Culture and local development: the interaction of cultural heritage and creative industries.[1]

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the study is to examine the various forms of interaction between cultural heritage and creative industries to support the development of various types of cultural clusters in St. Petersburg. The study was based on a model, which provides several types of partnership cultural heritage (CH) could have with the creative industries (CI): CH as a "decoration" for the CI, as "content", as a "brand", as the "creator of the needs". Authors' classification of cultural clusters in St. Petersburg is described, including clusters of cultural heritage, ethnic cultural clusters, the mass-cultural (consumer-oriented) cultural clusters, art incubators. One of the main findings is the low willingness of many public cultural institutions to have any form of interaction with the creative industries. The second group of findings concerned the ability to attract creative industries to provide services for residents of St. Petersburg in cooperation with public institutions of culture.

Keywords: creative industries , creative clusters, festivals

Introduction

The future of Russia depends on the development within the frames of innovation economics and prompt transition to innovations and social-oriented development model (in terms of the concept of long-term social and economic development of the Russian Federation for the period till 2020). Herewith, such spheres as education and science are being prioritized while cultural and creative industries producing symbolic (creative) content are paid less attention. Obviously, integration into the world cultural heritage scope as well as involvement into universal cultural space which is specific to the period of development of symbolic welfare and impressions economy (Pine & Gilmour, 1999) become the basis for producing and distributing new knowledge.

The start of "postindustrial", "informational" and even "creative" period has remarkably changed the whole context of existence of cultural institutions in a modern city. The concept of cultural industry (CI) has become a widely used tool at a regional level.

The possibility to develop noncommercial branches of economy with high creative share and added value on the basis of present cultural and human resources looks an excellent perspective for many Russian cities. The main modern city traits are variety of individuals and search for ways of their interaction. Both aspects have always belonged to the scope of culture (Zelentsova et al., 2010). Thus, the development of CI is to be connected not only with economy growth but also with social modifications in the regions where CI are localized.

Involving culture and creative resources into the programmes of city development resulted in positive transformation of many cities around the world. However, the development of CI is facing a number of difficulties. The cultural sector is still being viewed within narrow bounds and apart from other branches of economy and is considered inefficient and unprofitable (Matetskaya, 2010).

"Narrow" understanding of culture results in its low legal and social status, lack of demand in cultural potential at all state levels and poor investments for CI. (In 2010 federal budget allocated 88 bln roubles on culture made up compared to 200 bln roubles initially claimed for essential financing).

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The major part of cultural institutions are still the state property. The process of changing ownership basis for state cultural institutions and implementing more suitable organizational mechanisms is well under way. However it should be noted that definition of "creative industry" has not been formulated for purposes of national policy (social and innovation spheres) or fixed in legal documents. CI sector itself is disjointed and is still being formed.

Creative industries in Russia

The term "Creative (cultural) industries" is a new one in Russian culture. CI: "those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of expressive value that creates insights, delights and experiences. (modified from DCMS, 1998:3)

Although the CI formation and development models are actively imported to the culture market of Russia there is no unified understanding of the role such activities may play for economy development in general and innovation support in particular (Ruutu, et al., 2009). The term "creative industries" has been scientifically used for more than 20 years but it still subject for discussion. There are differences between the terms "cultural industries" and "creative industries" which, however, are often used interchangeably; there is little clarity about these terms and little appreciation or official explanation of the difference between the two. Thus, in order to ensure consistency of this research a proper definition and clarification of CI as a term is needed.

Although the majority of CI models and traditional art and culture types are included into the term "CI" (UNESCO, 2006) it is important to distinguish between them as it is required by the purpose of the present research. This is caused by a number of reasons.

First, the notion "culture" is understood by the Russian scientists in a narrow sense as traditional forms of art or cultural heritage that is chiefly a part of state property or is under direct governmental control.

This is supported by the mode of culture financing. In Russia, in most cases investing in culture means preservation of traditions and cultural values and not innovation in any form (Goncharik, 2008; Gnedovsky, 2005).

Second, there is great difference between administrative mechanisms existing in such spheres as cultural heritage and CI. In fact, the organizations preserving and developing cultural heritage are still maintaining the administrative structure which has existed even in the Soviet Union. The process of privatization has hardly changed the sphere of traditional culture; the main administrative innovation has been the transition from federal financing of CI to regional and municipal financing schemes. Almost the whole sphere of CI is privatized and the limited governmental subsidies are channeled to very few branches such as TV broadcast, movies and book industries.

Third, the sector of CI is not distinguished as a separate economy sector either at the level of CI self-identification agents or at the level of state policy regarding this sector. Thus, Gnedovsky (2005) raises an issue of common identity of creative class. According to his point of view CI are atomized and they do not form a unified field in Russia. Creative professionals do not see themselves as members of one "creative class". Also the rest of the society doesn't see CI as a separate sector of economy and this is reflected at political level.

