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CHARACTERISTICS OF SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF CREATIVE INDUSTRIES IN LJUBLJANA AND THE LJUBLJANA REGION

ZNAČILNOSTI PROSTORSKE PORAZDELITVE KREATIVNIH DEJAVNOSTI V LJUBLJANI IN LJUBLJANSKI REGIJI

Matjaž Uršič

Creative industries are increasingly seen as a replacement of jobs lost in traditional industrial and service sectors.
Kreativne dejavnosti so nadomestilo izgubljenih delovnih mest v tradicionalnih industrijskih in storitvenih sektorjih .

Characteristics of spatial distribution of creative industries in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana region

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ABSTRACT: This article analyzes the key features of the spatial distribution of creative industries in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region. Special attention is devoted to analyzing factors that influence the concentration of individual branches of creative industries in specific locations. GIS tools were applied to evaluate factors that influence the distribution of creative activities. Simultaneously, the concept of central places is used to analyze variations of spatial clustering of creative enterprises. Data for the analysis were collected from the Slovenian Business Register (AJPES) and the Real Estate Register (GURS). The mapping of creative economies identifies patterns of concentration and reveals some locational disadvantages that have arisen due to the absence of clear development strategies regarding creative economies in Slovenia.

KEYWORDS: spatial distribution, creative industries, Ljubljana, Ljubljana urban region, central places

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1 Introduction

Due to global structural changes in trade and industrial production, creative industries are becoming an increasingly important segment of urban economies (Bairoch 1998; Landry and Bianchini 1995; Scott 2000). Creative industries, often referred to as the creative economies, are increasingly seen as a valuable tool for diversifying the local economic base and replacing jobs lost in traditional industrial and service sectors (Hesmondhalgh 2002; Howkins 2001). With the transition to the knowledge society, creativity obtained the status of utmost importance, and simultaneously the share of employees in creative industries is increasing (Bole 2008; Ravbar 2011). According to the United Nations (2010), creative economies in Europe are rising 12% faster than other forms of economies and currently provide around five million jobs in the European Union. According to the Institute for Economic Research (Murovec and Kavaš 2012), 39,193 individuals are currently employed in creative activities in Slovenia, with approximately 42% of all creative enterprises located in the Ljubljana urban region. It follows that urban areas are increasingly improving their locational advantages and creating an environment of micro-locations that have certain advantages for creative businesses and attract a highly skilled workforce (Ravbar, Bole and Nared 2005).

Advantages of individual locations for creative industries are reflected through various factors, ranging from the amount of rent for business premises, transport links, access to customers, and lifestyle orientations of employees, to the extent of social networks and proximity to socio-cultural activities and leisure. This article uses the term »*mapping of creative enterprises*« (Higgs and Cunningham 2008; Lazzeretti, Boix and Capone 2008) for analyzing the positioning of creative industries to evaluate some of the factors that affect the concentration of creative industries at specific locations in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region. The largest part of the creative sector is located in Ljubljana, which acts as a key node of the wider economic system that covers the entire country. Despite this important or leading economic role in the country, Ljubljana still does not have a profiled or appropriately designed orientation of development of creative industries at the local, regional, and national levels. Existing documents such as the Green Paper on Cultural and Creative Industries (EU 2010), the Strategy for the Development of Culture in the Municipality of Ljubljana 2012–2015 (2012), the Regional Development Program of the Ljubljana Urban Region 2007–2013 (2007), and the Recommendations of the Ninth Development Group for the Creative Industries to Increase the Competitiveness of Slovenia (2008) at present only interfere with the development of individual branches of the creative industries, and a comprehensive strategy is not fully formed. It is assumed that strategic ambiguities lead to the formation of specific patterns of spatial distribution of creative industries that are not optimal in terms of socio-economic development. This article analyzes data to highlight some of the locational disadvantages that arise from incompleteness in strategic development and inhibit the rapid development of creative industries in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region.

2 The concept of central places and spatial distribution of creative industries

When searching for affordable living and working conditions, innovative businesses and creative individuals apply the system of progressive elimination, or tapering of the most negative elements, and pursue the most suitable options that meet their development needs. In doing so, they rely on cost-benefit analysis and decide on a suitable location only when they feel satisfied with the majority of conditions that minimize unnecessary costs (Giddens 1984). Potential users of a site for creative industries rigorously assess all possible costs and do not only pay attention to the economic price for renting or purchasing the premises. For example, the cost of access to the market (consumers), transport accessibility, mental/emotional effort required to operate at the location, level of cultural heterogeneity, respect for diversity, openness of local culture, type of values, traditions, and so on are all elements evaluated by potential users. For potential users, each of these elements may represent a significant cost or inappropriate effort – or, on the other hand, comfort or relief – which may significantly affect its work and either discourage or attract it to the location. These are push/pull factors (Gottlieb 1994; Pareja et al. 2009) in attracting creative groups (Table 1).

Any suitable location for developing creative industries comprises a number of pull factors that successfully attract specific groups of people and companies. In doing so, it is important to emphasize that specific pull factors heavily depend on spatial planning strategies and incentives from the environment.

In environments or situations with spontaneous, unplanned development of creative industries, pull factors are formed on the basis of free market conditions. In such circumstances, creative activities accumulate along the lines of central places (Burger and Meijers 2012; Christaller 1966; Cigale 2002; Kokole 1971; Logan and Molotch 1987), which are characterized by the accumulation of resources and potentials at sites that have a lot of economic power and appropriate concentration of population. The oncept of central places is based on theories of urban systems and in a simplified form assumes that certain locations that have the advantage of exceptional natural accumulation of resources (people, institutions, and infrastructures) also more successfully cluster economic activities and services (Jaklič, Cotič Svetina and Zagoršek 2004; Nered 2005). Characteristics of central places are based on providing physical access to resources of sufficient size (population, consumers, and transport infrastructure) that maintain existing monopolistic relations in the urban system (Table 1).

Table 1: Characteristics of central places and dynamic networks of places (adapted from Batten 1995; Borja and Castells 1996; Hočevar 2000).

Category	Characteristics of central places	Characteristics of dynamic networks of places
Urban economy	Emphasis on size, scale (population, economy)	Emphasis on quality, flexibility (market, economy)
Regional relations	Monopoly, one-directional gravity	Dispersion, multiple centrality centrifugality, multi-way flows
Transportation policies	Emphasis on physical transport costs and mobility costs	Importance of information cost and exchange of information cost
Urban planning	Long term, limited, static planning	Long-term, dynamic, fragmented, and strategic planning
Urban cultures	Homogeneity	Heterogeneity
Integration	Vertical relationships, centrality	Horizontal relationships, nodality (networks)

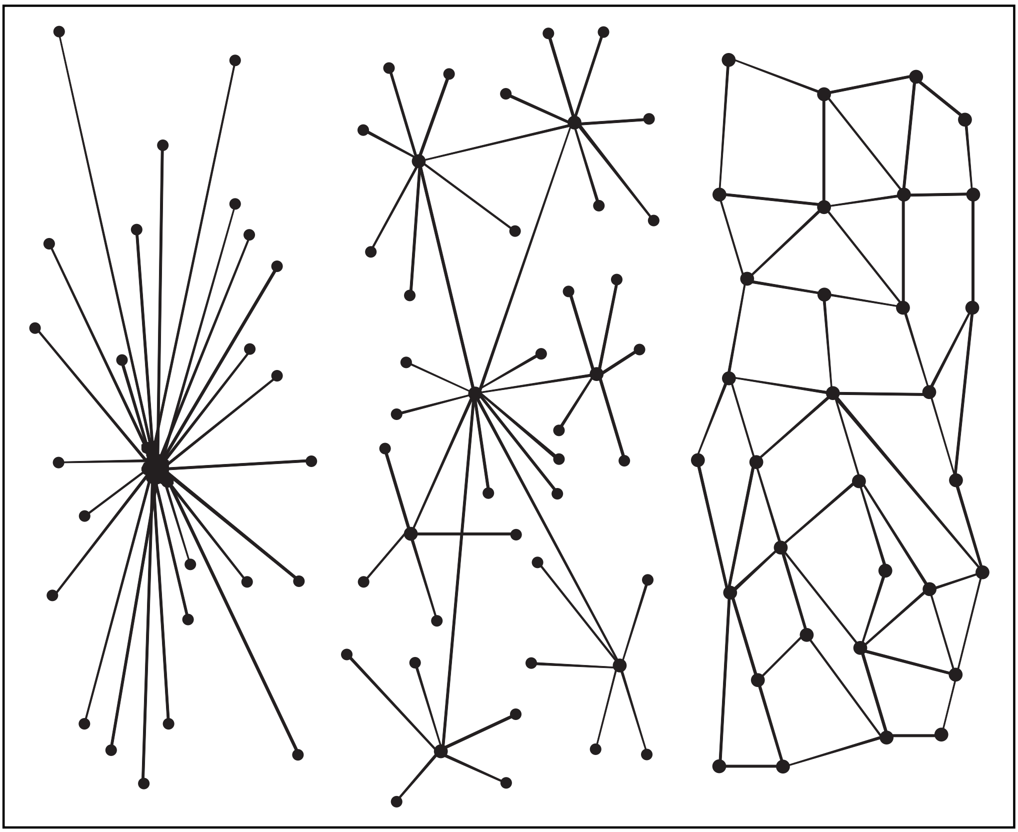


Figure 1: Schematic representation of centralization (first pattern), decentralization (second pattern), and distribution (third pattern).

