a leading role in urban redevelopment strategies based on historic preservation or local 'heritage'. With the disappearance of local manufacturing industries and periodic crises in government and finance, culture is more and more the business of cities – the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique, competitive edge. The growth of cultural consumption (of art, food, fashion, music, tourism) and the industries that

cater to it fuels the city's symbolic economy, its visible ability to produce both symbols and space (Zukin, 2008, 1-2).

Mass production which followed the industrial revolution brought about the circumstances and threats of the so called cultural imperialism from the West, presented in the form of Hollywood film production export. Cultural imperialism, with some help of globalisation trends and cultural markets unification, caused reactions in national cultural policies where cultural protectionism takes over. Cultural protectionism is the key element for the creation of a unique national and/or local cultural brand; the paradox is that the cultural brand is confirmed and valued by the export and commodity exchange, therefore by realisation of the economic and symbolic power according to the place of making. Using this method, some national brands have achieved planetary popularity such as Italian shoes, Japanese high technologies, German machines, Scandinavian product design, French fashion, British contemporary art, etc. (Jelinčić, Žuvela, 2010, 8).

Cities have a constant cultural orientation which exists and functions relatively independently in respect to demographic changes and fluctuations as well as numerous social processes which have been taking place in them. In this sense, it can be said that cities have their own cultural character which transcends the accepted representations of the city as seen by its own population as well as the cultural presentations by its cultural institutions and organisations (Lee, 1997). Therefore, local cultural character must be taken into consideration in the process of strategic development of the city since attempts to create a new or to manipulate the existing cultural character of a city are flaw or result in the creation of a superficial culture which can even become a threat to a real creative potential (Jelinčić, Žuvela, 2010, 8).

Therefore, the direct application of the cultural/creative economy is seen in the development of the so called creative city. The term encompasses urban complexes in which different cultural activities are integral component of the economic and social functioning of the city. They are based on a strong social and cultural infrastructure, they have high concentration of creative employment and are attractive for investment. The concept has been introduced by Charles Landry who defines them as ecosystems in which cultural and symbolic values act as catalysts serving the general development (Landry, 2000).

Why should cities support the development of cultural/creative industries? The answer to this question is not and cannot be unique since no city is the same: it depends on general aims of development policy of a certain city. 'Creativity' has recently been a top subject although its pragmatic meaning is not easy to catch. Despite that, many cities have introduced creative industries in their development policies proving it worth such as Amsterdam, Barcelona, Berlin, Birmingham,

Newcastle and Gateshead, Oslo, Stockholm, Vilnius, etc. Also, some city districts proved that their investment in cultural urban regeneration paid off such as for example the London's East End; Helsinki's Aranbianranta; Subtopia micro cluster in the Stockholm's district Botkyrka; the Warsaw Praga Poludnie; Poblenou in Barcelona, etc. Some of them had success with branding based on cultural/creative industries: Newcastle used its music celebrities (The Animals, Brian Johnson from AC/DC, Neil Tennant from Pet Shop Boys, Bryan Ferry); Copenhagen focused on Hans Christian Andersen and Little Mermaid; Liverpool used the popularity of the Beatles; the UK focused on a number of cultural industries' brands from Daniel Craig, J. K. Rowling, David Bowie, Kate Moss, Alexander McQueen, Jamie Oliver to Zaha Hadid and Anish Kapoora; Helsinki used its architect and designer Alvar Aalto (Jelinčić, Žuvela & Polić, 2012, 11).

On the other hand, we also witness opposite examples of the dying cities in which the existing economic activities are constantly diminishing, the population declining, the age and educational structure of population is deteriorating, and local economic structures are weakening. Such cities cannot be characterized as creative centres and they lose their competitive position. We may pose a question why these cities cannot become creative centres and why they cannot attract talent and technology. Specifically, three reasons for that can be detected: complacency, commonsense and culture (tradition) (3C). There are cities whose citizens just do not want to be creative or are not ready to invest in their education but believe that all the learning is reduced to experience and common sense which, actually, has negative impacts on the formation of human capital. And the final culprit is linked to intolerance: in some cities, traditional values, beliefs and behavioural norms are rooted which prevent the openness of the city to others (Molnar, 2011, 37).