Conception of CI in Russia has not been reflected either in the legislation or in the system of state policy support mechanisms yet. As a whole, Russian CI has not become the object of intense public attention. Some investigations have been done with regard to creative industries in Russia (e.g. Gnedovsky, 2005; Goncharik, 2008; Zelentsova and Gladkeeh, 2010). The research gap is obvious as well as the lack of information, only few researchers show the role creative sector play in national innovation system (Panfilo, 2010).

Despite all these fundamental challenges the statistics show that CI play quite a prominent role in Russian economy (see Creative Economy Report, 2008). Already in 2005 CI comprised 7.3% of national employment and their contribution to gross domestic product (GDP) in Russia was 6.06%. Also many international researchers and analysts of creative industries have stated that Russian economy has a huge potential for growth and great opportunities for creative industries. For example Florida (2008) presents quite a positive picture of the potential creative industries in Russia possess. According to him a truly global creative class has emerged and is still growing in Russia and the country's young people are participating in cutting-edge trends via internationalized television and movies, Internet boom and social media.

Cluster approach and creative clusters

The idea of clusters (as a result of the work of the Harvard economist Michael Porter (1990, 1998)) has been accepted as a long-term strategy for regional development on the basis of networking, growing interaction between main economic agents as well as information support and cooperation. The goals to be achieved by the economic entities in cultural sphere are the following: implementation of new administrative and economic mechanisms, creating new technological chains, integrating into the world markets of creative values. Achieving these goals is possible only in case of well-established communications both within the sector and with other economy sectors. Cultural networks, unions, associations, developed informal relationships and partnership experience are of prime importance in the process of CI market development.

Many researchers account for the popularity of cluster approach in the sphere of culture and CI highlighting the possibilities it provides in integrating cultural institutions into other sectors of economics (Davis et al. (2009), Panfilo, 2011; Bagwell, 2008). Creative cluster is defined in this research as:
a geographical concentration of interconnected companies, specialized suppliers, service providers, firms in related industries, and associated institutions (for example, universities, standards agencies, and trade associations) in the field of CI.

For example, tourist clusters are considered to be one of the most popular cluster types (Russo, 2000). However, the nature of the relationship varies from charitable, to transactional, to in-depth cooperation (Austin, 2000). The key characteristics of clusters remain unchanged despite the industry. These key characteristics are numerous linkages among geographically proximate firms and institutions, especially suppliers, business services, research institutions, and educational institutions (Davis et al. 2009). Components which help to shape the cluster include the choice of location, level of involvement in the local community, improvement in the quality of the group and aggregative cooperation. (Tien, 2010). The standard theory of industrial organisation suggests that a clustered organization of production leads to positive *technological* and *pecuniary* (or *location*) externalities.

As a rule, cross-sectoral connections in clusters are considered at three levels:
- vertical integration between economic entities at different stages of value chain formation;
- horizontal integration between organizations of the same production stage (strategic alliances);
- cross-sectional interaction, i.e. establishment of unions within organizations which allows economic entities working in various industries to cooperate while creating and realizing complex products and services (product differentiation, globalization).

The result of these advantages has been that policy makers around the globe have supported clusters as an economic development strategy for various industries and creative industries are no exception. Creative cluster development is now central to the economic strategies of regional development agencies across many regions of the world (Bagwell, 2008). As for main differences, Davis et al. (2009) argue that creative clusters are much more deeply embedded in the social environment and political economy both at the local and national levels, than technology clusters. Austin (2000) argues that the benefits of collaboration for non-profit organizations, such as museums and galleries, include cost savings, economies of scale and scope, synergies and revenue enhancement.

In addition, the fact that creative clusters cut across many different economic sectors has been identified both as strength and weakness – a strength because it implies new inter-sector connections and potential innovations; a weakness because lack of coherence makes it difficult to focus policy or measure economic value (Evans, 2009).

In present research a special attention will be paid to horizontal integration of cultural heritage institutions and CI, so called strategic alliances (Russo, 2000).

Reasons for choosing the subject of research are given above and connected with the fact that market-oriented control mechanisms are rapidly implemented into the culture and other social spheres. However, it's not a rare case when CI are not oriented towards cultural heritage activities.

Interaction of cultural heritage and creative industries on the basis of cultural clusters

The purpose of the research was to study a variety of interactional formats between cultural heritage and CI to provide adequate reasons for establishing different types of cultural clusters in St. Petersburg.