Clusters of economic activities and services also supply the surrounding areas and are thus central places in the wider region. In some cases, the advantages of central places attract a greater number of people, allowing them to offer more specialized services and consequently develop faster. Differences in the speed of development presuppose that various central places have different strengths or ranges of influence. Spatial centrality refers to the degree to which the central location serves and supplies the surrounding areas. The theory of central places fundamentally presupposes a hierarchical spatial arrangement, in which either the central settlement or more distant central settlements with subcenters control a wider area (see the first and second patterns in Figure 1) and prevent more balanced development of different locations in the same area (the third pattern in Figure 1). From this perspective, the concept of central places has often been criticized as flawed (see, e.g., Batten 1995; Eaton and Lipsey 1982; Preston 1983) and does not sufficiently explain the new, more dynamic, networked, multi-central models of functional distribution (see also Table 1). The influence and centrality of local spaces in the postmodern global economy may rapidly change location and reduce the importance of proximity and direct physical accessibility of services or a large population (Mlinar 1994; Soja 2000).

The theory of central places can explain the clustering of creative industries in cases in which there exists a spontaneous, unplanned concentration of economies and services on the basis of absolute population size and combination of various infrastructure and government institutions. The distribution of creative industries in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region follows a typical hierarchical distribution of spontaneous accumulation of services and businesses based on the concept of central places. Creative industries are heavily concentrated in the city center, and smaller subcenters occasionally arise on the outskirts. In this respect, proximity is a decisive factor in the choice of location for creative industries. The size of the aggregated population and geographical placement of infrastructure in the historical and administrative center of the region provides access to a larger market (Kozina 2010). In the following section, the mapping method – which is used as an important analytical tool by a number of international development agencies (DCMS 2010; CCN 2010) and provides insight into the locational patterns of creative businesses – is used to present and analyze the key features of spontaneous hierarchical spatial distribution of creative industries in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region.

3 Methodology and research process

Mapping creative industries in the Ljubljana urban region is based on the Slovenian Business Register (AJPES) and the Slovenian Real Estate Register (GURS). It should be noted that the AJPES database does not allow accurate insight into the activities of employees and companies. These shortcomings were overcome in the study by combining data from different sources that made it possible to obtain credible insight into the current situation in the field. The key findings in the research were therefore obtained not only through data from AJPES records, but primarily through the use of a grounded theory approach (Glasser, 1998; Holt-Jensen 1988). After an analysis and comparison of multi-layer data, an inductive path was used to identify key trends, which may explain details reflected in the cartographic analysis of the locations of creative industries in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region.

The cartographic analysis included data from specific categories of economic activities (see Figure 1 and Annex 1), which were in line with the existing European NACE classification (see SKD, Standard Classification of Activities in the Republic of Slovenia, and NACE Rev. 2 2008) and have been previously identified as part of creative industries. ArcGIS software was used for mapping. Key creative industries included in the analysis were determined after a review of various definitions of creative and cultural industries (DCMS 2001; Eurostat 2007, 2010; KKIPS 2011), from which thirty-two categories of activities from the SKD classification (2008) were extracted.

The thirty-two categories of activities were then divided into eleven groups of creative industries, which were used for cartographic analysis of Ljubljana. The groups of creative industries are 1) advertising, 2) architecture, 3) art and antiques, 4) design, 5) video, film, and photography, 6) software, 7) visual and performing arts, and music, 8) arts creation, 9) publishing, 10) TV and radio, and 11) cultural institutions.

These groups cover specific characteristics of the local creative industries and include categories that are treated as separate groups in other countries (e.g., music). In this respect, creative industries are very flexible, multifaceted, and a broad concept that many authors interpret in a number of ways (DCMS 2001; Evans 2009; Fleming 2011; Florida 2002, 2005; Krätke 2010; Montgomery 2003; Peck 2005; Simmie 2006).

Uniform categorization of creative industries is therefore not clearly defined and is adapted to the specific local context. In this study, the classified categories were divided on the basis of access to data and range of information from previous studies related to creative industries in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region (Bunker 2010; IER 2012; IPoP 2011, 2012; MOL 2002; Second Chance 2011).

The cartographic analysis of creative industries based on the Standard Classification of Activities (2008) and AJPES database has certain shortcomings because it focuses on companies that primarily belong to general creative industries and thereby excludes a specific set of creative individuals that also work in creative fields but are employed in small sections of businesses that are not primarily defined as part of the creative industries (e.g., marketing and design departments of manufacturing companies, architects in construction companies, etc.). The statistics also exclude creative individuals and companies engaged in »border areas« of creative industries that do highly creative work associated with research and experimentation (e.g., institutes, companies involved in transport, environmental protection, etc.) but are statistically not included in the creative sector. The database is also deficient in recording the number of employees in creative businesses because it divides them into several classes (micro, small, medium, and large units) and does not provide accurate information on the concentration of creative individuals. The analysis therefore includes all creative businesses, irrespective of the number of employees. Consequently, whenever any specificities in the concentration of creative businesses were detected, they were specially marked in subsequent phases of cartographic analysis. A certain lack of accurate data on creative enterprises is understandable because of the unique characteristics of creative individuals: a highly mobile workforce with a dynamic working attitude and lifestyle orientations that require a high degree of social crosslinking (Clark 2004). Nevertheless, the analysis of combined creative industries made on the basis of SKD classification still allows credible insight into key sectors and the scope of certain branches of creative industries in the Ljubljana urban region (Table 2).

Table 2: Number and share of combined creative industries in the Ljubljana urban region based on the selection from the NACE classifications (Source: AJPES 2011; GURS 2011; IPoP 2012; SURS 2011; Žaucer et al.2012).

Creative industry	No. of firms (Ljubljana urban region)	Share (%) of creative industries (Ljubljana urban region)
Advertising	543	9.00
Architecture	879	14.50
Art and antiques	31	0.50
Design	392	6.50
Video, film and photography	477	7.90
Software	798	13.20
Visual and performing arts, music	515	8.50
Arts creation	1,682	27.80
Publishing	385	6.40
Radio and TV	130	2.10
Cultural institutions	228	3.80
Total	6,060	100.00

In order to improve the quality of information derived from the SKD classification (2008), the data in the study were further filtered at the level of local communities. Particular attention was paid to detecting and verifying the locations of the strongest creative centers or clusters, which are groups of mutually complementary, heterogeneous companies linked through production, consumers, suppliers, and other relationships to promote the circulation of information and economic growth in a particular area (see Landry 2000; Perrons 2004; Porter 1990; van Heur 2009).

4 Mapping analysis of creative businesses

4.1 Locational characteristics of creative industries in Ljubljana

The maps show the key densifications of creative industries in Municipality of Ljubljana. In the legend to Figure 2, the size of the dots represents the number of business units covered in the SKD classifications (2008).