Therefore, despite good practice examples, positioning of the whole city towards culture as a means of urban regeneration is a big decision for the city government. Many of them often just do not believe that culture can be a powerful means for urban regeneration but, if it is linked to tourism, as a relatively strong economic resource, their confidence grows (Jelinčić, 2011, 61). But to proceed in that direction, it is necessary to choose the right elements of city identification. There have been discussions whether tourist identity is functional enough to embrace the city identity as a whole, and include all of the actors who are building up to the particular values of a particular city (Momaas, 2002, 34-35). The criticism of "capuccino and croissant" identity schemes which apply promotional lure to the very life in the city is questionable more so, as the technological means allow each and every actor in the society (be it a city or a region) to express its own ideas on the collective identity. Therefore traditional "top-down" identity

making, applied as standard procedure in nation-states, is today questioned by "bottom-up" approach, which favours participation and systemic method in identity policies for the regions and cities.

IDENTITY OF A CITY AS A FACTOR
FOR DEVELOPMENT

Although, nowadays it is thought that the world is flat, meaning that thanks to the advances in technology, one can do his/her job regardless of the place (s)he lives, cities and urban areas are still the most interesting places to live in. Today, the share of world's population living is cities stands at more than 50 per cent (Florida, 2008). Cities are still the generators of creativity, innovation and economic growth, therefore, they compete in attracting smart people.

In the minds of consumers, culture is in different ways a metaphor for personality, and people make conclusions on the inner qualities of the nations according to its cultural achievements (Anholt, 2009, 94). In this way, culture seems to be a perfect means for expressing the pulse of a nation or a city. On the other hand, identity as a research subject has often been talked about in a negative way since it is extremely difficult to catch its tangible nature due to its multiplicity, fluidity and changing nature so it practically offers no possibilities for exact measurement one could rely on. At the same time, we have seen numerous examples of cities which achieved greater visibility and general development based on their identity. In such cases, the identity itself was the product or, as Kotler says "places are, indeed, products, whose identities and values must be designed and marketed" (Kotler, 1993, 11).

Often, however, smaller cities tend to copy successful models not bearing in mind that in most of the cases it is just not possible to transfer them to another territory. Different identities as well as different environment do not always respond in the same way, therefore, copy-pasting or constructing new identities usually results with failures. Being successful really means making "sense of a place" (Murray, 2001) since striving to apply someone else's models would often mean the imposition of foreign identities. We are who we are, the city is what it is, its places are common to it and not to anyone else, so there is no need (nor success) in comparing city's peculiarities with the ones of the others.

Still, as already mentioned, it is extremely difficult to work with identities since, first of all, their features are of intangible nature. Besides, people as individuals can have multiple identities and often, it is not easy to prioritise them. Over and above, there are different groups living in a town or a city with their own lifestyles while the city itself is actually a sum of these identities. Most of the cities have problems in identifying one or a few elements which would be their building brick in achieving international visibility and thus be the generator of economic regeneration. This is where creativity takes over. Landry, Greenhalgh and Murray propose shifting perspective as to "view the city through someone else's eyes" (Murray, 2001, 67) or to shift emphasis "from 'housing' to 'habitat'" (Murray, 2001, 69). As one of the main features of the creativity is the application of other views, it can be the main tool in the city development. Applying it, it is much easier to deal with the different, changing and many identities of the city. Therefore, designing identities, as in the Kotler's notion, may produce a negative tone if meant as designing from scratch or copy-pasting others' examples. Rather, the city identity is researched and dug within the city itself, its places, inhabitants, atmosphere, the environment, and then creatively applied to the city as a whole.