The literature review shows that there are a number of strategies available to organizations setting up collaborations within the cultural community or with other agencies. Lord (2002) argues that three approaches can be employed: packaging, partnership and promotion. Packaging combines cultural attractions in a variety of locations under one ticket rice or trip. This may make the cultural destination more attractive to a wider market. Cultural attractions can, along with local tourism agencies, form partnerships and work together to enlarge the community's tourism potential. In terms of promotions, it is critical to link current and potential cultural attractions to the travel motivators and market profile of potential cultural tourists Mommaas (2004) points out that cultural clustering strategies usually rely on vertical collaboration, although horizontal thinking and action are becoming increasingly important in cultural policy. Austin (2000) mentions that collaborations may arise from political or social forces and it is necessary to examine the strategy relating to this issue.

The research studies the purposes formulated for cultural clusters. The authors regard these purposes in the following way:

- to provide conditions for professional growth of intellectual specialists on the basis of cross-sectoral cooperation with organizations and related industries;
- to assist in territory development by raising its attractivity for creative expert, investors, tourists and residents;
- to provide favorable creative conditions as well as to raise competitive advantages of different creative organizations-members of the cluster;
- to increase interactivity of cultural products developed within cultural clusters;
- to provide favorable conditions for development of CI including those aimed at attracting tourists;
- to establish new cultural tourism products capable of attracting different categories of tourists.
- to form a new cultural image of the territory by promoting creative groups activity.

Recent years in Russia and St. Petersburg have been marked by establishment of various cultural clusters of interregional, regional, city and local nature.

The peculiarity of culture development in St. Petersburg lies in the fact that significant part of cultural products is consumed by different categories of tourists rather than by the residents themselves.

According to social polls the vast majority of St. Perersburg citizens avoid visiting cultural institutions (Ille M., 2008). This fact predetermines, on the one hand, the necessity to develop strategies aimed at involving local residents in the process of active "consumption" of cultural benefits created by St. Perersburg cultural institutions and, on the other hand, increases the role of tourists as consumers of cultural products. Herewith, the marketing strategies of cultural institutions show that these customer segments differ from one another. These differences should be taken into consideration when developing, positioning and promoting cultural products.

The role model of interaction between cultural heritage & CI

Within the framework of the present research the authors developed and analyzed the original concerning the following roles of cultural heritage in interaction with CI (Fig.1):

a. Cultural heritage as "scenery" for CI.

The notion of cultural heritage as scenery for CI can be illustrated by museums and museum-modelled quarters as the ground for development of touring industries, CI and contemporary art (Richards, 2006). Richards describes them as: the *loci* of cultural consumption, comprehending individual monuments and sites, as well as other concentrations of artworks and heritage, and the urban landscape itself («a set of buildings and public spaces of different periods and schools» (Richards, 2006)).

By this kind of cultural loci we mean that the institutions using cultural heritage in their activity create a certain cultural environment both through material artifacts and with the help of established stereotypes of cultural behavior. Thus, CI located in a certain area proceed from well-established conditions of supplying cultural benefits and services that have been formed over decades and centuries.

The cultural district is defined as 'a well-recognized, labelled, mixed-used area of a city in which a high concentration of cultural facilities serves as the anchor of attraction. Typically, the area is geographically defined and incorporates other land uses, but the defining characteristic is the

concentration of cultural facilities and related activities' (Frost-Kumpf 1998, 10). There are different types of cultural districts: cultural compounds, districts with an arts and entertainment focus, those focused on major arts institutions, and those oriented towards cultural production. The best museums work with their local community and act as catalysts for city development. This relationship between museum and city is best described in terms of the cultural cluster model. (Tien, 2010). In St. Petersburg the relationship of this type can be observed in such cultural clusters as "Petropavlovskaya fortress and its surroundings", "Museum quarter" (St. Isaac's Cathedral and neighboring quarters).

Cultural heritage clusters, in particular, museum quarters are examples of good practice can be observed in some countries, including the Museumplein in Amsterdam, the Museuminsel in Berlin and the Museumsquartier in Vienna. These clusters have attracted much attention from academics (e.g. De Frantz 2005; Mommaas 2004; Chieh-Ching Tien, 2010).

b. *Cultural heritage as "content" for CI*

Cultural heritage is often treated as "content" for CI. This is because the contemporary society alongside with the tendency towards the constant innovation of cultural content keeps a certain "pietism" to traditional content of cultural processes. However, innovation quite often deals with the form but not with the content as an element of cultural heritage.

c. *Cultural heritage as "brand" for CI*

Due to the fact that cultural heritage has long been fixing a certain system of values in the public mind, it has been performing the functions which are being performed nowadays by brands (territorial, organizational, individual, social brands, etc.).