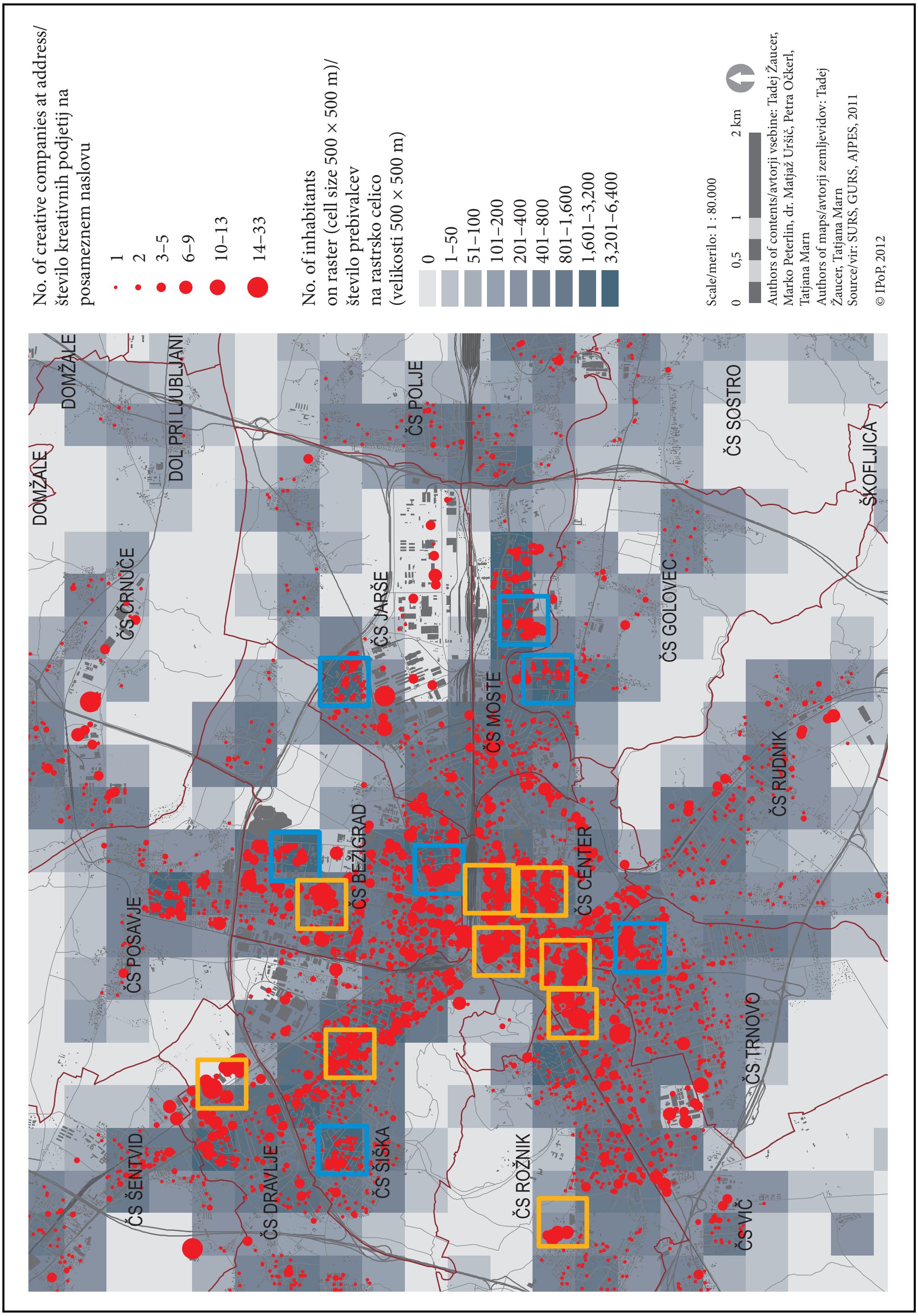


Figure 2: Distribution of enterprises from creative industries in the Municipality of Ljubljana.

Stronger concentrations of businesses in creative industries particularly stand out in areas around the city center – Rome Street (*Rimska cesta*), Mirje (Tobačna), Ajdovščina, Tabor, and Trubar Street (*Trubarjeva cesta*) – and along the city's arterial roads; for example, Vienna Street (*Dunajska cesta*) near the Mercator office building and the southern part of Bežigrad, and parts of Šiška along Klagenfurt Street (*Celovška cesta*). These areas are marked with yellow squares in Figure 2.

To a lesser extent, some individual areas or hotspots are noticeable outside the city center, created on the basis of various business opportunities (e.g., the Brdo Technology Park and the Stegne Industrial Zone). On the map areas of residential neighborhoods (e.g. Trnovo, Župančičeva Jama, and Fužine) are also noticeable where there are smaller concentrations of companies from creative industries. These are mostly groups of self-employed people (e.g., freelance journalists, artists, etc.) that are registered at addresses where business owners live. It should be noted that the figures do not say much about the activities of these companies. Only a detailed field analysis could assess their actual potential for development in the context of creative enterprises. These areas are therefore marked with blue squares in Figure 2.

The city center represents an extremely strong concentration of creative industries in the Municipality of Ljubljana and the total number of creative firms in this location far exceeds other parts of the city (see Figure 2). The colored background in Figure 3 shows the below-average (negative) or above-average proportion of firms in creative industries among all companies in the area. In particular branches of the creative industries, a stronger concentration is observed in specific urban areas. In the case of software production, peripheral locations such as Trzin, Domžale, and some outlying districts of Ljubljana (e.g. Črnuče, Dravlje, and Vič) stand out in the proportion of creative businesses, which may be explained by the lesser importance of micro-location for the development of these industries and the possibility of telecommuting (Toffler 1980). In contrast, the proportion of firms engaged in architecture is highest in the city center and areas adjacent to the city center (e.g., the Trnovo district). There are also differences in the structure of creative businesses between areas, with some locations being more attractive to core creative industries than culture-related industries. Such an example is the Municipality of Trzin, which is a strong business zone characterized by a high proportion of firms in computer software, complemented by architecture, design, and video, and relatively low shares of artistic creation, the visual and performing arts, and publishing.

4.2 Characteristics of creative industry locations in the Ljubljana urban region

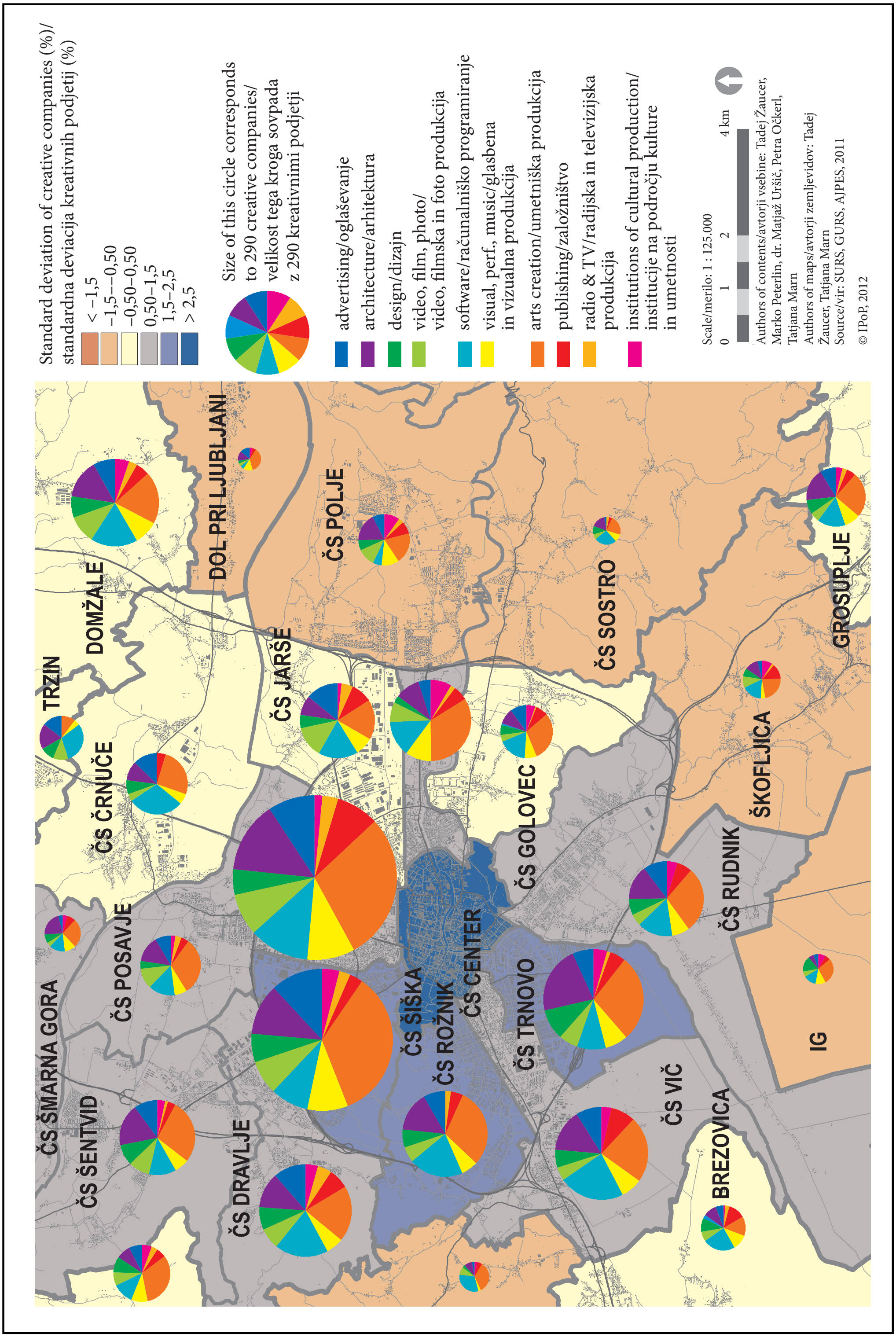
At the level of the Ljubljana urban region, the city of Ljubljana is a prominent center of creative industries in relation to smaller municipalities (e.g. Domžale, Kamnik, Grosuplje, and Vrhnika). The proportion of businesses in creative industries is much higher within the districts of Municipality of Ljubljana than in other municipalities in the Ljubljana urban region (Figure 4 and Annex 2).

In particular, compared to other municipalities in the Ljubljana urban region, the Municipality of Ljubljana stands out not only for its large share and number of creative enterprises, but also for an exceptional concentration of such businesses. The concentration of creative businesses in the Ljubljana urban region is shown in Figure 5, where the number of firms from creative industries is correlated and normalized by the number of residents in municipalities and city districts.