What makes the identity of the city? It is certainly the material aspect seen in its buildings, parks, roads, rivers, bridges, municipal infrastructure, etc. At the same time it's also the atmosphere or something that is in the air but what feels like a certain feature of the certain city alone. It can be the romanticism of Paris, multiculturalism of New York, laissez faire of some Mediterranean cities, openness of Austin, business atmosphere of Milan but most of all it's the people who create the identity of a city. Therefore, copying foreign models of city branding to a certain place would result as an unnatural, artificial design of people's lives within it since people contribute the most to what the city itself really is. They are the creators of the identity of the city since they are the ones who built its material aspect as well as they contribute to its intangible sense of a place.

Traditional approach to identity making was derived out of political system in which a group of people by means of democratic elections, delegates to a smaller group of people a power to make policies and bring forward the solutions to collective making. But already in some of innovative concepts within such a approach there are hints of problems signalling a need for rethinking some levels of identity programmes. Following this line of thinking it was argued that the negative perceptions of the city could be efficiently resolved by collective actions by all actors only (Truemann, Cook & Cornelius, 2008, 34-35). Furthermore, just afore the economic crisis in 2008 (which confirmed such a theory stance strongly), it was demonstrated that connecting the city identity with economic pragmatism and political ideologies only could not be a sustainable strategy (Gertner, 2007, 5-6). Two new factors are recognized as crucial in the reconfiguration of economy and identity: cultural and social participation. With two issues to be addressed within theory and consulting practice: the issue of self-perception of cultural heritage connected to the vision of development and the issue of participation in collective identity. These issues become evident throughout the EU and across the bordering countries, including the former candidate and now full member such as Croatia.

Many foreign and some Croatian cities[1] have successfully researched and agreed upon individual elements of cultural identification which in practice results with the basis for international promotion through the city visibility. Zagreb has tried for several times to find strong elements of its own identity system (brand) but in practice, it did not find a fertile soil in a wider visibility. It also results in an insufficient recognition of typical cultural and cultural tourism products. Although in a tourist sense, Zagreb is the most visited Croatian continental destination, it is not competitive enough in relation to other tourist markets which base their supply on cultural products. At the same time, it does not mean that there are no quality products, especially in the field of cultural/creative industries, but they need to be identified as typical Zagreb cultural products with the potential for wider consumption on a tourism market, in the media environment, public diplomacy and for the investment in cultural entrepreneurship (Jelinčić, Žuvela, 2010, 8-9).

One of the reasons for Zagreb's inefficiency in cultural branding is the relatively low rate of cultural entrepreneurship development despite the high concentration of creative firms in Zagreb. The other one is certainly the unsystematic use of elements of cultural identification as well as the use of wrong methodologies in cultural identification research and application. And the final one is the lack of more inclusive "bottom-up" identity initiatives within the traditional directional approach in making of place brands.

COMMUNICATION OF URBAN IDENTITY – TOWARDS A NEW METHODOLOGY OF CREATING AN IDENTITY SYSTEM OF A COMMUNITY

Cities in transitional nation states are submitted to the complex changes, from ideological and economic to symbolic ones, these being the symptoms of the local transition. The city of Zadar is a heritage city on the Adriatic coast with as much as 80.000 inhabitants, with historic monuments from Roman period on, and is an important tourist destination, as a city-break point of interest and with a number of neighbouring resorts. Tourism is a vital part of economic picture of Zadar and its international image is largely based upon its touristic attraction. However, although most of its inhabitants build up their welfare on tourist activities, their identification with communication elements launched by city authorities and tourist office is less than average. The research conducted in Zadar in 2006 was based on 500 participants using the method of questionnaires. When asked on key cultural values of the city of Zadar, most participants (63%) pointed to personifications of recent independency war rather than cultural monuments (32%). The majority of the participants opted for sports sector

(52%), and only as low as 21% pointed to tourist identity symbols when asked to identify the symbol which represents the city. On the other hand, younger population expressed a clear lack of alternative cultural productions within the overall cultural activities connected to tourism. Ageing population expressed emotional disconnection in regard to elements of identity (logo, slogan) of the city as a tourist destination. Furthermore, field research in the city centre and around neighbouring resorts had showed the lack of comprehensive policy of physical space articulation in terms of participation and harmonization of personal and collective identity. This is due to still unresolved legal problems of the ownership of the land and real estate within the context of contemporary Croatia. Therefore in Zadar as a tourist destination, there is no articulated and shared communication policy in city space and its surroundings, which contradicts to beautiful images shown in tourist brochures (Vukić, 2006).