5 Conclusion

The mapping analysis of businesses shows that Ljubljana, as a large demographic agglomeration in the region, has a strong concentration of creative industries. From this perspective, the distribution of creative activities in the Municipality of Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region approaches the idea of »central places« and follows a typical hierarchical layout, in which the number of firms decreases proportionally from the city center towards the periphery or subcenters. In the case of Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region, the clustering of creative industries is largely dependent on the population size and number of transport links. Other factors, such as the cost of renting office space and general attractiveness of micro-locations, also influence clustering. A minimum number of creative industries is notable only in slightly more densely

Figure 3: Percentage of companies from various branches of creative industries in the Municipality of Ljubljana and the proportion of firms in creative industries based on the total number of companies in the Municipality of Ljubljana. ➤


ČS ŠMARNA GORA
ČS ŠENTVID
ČS DRAVLJE
ČS POSAVJE
TRZIN
ČS ČRNUČE
DOMŽALE
DOL PRI LJUBLJANI
ČS JARŠE
ČS POLJE
ČS ŠIŠKA
ČS ROŽNIK
ČS CENTER
ČS TRNOVO
ČS GOLOVEC
ČS SOSTRO
ČS VIČ
ČS RUDNIK
ŠKOFLJICA
GROSUPLJE
BREZOVICA
IG
Standard deviation of creative companies (%)/
standardna deviacija kreativnih podjetij (%)
< –1,5
–1,5–-0,50
–0,50–0,50
0,50–1,5
1,5–2,5
> 2,5
Size of this circle corresponds
to 290 creative companies/
velikost tega kroga sovpada
z 290 kreativnimi podjetji
advertising/oglaševanje
architecture/arhitektura
design/dizajn
video, film, photo/
video, filmska in foto produkcija
software/računalniško programiranje
visual, perf., music/glasbena
in vizualna produkcija
arts creation/umetniška produkcija
publishing/založništvo
radio & TV/radijska in televizijska
produkcija
institutions of cultural production/
institucije na področju kulture
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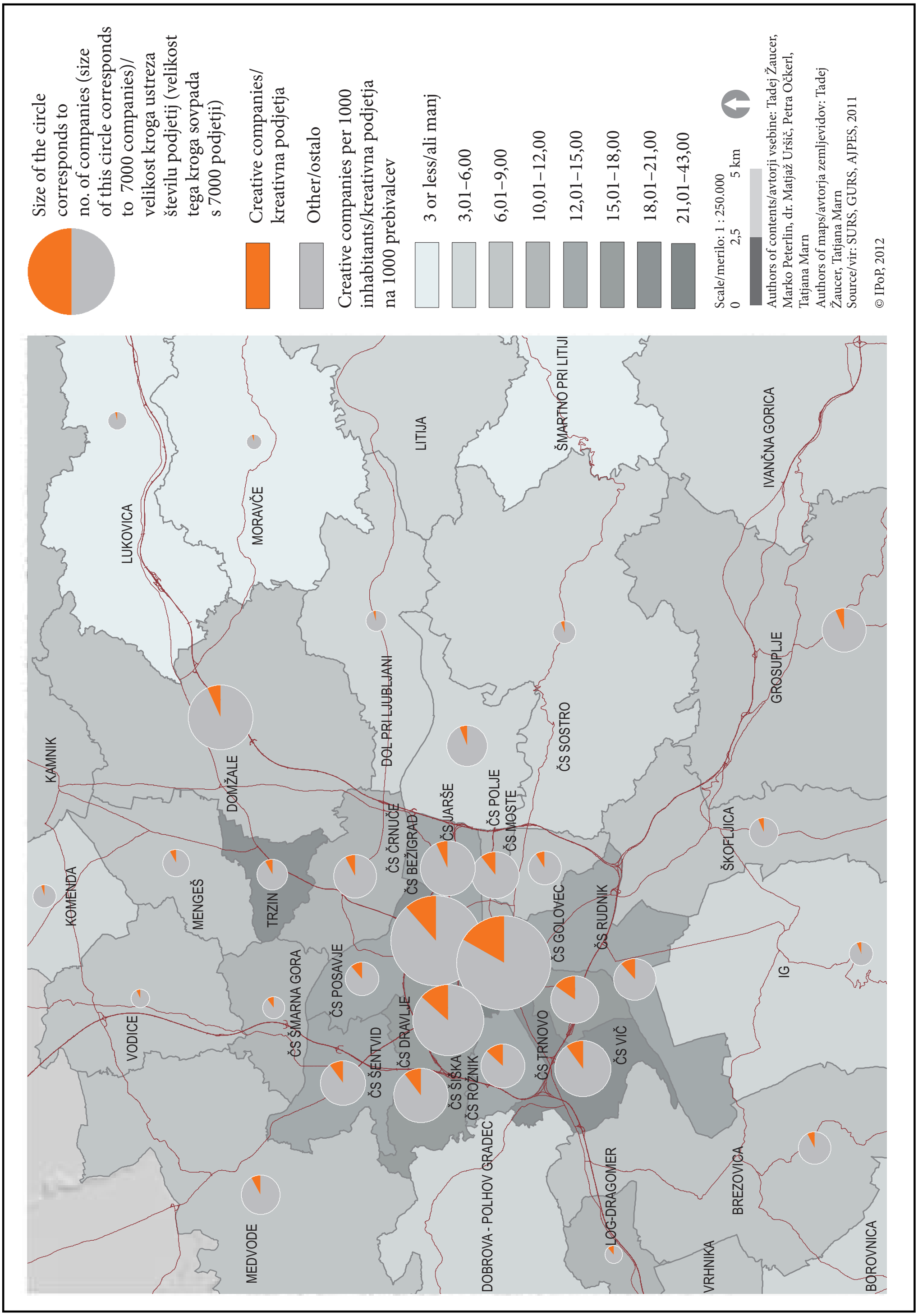

Figure 4: Overall proportion of firms in creative industries in relation to the total number of firms by municipalities in the Ljubljana urban region.

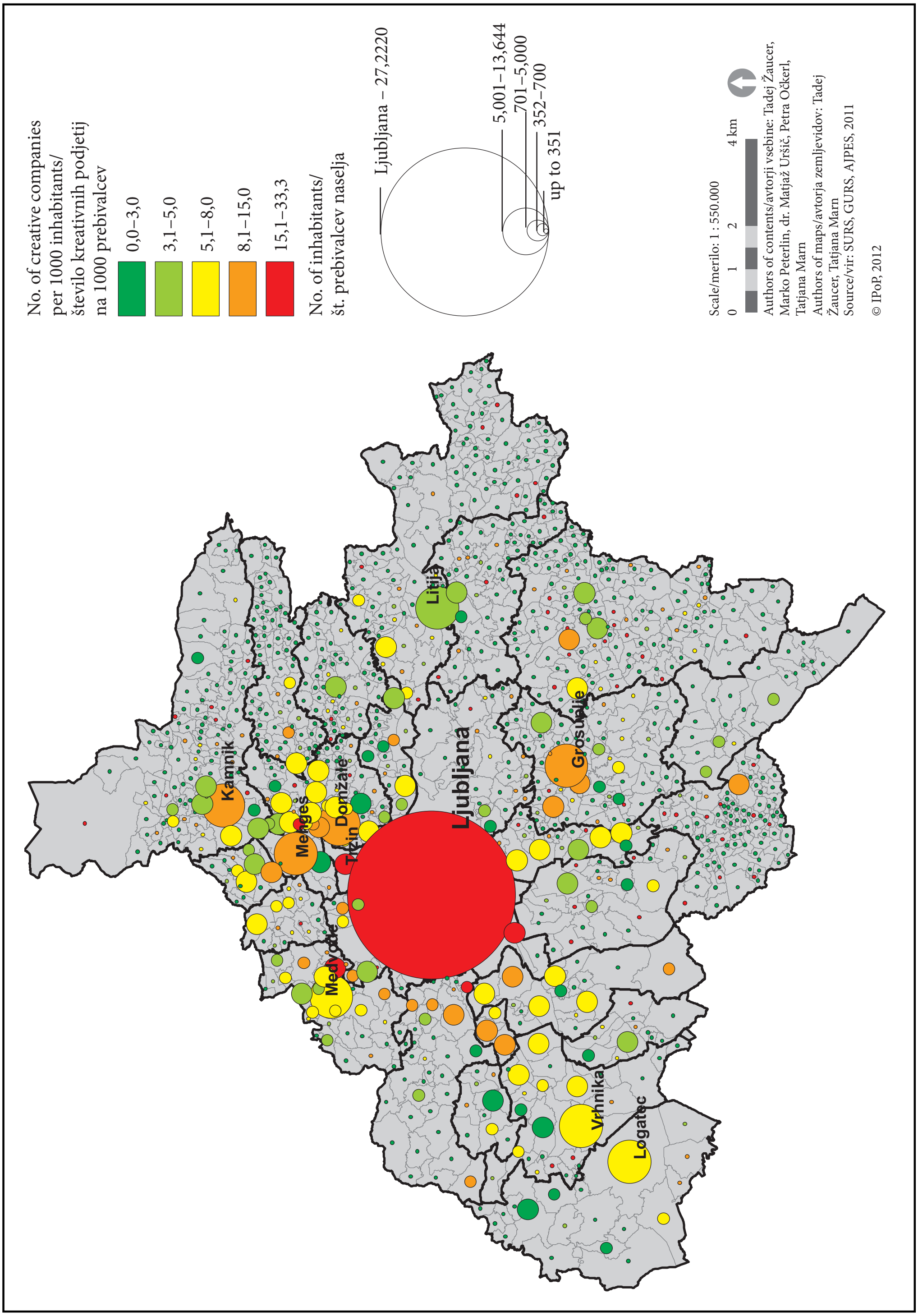

Figure 5: Concentration of business in creative industries correlated with the number of people in the Ljubljana urban region.

populated subcenters along the main roads. The best ratio between the population and creative enterprises is in Trzin, which is also well connected through transport, and the lowest ratio is characteristic for more distant subcenters such as Litija, Logatec, and Vrhnika.

Hierarchical or uneven spatial distribution of companies in creative industries decreases the functional heterogeneity of creative industries. In such circumstances, the ones that perform best are industries with quick access to a large market and hinterland from which they draw the necessary human resources. Only sectors of creative industries that are able to spontaneously respond to the needs of major business and commercial companies are successful, whereas specialized branches of creative industries are developing very slowly (e.g. radio and television, software, film and photography, design, art, and the antiques market). This situation could be described as the entropic dimension of the socioeconomic system (see Kirn 2008), in which the energy or actors and companies associated with the development of creative industries accumulate in specific locations, but at the risk that, after a certain period of time, potentially successful creative industries will lose their initial drive or even cease operations due to a poor economic base, lack of incentives from the environment, or the inability to upgrade their activities because of limited spatial, social, or human resources.

Over-dependence of creative industries on the market creates hierarchization at the level of choice of locations and types of creative industries in Ljubljana and the Ljubljana urban region. The effects of this hierarchy are reflected in low spatial and functional diversification of creative industries. Such spontaneous or incrementalistic development does not promote creative industries in a global context, but only responds to the current situation in the locally confined (regional) market. Further development of creative industries should therefore be based on strategies that facilitate access to adequate resources (financial incentives, services, and facilities) and infrastructures for specialized sectors of creative industries, which are present in the form of small nucleuses outside the city center and offer the greatest potential for further creative clustering and urban regeneration. Increasing access to the basic resources needed to develop certain types of creative industries would also increase the chances for a developmental breakthrough and business expansion.

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Značilnosti prostorske porazdelitve kreativnih dejavnosti v Ljubljani in Ljubljanski regiji

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IZVLEČEK: Članek analizira ključne značilnosti prostorske porazdelitve kreativnih dejavnosti v Ljubljani in Ljubljanski urbani regiji. Posebna pozornost je namenjena analizi vzrokov zgoščevanja posameznih vej kreativnih dejavnosti na specifičnih lokacijah. Pri ovrednotenju dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na razporeditev kreativnih dejavnosti, se opiramo na uporabo GIS orodij. Pri tem so prek koncepta centralnih krajev analizirani načini prostorskega grozdenja kreativnih podjetij. Podatki za analizo so zajeti iz Poslovnega registra Slovenije (AJPES) in Registra nepremičnin in hišnih številk ter teritorialnih enot (GURS). Metoda t. i. »kartiranja« (mapping) kreativnih ekonomij identificira vzorce zgoščevanja kreativnih dejavnosti in razkriva nekatere lokacijske pomanjkljivosti, ki so nastale ob odsotnosti jasnih razvojnih strategij kreativnih ekonomij v Sloveniji.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: prostorska porazdelitev, kreativne dejavnosti, Ljubljana, Ljubljanska urbana regija, centralni kraji

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1 Uvod

Zaradi globalnih strukturnih sprememb na področju trgovine in industrijske produkcije postajajo kreativne dejavnosti vse pomembnejši segment mestnih ekonomij (Bairoch 1998; Landry in Bianchini 1995; Scott 2000). Kreativne dejavnosti, pogosto poimenovane tudi kreativne ekonomije in kreativne industrije so vedno bolj obravnavane kot dragoceno orodje za diverzifikacijo lokalne gospodarske osnove in nadomestilo izgubljenih delovnih mest v tradicionalnih industrijskih in storitvenih sektorjih (Hesmondhalgh 2002; Howkins 2001). Kreativnost pridobiva s prehodom v družbo znanja izreden pomen, pri čemer se povečuje tudi delež zaposlenih v kreativnih panogah (Bole 2008; Ravbar 2011). Po podatkih Združenih narodov (2010) kreativne ekonomije v Evropi naraščajo 12 odstotkov hitreje od ostalih oblik ekonomij in trenutno zagotavljajo približno pet milijonov zaposlitev Evropski uniji. Po podatkih Inštituta za ekonomske raziskave (Murovec in Kavaš 2012) je v Sloveniji v kreativnih dejavnostih trenutno zaposlenih 39.193 posameznikov, pri čemer približno 42 % vseh kreativnih podjetij leži v Ljubljanski urbani regiji. Iz navedenega izhaja, da urbana območja vedno bolj stremijo k izpopolnjevanju svojih lokacijskih prednosti in ustvarjanju okolja oziroma mikrolokacij, ki imajo določene prednosti za kreativna podjetja ter privabljajo visokokvalificirano delovno silo (Ravbar, Bole in Nared 2005).

Prednosti posameznih lokacij za kreativne dejavnosti se zrcalijo skozi različne dejavnike, ki segajo od višine najemnin poslovnih prostorov, prometnih povezav, dostopa do strank, življenjsko-stilskih orientacij zaposlenih do obsega socialnih omrežij ter bližine družbeno-kulturnih in prostočasovnih dejavnosti. V članku bomo prek t. i. »kartiranja kreativnih podjetij« (Higgs in Cunningham 2008; Lazzeretti, Boix in Capone 2008) ali analize pozicioniranja kreativnih dejavnosti ovrednotili nekatere dejavnike, ki vplivajo na zgoščevanje kreativnih dejavnosti na posameznih lokacijah v Ljubljani in mestni regiji. Velika večina kreativnega sektorja je v Ljubljani, ki deluje kot ključno vozlišče širšega ekonomskega sistema, ki pokriva celotno državo. Kljub tej pomembni, vodilni gospodarski vlogi v državi, Ljubljana še vedno nima profiliranih oziroma ustrezno izoblikovanih usmeritev razvoja kreativnih industrij na lokalnem, regionalnem in državnem nivoju. Obstoječi dokumenti, kot so na primer Zelena knjiga – Izkoriščanje potenciala kulturnih in ustvarjalnih industrij (EU 2010), Strategija razvoja kulture v Mestni občini Ljubljana 2012–2015 (2012), Regionalni razvojni program Ljubljanske urbane regije 2007–2013 (2007), Priporočila 9. razvojne skupine za kreativne industrije za povečanje konkurenčnosti Slovenije (2008), zaenkrat posegajo v razvoj zgolj posameznih vej kreativnih dejavnosti, medtem ko celostna strategija na tem področju ni popolnoma izoblikovana. Pri tem predpostavljamo, da strateške nedorečenosti vodijo v oblikovanje specifičnih vzorcev prostorske razporeditve kreativnih dejavnosti, ki niso najbolj optimalne z vidika družbeno-ekonomskega razvoja. V članku bomo na podlagi analiziranih podatkov skušali izpostaviti nekatere izmed teh lokacijskih pomanjkljivosti, ki izhajajo iz strateško-razvojnih nedorečenosti in zavirajo hitrejši razvoj kreativnih dejavnosti v Ljubljani in ljubljanski regiji.

2 Koncept centralnih krajev in prostorska porazdelitev kreativnih dejavnosti

Kreativna podjetja in ustvarjalni posamezniki pri iskanju ugodnih bivalnih in delovnih pogojev uporabljajo sistem postopnega izločanja (angl. *tappering*) najbolj negativnih elementov in stremljenju k izbiri najprimernejših možnosti za zadovoljitev razvojnih potreb. Pri tem se opirajo na analizo koristi in stroškov ter se odločijo za izbiro lokacije šele takrat, ko se jim zazdi, da je zadovoljeno večini pogojev in so minimalizirani nepotrebni stroški (Giddens 1984). Potencialni uporabniki lokacije za kreativne industrije pri tem strogo ocenjujejo vse mogoče stroške in ne le ekonomske cene najema/nakupa prostorov. Za potencialne uporabnike strošek lahko na primer predstavlja tudi dostop do trga (potrošnikov), prometna dostopnost, psihični/emocionalni napor, ki je potreben za delovanje na lokaciji, ali pa stopnja kulturne heterogenosti, upoštevanje in spoštovanje različnosti, zaprtosti/odprtosti lokalne kulture, vrednot, tradicije in tako dalje. Vsak izmed naštetih elementov lahko za potencialne uporabnike lokacije predstavlja pomemben strošek, napor/ugodje, olajšavo, ki lahko bistveno vpliva na njegovo delo in ga bodisi odvrača od lokacijo bodisi privlači. Gre za t. i. dejavnike odbijanja/privlačnosti (ang. *push/pull factors*; Gottlieb 1994; Pareja in ostali 2009) pri privabljanju kreativnih skupin (preglednica 1).

Vsaka primerna lokacija za razvoj kreativnih dejavnosti vsebuje neko število privlačnostnih dejavnikov, s katerimi uspešno privablja specifične skupine ljudi in podjetij. Pri tem poudarjamo, da so posamezni dejavniki privlačnosti močno odvisni od strategij prostorskega načrtovanja in spodbud iz okolja. V okolju oziroma v razmerah, kjer prihaja do spontanega, nenačrtovanega razvoja kreativnih dejavnosti, se privlačnostni dejavniki izoblikujejo na podlagi prostih tržnih razmer. V takih okoliščinah se kreativne dejavnosti kopičijo po vzoru centralnih krajev (Burger in Meijers 2012; Christaller 1966; Cigale 2002; Kokole 1971; Logan in Molotch 1987), za katere je značilno kopičenje resursov in potencialov zgolj na lokacijah, ki imajo veliko ekonomsko moč in ustrezno število prebivalstva. Koncept centralnih krajev izhaja iz teorij urbanih sistemov in v poenostavljeni obliki predpostavlja, da na določenih lokacijah, ki imajo prednost izredne fizične akumulacije resursov (prebivalstva, institucij, infrastruktur), prihaja tudi do grozdenja ekonomskih dejavnosti in storitev (Jaklič, Cotič Svetina in Zagoršek; Nered 2005). Značilnosti centralnih krajev temeljijo na zagotavljanju fizičnega dostopa do dovolj velikih resursov (prebivalstva, potrošnikov, prometne infrastrukture), s katerimi se ohranjajo obstoječa monopolna razmerja v urbanem sistemu (preglednica 1).