The City of Zagreb is the Croatian capital which has around 900.000 inhabitants including its suburban areas. It is a city of rich cultural heritage, mostly from the period of industrial modernization, from the times of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The research on the city identity and its self-perception within the internal public comprised field research, semiotic analysis of communication elements which visualize the city name and, finally, a poll questioning 800 people of various age, but in a balanced dispersion around city areas. It was conducted during 2009/2010. When asked on key identity elements of the city of Zagreb, more than 50% of participants identified religious elements and figures, 26% identified river Sava and the Medvednica mountain and least have seen sports and new architecture as key factors in city's image. When asked what the most important value of the city of Zagreb is, almost identical share in answers was set to cultural values (32,71%) and to the fact that it is an independent Croatian city (32,12%) and to sports (17,06%) and natural beauties (18,11%), on the other hand. When asked to match the image of the city to an imaginary person, more participants (27,53%) visualized Zagreb as "old and ugly" than 26,00% of inhabitants that saw it as "mature and wise". And finally, less than half of the participants (46,53%) was completely satisfied with living conditions in the city, 32,24% is mostly satisfied and 21,41 is clearly not satisfied. Field research showed that there is no articulated and comprehensive policy in visual communication of the city's name, while at the formal and semiotic level, it depends upon the subject of communication and its interests, either public or private. Furthermore, as in so many other cities in Croatia, there is no evident semantic connection between communication by the city's authorities and its tourist office. Finally, within communication for tourist purposes, only as little as 5% of the city area (historic centre) is covered with some kind of presentation, with

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2   Edinburgh, Salzburg, Vienna, Barcelona, Prague, Dubrovnik.

the sole exemption of presentation of new building of Museum of contemporary Arts[3], but presented without the context of the new part of the city, i.e. without urban context as identity factor (Vukić, 2010).

In both Croatian cities, there are evident gaps on several levels of community life: the gap among the tourist promotion visual image and situation in the real urban space, the gap among the perception offered to tourists and guests and self-perception of inhabitants, the gap among public and private interests in physical space, and the semantic gap of personal interests in communication of collective identity (city's name). These gaps point to symptoms of insufficient participation within the general idea on values and non existing consensus on identity of the city.

If this is a symptom of culture in transitional post-socialist countries, a comparative insight to the issue of participation in cultural identity on a national level could be found in a report on research in Serbia (Stevanović, 2014). Marking a confrontation between traditional/national and newly forming international/EU/American identity, this research points to a few interesting conclusions. First, there is no specific feeling of fear from other identities connected to the place of living, being urban, suburban or rural. Second, most of negative feelings towards other identities are placed among economic difficulties of population. Third, there is a clear attitude that it is not the politics but mass media that brings to a confrontation of traditional/national and new/international cultural identity. Therefore, future research on identity in transitional contexts should comprise more in-depth survey of the means and paths or creation of identity values and exchange between personal and collective identity, with special focus on blending of real situations with values channeled by media products.

So, the issue of participation is underestimated, i.e. participation by actors in the collective is not achieved in a way that each and every actor feels and knows that also the collective values (s)he believes in are included. The result is mostly unregulated, sometimes ugly and inefficient expression of identity values which contradict the ones put in public and media by way of directional approach (Vukić, 2006, 2010).