Preglednica 1: Značilnosti centralnih krajev in dinamičnih omrežij krajev (prirejeno po Batten 1995; Borja in Castells 1996; Hočevar 2000).

	značilnosti centralnih krajev	značilnosti dinamičnih omrežij krajev
urbana ekonomija	poudarek na velikosti, obsegu (prebivalstva, ekonomij)	poudarek na kvaliteti, fleksibilnosti (trga, ekonomij)
regionalni odnosi	monopol, enosmerna gravitacija	razpršenost, večjedrnost, centrifugalnost, večsmerni tokovi
transportne usmeritve	poudarek na fizičnem transportu in stroških mobilnosti	pomen informacijskih stroškov in izmenjave informacij
urbano načrtovanje	dolgoročno, zamejeno, statično načrtovanje	dolgoročno-dinamično-fragmentirano in strateško načrtovanje
urbane kulture	homogenost	heterogenost
povezovanje	vertikalna razmerja, centralnost (središčnost)	horizontalna razmerja, vozliščnost (omrežje)

Grozdi dejavnosti s svojo ponudbo in servisi oskrbujejo tudi okoliška območja in so na ta način centralni kraji širše regije. V določenih primernih lahko centralni kraji zaradi svojih lokacijskih prednosti privabljajo večje število ljudi, ponujajo več specializiranih servisov in se posledično hitreje razvijajo. Razlike v hitrosti razvoja predpostavljajo tudi različno moč oziroma obseg vplivnih območij centralnih krajev. S prostorsko centralnostjo označujemo stopnjo, do katere centralna lokacija služi in oskrbuje okoliška območja. Teorija centralnih krajev v temelju predpostavlja hierarhično prostorsko ureditev, kjer bodisi centralno naselje bodisi več medsebojno primerno oddaljenih centralnih naselij s subcentri obvladuje širše območje (shemi a in b na sliki 1) ter preprečuje bolj uravnotežen razvoj različnih lokacij v istem območju (shema c na sliki 1). S tega vidika so koncept centralnih krajev pogosto kritizirali (glej npr. Batten 1995; Eaton in Lipsey 1982; Preston 1983) kot pomanjkljiv in naj bi v nezadostni meri pojasnjeval nove, bolj dinamične, mrežne, multijedrne modele razporeditve funkcij in krajevnih pomembnosti (glej tudi preglednico 1), ki v postmodernih globalnih ekonomijah lahko zelo hitro menjajo lokacije ter zmanjšujejo pomen neposredne dostopnosti oziroma fizične bližine servisov in storitev ter velikega števila prebivalstva (Mlinar 1994; Soja 2000).

Slika 1: Shematski prikaz centralizacije (prva shema), decentralizacije (druga shema) in distribucije (tretja shema).
Glej angleški del prispevka.

S teorijo centralnih krajev lahko pojasnimo grozdenje kreativnih dejavnosti v primerih, kjer prihaja do spontanega, nenačrtovanega zgoščevanja dejavnosti na osnovi absolutne velikosti populacije ter prepleta različnih infrastruktur in državnih institucij. Razporeditev kreativnih dejavnosti v Ljubljani in ljubljanski regiji sledi tipični hierarhični razporeditvi spontane akumulacije storitev in podjetij, ki temelji na konceptu centralnih krajev. Kreativne dejavnosti se močno zgoščajo v središčih mest, na obrobju pa občasno nastajajo manjši subcentri. Kot prednostni dejavnik izbire lokacije za kreativne dejavnosti v tem pogledu izstopa bližina čim večjega tržišča oziroma velikost agregirane populacije ter geografska umestitev v infrastrukturno, historično, upravno središče regije (Kozina 2010). Z metodo kartiranja, ki ga kot pomemben pripomoček uporablja vrsta mednarodnih razvojnih agencij (DCMS 2010; CCN 2010) in daje vpogled v vzorce lociranja kreativnih podjetij in s tem povezane prostorske koncentracije, bodo v nadaljevanju prikazane in analizirane ključne značilnosti spontane hierarhične prostorske razporeditve kreativnih dejavnosti v Ljubljani in ljubljanski regiji.

3 Metodologija in raziskovalni proces

Kartiranje kreativnih industrij v Ljubljanski urbani regiji temelji na podatkih Poslovnega registra Slovenije (AJPES) in Registra nepremičnin in hišnih številk ter teritorialnih enot (GURS). Pri tem moramo omeniti pomanjkljivosti, ki izhajajo iz baze AJPES, saj ne omogoča natančnega vpogleda v aktivnosti zaposlenih in podjetja. Navedene pomanjkljivosti smo v raziskavi premostili s kombiniranjem podatkov iz različnih virov in na ta način pridobiti verodostojen vpogled v obstoječo situacijo na terenu. Do ključnih ugotovitev smo torej v raziskavi prišli ne le prek podatkov iz evidenc AJPES-a, temveč predvsem z uporabo temeljne analize (ang. *grounded theory*; Glasser 1998; Holt-Jensen 1988), kjer smo na podlagi analize in primerjave večplastnih podatkov po induktivni poti prešli k splošni obravnavi in identifikaciji ključnih trendov, s katerimi lahko pojasnjujemo posebnosti, ki odsevajo v kartografski analizi lokacij kreativnih dejavnosti v Ljubljani in Ljubljanski urbani regiji.

V kartografsko analizo so bili zajeti podatki iz specifičnih kategorij gospodarskih dejavnosti (glej prilogo 1), ki so bile usklajene z veljavno evropsko klasifikacijo NACE (glej SKD – standardna klasifikacija dejavnosti v RS in NACE Rev. 2 2008) in smo jih predhodno opredelili kot del kreativnih dejavnosti. Za izdelavo zemljevidov smo uporabili program ArcGIS. Ključne kreativne dejavnosti, ki so bile vključene v analizo, smo določili po pregledu različnih definicij kreativnih in kulturnih industrij (DCMS 2001; Eurostat 2007, 2010; KKIPS 2011), na podlagi katerih smo izluščili 32 kategorij dejavnosti iz klasifikacije SKD (2008).

Nadalje smo 32 kategorij dejavnosti razdelili v enajst skupin kreativnih dejavnosti, ki smo jih uporabili za potrebe kartografske analize v Ljubljani. Skupine kreativnih dejavnosti obsegajo 1) oglaševanje, 2)arhitekturo, 3) prodajo umetnin in starin, 4) oblikovanje, 5)video, film in fotografijo, 6) računalniško programiranje, 7) vizualne in scenske umetnosti, glasbo, 8) umetniško ustvarjanje, 9) založništvo, 10) radijsko in TV-dejavnost ter 11) kulturne ustanove.

Navedene skupine pokrivajo krajevne specifične značilnosti kreativnih dejavnosti in vključujejo tudi kategorije, ki jih v drugih državah obravnavajo kot samostojne skupine (npr. glasba). Kreativne dejavnosti so v tem pogledu zelo fleksibilen, večplasten in širok koncept, ki ga različni akterji različno opredeljujejo (DCMS 2001; Evans 2009; Fleming 2011; Florida 2002, 2005; Krätke 2010; Montgomery 2003; Peck 2005; Simmie 2006). Enotna porazdelitev kreativnih dejavnosti zato ni jasno določena in je prirejena specifičnemu lokalnemu kontekstu. V raziskavi smo klasificirane kategorije razdelili na podlagi dostopa do podatkov in nabora informacij iz predhodnih raziskav, ki se navezujejo na kreativne dejavnosti v Ljubljani in Ljubljanski urbani regiji (Bunker 2010; IER 2012; Ipop 2011, 2012; MOL 2002; Second Chance 2011).

Navedena kartografska analiza kreativnih dejavnosti, ki izhaja iz standardne klasifikacije dejavnosti (2008) in črpa podatke iz baze AJPES, ima določene pomanjkljivosti, saj se osredotoča na podjetja, ki prvenstveno spadajo med kreativne industrije, in s tem izloča določen del kreativnih posameznikov, ki delajo na kreativnih področjih, vendar so zaposleni v manjših oddelkih podjetjih, ki se prvenstveno ne ukvarjajo s kreativnimi industrijami (npr. marketinški in oblikovalski oddelki proizvodnih podjetij, arhitekti v gradbenih podjetjih ipd.). V statistiko prav tako niso zajeti kreativni posamezniki in podjetja, ki se ukvarjajo z »mejnimi področji« kreativnih industrij in delajo na visoko kreativnih delovnih mestih, ki so povezana z raziskovalnim in eksperimentalnim delom (npr. inštituti, podjetja s področja prometa, varovanja okolja ipd.), vendar prvenstveno statistično niso zajeta v kreativni sektor. Baza je pomanjkljiva tudi pri beleženju števila zaposlenih v kreativnih podjetjih, saj pozna delitev v več razredov (mikro, majhne, srednje in velike enote) in ne poda točne informacije o koncentraciji kreativnih posameznikov. V analizo smo zato zajeli vsa kreativna podjetja, ne glede na število zaposlenih pri čemer smo v nadaljnjih fazah oziroma pri kartografskem prikazu posebej označevali območja, kjer so bile zaznane posebnosti pri koncentraciji kreativnih podjetij. Določen manko natančnih podatkov o kreativnih podjetjih je razumljiv, saj gre za težje »ujemljivo« – visoko mobilno delovno silo z dinamičnim načinom dela ter življenjsko-stilskimi orientacijami, ki zahtevajo visoko stopnjo družbene omreženosti (Clark 2004). Analizirani deleži v kombiniranih panogah kreativnih industrij, izdelani na podlagi SKD kljub temu omogočajo relativno verodostojen vpogled v ključne sektorje ter obseg določenih vej kreativnih dejavnosti na območju Ljubljanske urbane regije (preglednica 2).

V raziskavi smo za izboljšanje kakovosti zbranih informacij, ki izhajajo iz klasifikacij SKD (2008), podatke še dodatno filtrirali na ravni četrtnih skupnosti, pri čemer smo posebno pozornost namenili zaznavi in preverjanju lokacij močnejših kreativnih jeder oziroma grozdov, ki so skupine medsebojno dopolnjujočih, heterogenih podjetij, povezanih prek proizvodnje, potrošnika, dobavitelja in drugih razmerij, s katerimi spodbujajo kroženje informacij in ekonomsko rast na določenem območju (glej npr. Landry 2000; Perrons 2004; Porter 1990; van Heur 2009).

Preglednica 2: Število in deleži v kombiniranih panogah kreativnih dejavnosti na območju Ljubljanske urbane regije glede na izbor iz klasifikacij SKD (Vir: Ajpes 2011; Ipop 2012; Gurs 2011; Surs 2011; Žaucer in ostali 2012).

	število podjetij (Ljubljanska urbana regija)	delež v kreativnih industrijah (%) (Ljubljanska urbana regija)
A oglaševanje	543	9,00
B arhitektura	879	14,50
C prodaja umetnin in starin	31	0,50
D oblikovanje design	392	6,50
E video, film in fotografija	477	7,90
F računalniško programiranje	798	13,20
G vizualne in uprizoritvene umetnosti, glasba	515	8,50
H umetniško ustvarjanje	1682	27,80
I založništvo	385	6,40
J radio in TV	130	2,10
K kulturne ustanove	228	3,80
VSOTA	6060	100,00

4 Analiza kartiranja kreativnih podjetij

4.1 Značilnosti lokacij kreativnih dejavnosti v Ljubljani

Na kartah so prikazane ključne zgostitve kreativnih dejavnosti na območju Mestne občine Ljubljana. V legendi na sliki 2 velikost pike predstavlja število poslovnih enot, ki so bile zajete prek klasifikacij SKD (2008). Močnejše zgostitve podjetij v kreativnih dejavnostih izstopajo zlasti na območjih v mestnem središču (Rimska ulica, Mirje (Tobačna), Ajdovščina, Tabor, Trubarjeva ulica) in ob mestnih vpadnicah (Dunajska cesta v bližini poslovne stavbe Mercator in južni del Bežigrada, del Šiške ob Celovški cesti). Ta območja so na sliki 2 označena z rumenimi kvadrati.

Slika 2: Porazdelitev podjetij s področja kreativnih dejavnosti v Mestni občini Ljubljana.
Glej angleški del prispevka.

V manjši meri so opazna še posamezna območja oziroma žarišča zunaj centra, ki so nastala na podlagi različnih poslovnih priložnosti (npr. Tehnološki park Brdo, industrijska cona Stegne). Na karti so opazna tudi nekatera območja stanovanjskih sosesk (npr. Trnovo, Župančičeva jama, Fužine), kjer prihaja do manjših koncentracij podjetij v kreativnih dejavnostih. Gre pretežno za skupine samozaposlenih v dejavnostih (npr. samostojni novinar, kultura), ki so registrirane na naslovnih, kjer lastniki podjetij stanujejo. Pri tem velja poudariti, da podatki ne povedo veliko o aktivnostih teh podjetij. Šele s podrobno terensko analizo bi lahko ocenili njihov dejanski razvojni potencial v kontekstu kreativnih podjetij. Ta območja so zato na sliki 2 označena z modrimi kvadrati.

Mestno središče predstavlja izredno močno koncentracijo kreativnih dejavnosti v MOL in po skupnem številu kreativnih podjetij močno presega ostale dele mesta (glej prilogo 2). Na sliki 3 je s pomočjo barvnih podlag prikazan podpovprečni (negativen) ali nadpovprečni delež podjetij s področja kreativnih industrij med vsemi podjetji na območju. Pri posameznih kreativnih panogah opažamo močnejše zgoščevanje v specifičnih mestnih predelih. V primeru proizvodnje računalniške programske opreme obrobne lokacije kot so Trzin, Domžale ter obrobne ljubljanske četrti (Črnuče, Dravlje, Vič) precej bolj izstopajo glede na delež kreativnih podjetij, kar lahko pojasnjujemo z manjšim pomenom mikrolokacije za razvoj tovrstnih dejavnosti in možnostjo »dela na daljavo« (Toffler 1980). V nasprotju s tem je delež podjetij, ki se ukvarjajo z arhitekturno panogo najvišji v mestnem središču in območjih, ki mejijo na mestno središče (npr. četrtna skupnost Trnovo). Med posameznimi območji prihaja tudi do razlik v strukturi kreativnih podjetij, pri čemer so nekatere lokacije privlačnejše za jedrne kreativne industrije kot pa za t. i. kulturne industrije. Tako je na primer za Trzin, kjer je močna poslovna cona, značilen visok delež podjetij s področja računalniškega programiranja, ki ga dopolnjujejo panoge arhitekture, oblikovanja, videa ter relativno nizki deleži podjetij umetniškega ustvarjanja, vizualnih in scenskih umetnosti, založništva.

Slika 3: Delež podjetij po posameznih panogah kreativnih dejavnosti v MOL in delež podjetij v kreativnih dejavnostih glede na skupno število podjetij v MOL.
Glej angleški del prispevka.

4.2 Značilnosti lokacij kreativnih dejavnosti v Ljubljanski urbani regiji

Na ravni Ljubljanske urbane regije predstavlja mesto Ljubljana v razmerju do manjših občin (npr. Domžale, Kamnik, Grosuplje, Vrhnika) izrazit center kreativnih dejavnosti. Delež podjetij v panogah kreativnih dejavnosti v četrtnih skupnostih MOL močno presega deleže v drugih občinah Ljubljanske urbane regije (slika 4 in priloga 2).

Slika 4: Skupni delež podjetij v panogah kreativnih dejavnosti glede na število vseh podjetij po občinah v Ljubljanski urbani regiji.
Glej angleški del prispevka.

Posebej poudarjamo, da MOL v primerjavi z ostalimi občinami Ljubljanske urbane regije ne izstopa le po velikem deležu in akumulaciji kreativnih podjetij, temveč tudi izjemni zgoščenosti tovrstnih poslovnih subjektov. Zgoščenost kreativnih podjetij v Ljubljanski urbani regiji je prikazana na sliki 5, kjer je število subjektov kreativnih industrij korelirano oziroma normalizirano s številom prebivalcev v občinah in četrtnih skupnostih.

Slika 5: Zgoščenost poslovnih subjektov s področja kreativnih dejavnosti glede na korelacijo s številom prebivalstva v Ljubljanski urbani regiji.
Glej angleški del prispevka.

5 Sklep

Analiza kartiranja poslovnih subjektov s področja kreativnih dejavnosti kaže, da se Ljubljana kot velika prebivalstvena aglomeracija v Ljubljanski urbani regiji ujema z izrazito močno koncentracijo kreativnih industrij. S tega vidika se razporeditev kreativnih dejavnosti v MOL in Ljubljanski urbani regiji približuje ideji »centralnih krajev« in tipični hierarhični razporeditvi, kjer se število podjetij sorazmerno zmanjšuje iz mestnega središča proti periferiji oziroma subcentrom. Grozdenje kreativnih dejavnosti je v primeru Ljubljane in Ljubljanske urbane regije izrazito odvisno od števila prebivalstva in prometnih povezav, pri čemer sodelujejo tudi ostali dejavniki, kot so stroški najema poslovnega prostora in splošna privlačnost mikrolokacije. Določeno manjše število kreativnih dejavnosti je tako opazno le še v nekoliko gosteje naseljenih subcentrih ob prometnicah. Najboljše razmerje med številom prebivalstva in kreativnih podjetij je značilno za Trzin, ki je tudi dobro prometno omrežen, najnižje razmerje pa za bolj odmaknjene subcentre, kot so Litija, Logatec, Vrhnika.

Hierarhična oziroma neenakomerna prostorska razporeditev podjetij s področja kreativnih dejavnosti vpliva na manjšo funkcionalno heterogenost kreativnih industrij, saj so najuspešnejše tiste panoge, ki imajo hiter dostop do velikega trga in zaledja, iz katerega črpajo potrebne človeške resurse. Pri tem so uspešne le tiste panoge kreativnih industrij, ki so se sposobne spontano odzivati na potrebe večjih poslovnih in gospodarskih družb, medtem ko se specializirane panoge kreativnih industrij razvijajo zelo počasi (npr. radio in televizija, programska oprema, film in fotografija, oblikovanje, trg umetnin in starin). Gre za t. i. entropično razsežnost družbeno-ekonomskega sistema (glej Kirn 2008), kjer se energije oziroma akterji in podjetja, povezana z razvojem kreativnih industrij zbirajo, akumulirajo na določenih lokacijah, vendar ob tem obstaja nevarnost, da se bodo po določenem časovnem obdobju zaradi slabe ekonomske podlage, premajhnih spodbud iz okolja ali nezmožnosti nadgradnje svojih dejavnosti zaradi omejenih prostorskih, socialnih, človeških resursov, ti potenciali oziroma zametki potencialno uspešnih kreativnih industrij razpršili ali celo prenehali z dejavnostmi.