The way to solve these unproductive gaps should be reached since the lack of personal participation and existing public practices seriously undermine efforts to create lasting identity projects. To ease the process of participation and open up the floor to general public to express its values, a new strategy should be applied. This strategy should comprise twofold tactics: preparatory research process should carry out more in-depth analysis of cultural heritage from the contemporary interpretative point of view, as to create foundations for its sustainable use within the identity projects. Then, a comparative research of visual semantics of the city's

name in public sphere has to be carried out, as to define the common and separate points in communication, which denominate various interests in public sphere. Finally a survey of public opinion on identity values has to be carried out across the city area. These research elements should finally create an identity map, a territorial list of values seen as identity potentials, for building future projects. These potentials have to be seen as a system, in which every value does a semantic work and connects with others in a layered message, complex as city and life itself. Furthermore, a semantic frame of city's name should be created for this identity system, and within this frame, every citizen could intervene, following the basic rules outlined by the city authority. In this way every citizen could express his/her interests, values and opinions, while the variety should function as a multitude of uniqueness. In this way traditional directive approach to place branding could be replaced by more participative strategy. As it is the argument in contemporary critical insights, the placebranding methodologies mostly vary between quantitative and qualitative research (Chung Sing, Marafa, 2013, 244-245), but the real life situations, individual identities, small stakeholders' interests and cultural potentials are often lost within statistical averages, numbers and expert opinions. Therefore a more comprehensive method is lacking, with an integrated approach to communal values as carriers of urban identity. Addressing culture today means moreover understanding diversity of life in urban context.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Creative industries have proved to be an effective tool to be utilised in the city branding as well as in the overall urban development. Still, the decision to invest in creative industries by the local government is often a tough one. The culprits are numerous: it is extremely difficult to prove the feasibility of the creative city development investment since practically no exact numbers exist. Research in the field of creative industries often relies only on mapping studies, estimates and good practice examples which often cannot be transferred to the Southeast European soil. This is mainly due to the inconsistent statistical measurements (especially in the National Classification of Activities) which prevent serious research to be performed. The statistical growth of the creative industries disguises the fact that many of those working there are either self-employed or dependent upon temporary project-based contracts, and the employment statistics are complicated by the complex definition of cultural work (Bilton, 2011, XIX). It is difficult to measure employment in the creative industries, because many apparently 'creative' occupations lie outside the so-called creative industries, and many 'non-

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3   Located outside the city centre.

-creative' jobs exist inside the creative industries (Bilton, 2011, 161).

Another issue which sometimes prevents investment in creative industries as resources for urban development lies in the difficulties connected to copy-pasting of the good practice examples. Not every foreign example can be transferred to any environment and this is why every city should develop its own methodologies for its own identification based on the creative industries which will then serve in the overall urban development.

As a part of global transition, people-citizens are submitted to radical change in ways of construction and expressing the identity, through technological means and social networks. Therefore, traditional directional, one-way approach to create one sign and one value to define a whole complexity of life and values in a city is often of no use, and a lack of citizens' identification with such communication programs is evident (Vukić, 2013).

So, if creative industry is a possible new way to economic and social welfare, is it not required that a concept of participative culture is embraced as a key element of creativity itself - developing the potential of each and every individual to create within the framework of the collective effort? Within such a concept a whole new approach to identity making is required, the approach which should enable each individual to contribute to the collective framework of values. To achieve such an approach, several steps are needed as a prerequisite:

- a change in identity design method from the directional "top-down" to the participative "bottom-up";
- more comprehensive identity research methods which should evaluate cultural heritage from contemporary interpretation perspective and do the mapping of contemporary identity values as a potential for development;
- the abandonment of the traditional "one slogan - one logo" approach and the establishment of the "identity system" approach.

Changes[4] which we witness in a today's world have huge impacts on how we produce, express, interpret, even consume culture. We know that creative excellence in the arts, media and entertainment industries can be used as a powerful symbol of the creativity and dynamism of the economy as a whole (Bilton, 2011, 160). Still, we are not prepared for it which is mainly visible in the local and national cultural policies that do not correspond to the new environment. Creativity is difficult; it is difficult to be defined, to be measured, to be relied upon for the economic development. Still, it is extremely powerful in stimulating changes in societies, organizations and in changing directions in management, not to mention positive changes it brings to individuals. It strongly influences our own identities as well as identities of smaller or larger groups of societies which can lead to the creative city development. Although identity can hardly be imposed top-down, the participative processes of the city branding leading to the urban development would capitalise from public policies (culture, economy, urban planning, tourism, education etc.) which accommodate the development based on symbolic values. This, however, requires paradigm changes within public policy frameworks. Policy makers, in this case, need to be creative even innovative as to generate new forms of policy discourse and governmental practice that reshape the institutional spaces and discursive practices within particular policy domains (Flew, 2012, 182).

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4   Technological development, budget constraints, broadening definitions of culture, globalisation, growing interes tin content industries, innovation policies, information abundance, copyright policies, etc. (Flew, 2012).

KREATIVNE INDUSTRIJE KOT NOSILKE URBANE IDENTITETE IN GIBALO RAZVOJA: OD USMERJEVALNEGA K SODELOVALNEMU ZNAMČENJU

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POVZETEK

Huda recesija v letih 2008 in 2009 je močno oslabila ekonomsko rast, zaposlovanje in kvaliteto življenja. Narekovala je razvoj učinkovitejšega sistema globalnega upravljanja kot tudi nove oblike lokalnega razvoja in sredstev zanj. Ker se je pokazalo, da so kreativne industrije odpornejše proti zunanjim pretresom, je veliko nosilcev odločanja usmerilo vlaganja vanje z namenom, da bi postale gonilo oživljanja in znamčenja mest. Ustvarjalni sektor je nosilec sodobne kulturne identitete določenega območja in v kreativni ekonomiji zaseda pomembno vlogo. Veliko zahodnih mest se je izkazalo za vodilne v tem procesu, tranzicijska pa so jih pogosto skušala posnemati. Cilj prispevka je ponuditi novo metodologijo ustvarjanja tako imenovanega »sistema identitete« skupnosti, ki se bo prilagodila določenemu območju, ne pa imitirala tuje vzorce. Omenjeno metodologijo smo uporabili pri raziskovanju identitete dveh hrvaških mest, Zagreba in Zadra. Pokazala je na očitne razkorake in vrzeli na več ravneh skupnostnega življenja: na neskladje med vizualno podobo turističnega oglaševanja in stvarnim urbanim prostorom, na razkorak med sliko mesta, ki je ponujena gostom in turistom, ter tem, kako sebe in svoje mesto vidijo njegovi prebivalci, na razhajanja med javnimi in zasebnimi interesi v fizičnem prostoru ter na semantično vrzel zasebnih interesov pri posredovanju kolektivne identitete. Takšna neskladja in pomanjkljivosti kažejo na simptom nezadostnega udejstvovanja in sodelovanja pri splošnem konceptu zastavljenih vrednot ter na pomanjkanje konsenza glede identitete mesta.

Hkrati pa lahko služijo kot izhodišče pri predlaganju ukrepov, ki bi jih bilo treba izvesti v procesu identifikacije mesta in posledično njegovega oživljanja, zasnovanega na kreativnih industrijah. V prispevku je tako predstavljen nov pristop h krajevnemu znamčenju, bistvo katerega je nadomeščanje tradicionalnega pristopa od vrha navzdol z bolj participativnimi strategijami. Poleg tega predlagamo metode celovitejšega raziskovanja identitete, ki kulturno dediščino vrednotijo z vidika sodobne interpretacije. Prispevek zaokroži temo s kritiko tradicionalnega pristopa »en slogan – en logotip«, ki ga nadomesti s pristopom preko »sistema identitete«. Slednji zahteva tudi spremembo paradigem v okviru javnih politik. Da bi bilo znamčenje in oživljanje mest uspešno, morajo biti oblikovalci politik ustvarjalni pri sprejemanju novih oblik politik in prakse, s katerimi je mogoče doseči cilje t. i. urbane regeneracije, zagotoviti stabilnost ustvarjalnega sektorja, meščane pa vključiti v procese soodločanja o razvoju njihovega mesta.

Ključne besede: kulturne in kreativne industrije, kreativna mesta, urbani razvoj, znamčenje, identiteta

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