Prevelika odvisnost kreativnih industrij od tržnih zakonitosti sproža hierarhizacijo na nivoju izbire lokacij in vrste kreativnih dejavnosti v Ljubljani in Ljubljanski urbani regiji. Učinki hierarhizacije se odražajo v nizki prostorski in funkcijski diverzifikaciji kreativnih industrij, kar je posledica spontanega oziroma inkrementalističnega razvoja, ki ne spodbuja kreativnih industrij v globalnem kontekstu, temveč se zgolj odziva na trenutne razmere na lokalno zamejenem (regionalnem) trgu. Nadaljnji razvoj kreativnih dejavnosti bi zato moral temeljiti na strategijah omogočanja lažjega dostopa do ustreznih resursov (finančnih spodbud, servisov, prostorov) in infrastruktur za specializirane panoge kreativnih industrij, ki so v obliki manjših jeder že razporejene zunaj mestnega središča in predstavljajo največji potencial za nadaljnje kreativno grozdenje in urbano regeneracijo. S povečevanjem dostopa do osnovnih resursov, ki so potrebni za zagon določenih vrst kreativnih dejavnosti, bi se povečale tudi njihove možnosti za razvojni preboj in širjenje dejavnosti.

6 Literatura

Glej angleški del prispevka.

Annex 1: The thirty-two categories of activities according to the 2008 Standard Classification of Activities included in the analysis of creative industries.
Priloga 1: 32 kategorij dejavnosti po standardni klasifikaciji dejavnosti 2008, ki so bile uvrščene v analizo kreativnih dejavnosti.

category / kategorija	Standard Classification of Activities code / šifra standardne klasifikacije dejavnosti 2008	Standard Classification of Activities code / šifra standardne klasifikacije dejavnosti 2002	opis	English description
I	G47.610	47.610	trgovina na drobno v specializiranih prodajalnah s knjigami	Retail sale of books in specialized stores
I	G47.621	47.621	trgovina na drobno v specializiranih prodajalnah s časopisi in revijami	Retail sale of newspapers in specialized stores
I	G47.630	47.630	trgovina na drobno v specializiranih prodajalnah z glasbenimi in video zapisi	Retail sale of music and video recordings in specialized stores
C	G47.782	47.782	trgovina na drobno v specializiranih prodajalnah z umetniškimi izdelki	Retail sale services of commercial art galleries
I	J58.110	58.110	izdajanje knjig	Book publishing
I	J58.130	58.130	izdajanje časopisov	Publishing newspapers
I	J58.140	58.140	izdajanje revij in druge periodike	Publishing journals and other periodicals
F	J58.210	58.210	izdajanje računalniških iger	Publishing computer games
F	J58.290	58.290	drugo izdajanje programja	Other software publishing
E	J59.110	59.110	produkcija filmov, video filmov, televizijskih oddaj	Motion picture, video and television program production activities
E	J59.120	59.120	post produkcijske dejavnosti pri izdelavi filmov, video filmov, televizijskih oddaj	Motion picture, video and television program post-production activities
E	J59.130	59.130	distribucija filmov, video filmov, televizijskih oddaj	Motion picture, video and television program distribution activities
E	J59.140	59.140	kinematografska dejavnost	Motion picture projection activities
G	J59.200	59.200	snemanje in izdajanje zvočnih zapisov in muzikalij	Sound recording and music publishing activities
J	J60.100	60.100	radijska dejavnost	Radio broadcasting
J	J60.200	60.200	televizijska dejavnost	Television programming and broadcasting activities
F	J62.010	62.010	računalniško programiranje	Computer programming activities
I	J63.910	63.910	dejavnost tiskovnih agencij	News agency activities
B	M71.111	71.111	arhitekturno projektiranje	Architectural planning
B	M71.112	71.112	krajinsko arhitekturno, urbanistično in drugo projektiranje	Landscape architecture, urban and other planning
A	M73.110	73.110	dejavnost oglaševalskih agencij	Advertising agencies
D	M74.100	74.100	oblikovanje, aranžerstvo, dekoraterstvo	Specialized design activities
E	M74.200	74.200	fotografska dejavnost	Photographic activities
K	P85.520	85.520	izobraževanje, izpopolnjevanje in usposabljanje na področju kulture in umetnosti	Cultural education

category / kategorija	Standard Classification of Activities code / šifra standardne klasifikacije dejavnosti 2008	Standard Classification of Activities code / šifra standardne klasifikacije dejavnosti 2002	opis	English description
G	R90.010	90.010	umetniško uprizarjanje	Performing arts
G	R90.020	90.020	spremljajoče dejavnosti za umetniško uprizarjanje	Support activities to performing arts
H	R90.030	90.030	umetniško ustvarjanje	Artistic creation
G	R90.040	90.040	obratovanje objektov za kulturne prireditve	Operation of arts facilities
K	R91.011	91.011	dejavnost knjižnic	Library activities
K	R91.012	91.012	dejavnost arhivov	Archive activities
K	R91.020	91.020	dejavnost muzejev	Museum activities
K	R91.030	91.030	varstvo kulturne dediščine	Operation of historical sites and buildings and similar visitor attractions

Annex 2: Number of companies by categories of creative industries in municipalities and city districts.
Priloga 2: Število podjetij po sklopih kreativnih dejavnosti po občinah in četrtnih skupnostih.

Municipality, district / Občina, Četrtna skupnost	*A*	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*H*	*I*	*J*	*K*	*Total/ skupaj*
Borovnica	0	1	0	1	0	4	4	3	2	1	1	**17**
Brezovica	4	7	2	7	5	17	8	9	9	2	1	**71**
Dobrepolje	2	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	**7**
Dobrova–Polhov Gradec	1	3	0	1	3	11	1	11	2	0	1	**34**
Dol pri Ljubljani	3	3	0	1	1	1	3	8	1	0	1	**22**
Domžale	19	33	2	18	24	40	21	43	12	8	12	**232**
Grosuplje	10	21	0	9	6	18	10	29	6	3	4	**116**
Horjul	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	**6**
Ig	2	2	0	6	2	5	4	10	2	0	3	**36**
Ivančna Gorica	4	7	0	4	6	18	4	18	3	2	2	**68**
Kamnik	14	25	0	14	23	30	16	33	9	1	7	**172**
Komenda	2	2	1	0	4	1	1	13	0	2	0	**26**
Litija	3	10	0	4	2	7	13	8	1	5	4	**57**
Logatec	4	9	0	3	6	3	8	23	2	1	4	**63**
Log-Dragomer	5	4	1	5	3	3	1	11	2	1	1	**37**
Lukovica	1	2	0	0	1	3	0	7	2	0	0	**16**
Medvode	8	9	0	10	8	13	10	34	6	4	6	**108**
Mengeš	7	8	0	1	3	9	4	15	4	1	1	**53**
Moravče	0	1	0	4	1	3	0	4	1	0	1	**15**
Škofljica	2	6	0	4	5	9	2	12	7	1	5	**53**
Šmartno pri Litiji	1	1	0	0	1	3	1	4	0	1	2	**14**
Trzin	10	13	0	6	6	21	3	5	0	0	0	**64**
Velike Lašče	1	2	0	2	0	6	8	6	1	1	1	**28**
Vodice	3	3	0	2	2	6	2	5	0	2	4	**29**
Vrhnika	12	15	0	8	6	17	5	23	5	1	5	**97**
***Bežigrad**	65	99	6	34	56	82	66	199	59	22	10	**698**
***Center**	86	192	13	49	89	38	98	361	91	9	42	**1068**
***Črnuče**	16	14	0	10	5	36	7	32	6	0	0	**126**
***Dravlje**	29	32	0	20	19	47	15	50	15	13	11	**251**
***Golovec**	10	9	1	6	4	17	7	29	7	1	5	**96**
***Jarše**	26	16	0	10	30	30	15	31	17	10	3	**188**
***Moste**	10	20	1	6	16	29	21	68	12	4	17	**204**
***Polje**	7	16	0	6	10	5	10	18	7	3	9	**91**
***Posavje**	10	17	1	5	13	17	8	36	5	4	3	**119**
***Rožnik**	18	33	1	15	13	38	14	68	10	5	2	**217**
***Rudnik**	16	27	0	12	9	26	13	50	12	1	8	**174**
***Sostro**	1	5	0	3	2	8	3	7	1	1	0	**31**
***Šentvid**	19	34	1	17	18	23	11	49	6	2	6	**186**
***Šiška**	61	64	1	35	42	47	50	186	15	14	20	**535**
***Šmarna gora**	2	11	0	4	2	7	5	13	4	0	2	**50**
***Trnovo**	20	65	0	29	18	27	22	82	15	3	13	**294**
***Vič**	23	38	0	16	12	59	20	60	22	2	9	**261**
Ljubljana	**419**	**692**	**25**	**277**	**358**	**536**	**385**	**1339**	**304**	**94**	**160**	**4589**
TOTAL/SKUPAJ	**538**	**880**	**31**	**388**	**477**	**788**	**514**	**1673**	**382**	**131**	**228**	**6030**

* četrtna skupnost/district