The activity of CI is often based on ready-made brands of specified items of "cultural branding". All this allows a consumer of cultural products to distinguish one or another item more distinctly.

d. *Cultural heritage as a "demand builder" in CI*

When building a demand for cultural behavior content, cultural heritage creates and develops among its consumers a demand for newer and newer forms and ways of obtaining cultural values. Thus CI become very popular as a base for new form of cultural heritage presentation.

e. *The influence of CI on cultural heritage*

According to theoretical developments mentioned above CI can exercise considerable influence the activity of cultural institutions representing cultural heritage in the following way:

- By using an attractive brand of cultural heritage objects CI (e.g. travel agencies) engaged into cultural tourism can attract more visitors. For instance, St.-Petersburg uses different forms of cultural heritage such as festivals "Music of Bolshoi Hermitage", "Art Square", "Palaces of St.-Petersburg".
- Establishing new forms of presentation of cultural heritage objects, for instance, by means of various video and audio installations in museum expositions. Nowadays one of the most common ways to attract visitors to traditional museums is to organize audio visual installations (e.g. a multimedia performance "The Copper Horseman" that took place at The Russian Museum of Etnography in November 2010). All exhibitions (temporary or permanent) in The Russian State Museum are often supported by original video performance – a video story about an artist, of a picture, etc. Another example is St.-Petersburg Museum of History where next to the model of the Alexandriyskaya column a video session telling the history of its installation is demonstrated.
- Promoting rapid growth of people visiting (really or virtually) cultural heritage objects by means of Internet, TV and movie industry. There used to be a series of TV programmes – "My Hermitage" and "The Age of The Russian Museum" featuring the heads of the major St. Petersburg museums – M. Pietrovskiy and V. Gusev. The film by A. Sokurov "The Russian Ark" devoted to Hermitage was a remarkable event for the world culture. Many popular scientific films and programmes devoted to travelling popularize the objects of cultural heritage. Making feature films within historic scenery (historic city centres, backgrounds of well-known monuments, interiors of famous palaces) contributes to effective promoting of these cities and monuments and makes them popular and attractive for visitors as well.

- Establishing virtual communities among users interested in various museums. In addition, there are a lot of web sites (non-official sites of museums) devoted to activities of separate museums or museum groups on topical or territorial principle. The topic of visiting museums and other objects of cultural heritage is very popular on many travel forums. When choosing places to visit tourists can have a look not only at official description of collections of one museum or another but consider the opinions of real visitors. These opinions very often become the main factor for independent tourists when choosing places to visit.
- Attracting public attention to problems of preservation and development of cultural heritage by influencing public opinion. The most evident example is St.-Petersburg providential escape from realization of 'The Okhta Centre Project". It was made possible due to the joint action of CIs (magazines, Internet publications, radio, etc.).
- Protecting cultural heritage institutions in the situation of tough competition as well as bringing them to the most profitable culture markets.

In particular, the above goals can be achieved by organizing festivals, entertainment programes with the elements of traditional culture as well as arranging scientific events, weddings and birthday parties on the territory of museums, reserve museums, park areas. For example, some St.-Petersburg museums offer a service of arranging children's birthday parties which include a theatrical excursion, creative masterclasses, a photo session and a tea party at the museum's cafe. This contribues to popularizing cultural activities and raises public interest in art making us more enthusiastic about culture and art, kindles the sense of patriotism. However, similar services are delivered by celebration agencies, i.e. by representatives of CI.

Classification of culture clusters

In the meantime the authors have classified the already existing and potential cultural clusters in St.-Petersburg into the following groups:
- cultural heritage clusters,
- ethnocultural clusters,
- mass-culture clusters,
- creative clusters,
- art-incubators (Gordin, Matetskaya, 2010). (Figure 1).

From architectural-historic point of view St.-Petersburg divides into 4 zones:
1. historic centre built mostly in the XVIII-XIXth century;
2. industrial areas established in the XIXth and in the beginning of the XXth century,
3. residential areas formed in the middle of the XXth and in the beginning of the XXI century,
4. suburban open air museums (Peterhof, Pushkin, Pavlovsk, Oranienbaum).

The map shows that most cultural heritage and creative clusters are located in the 1st zone. (Picture 1). Mass-culture clusters are being formed in the 2nd zone and mostly where passenger flows intersect. Art-incubators are gradually appearing on the premises of art universities in the 1st zone. However, it should be admitted that only the 3rd zone can boast of potentially vacant areas (which naturally require investments into renovation of buildings and the area itself). It seems viable to launch creative clusters, art incubators and probably cultural heritage clusters in exactly these areas. The approach stems from well-reputed international experience of transforming former industrial areas into different kinds of creative zones, lofts and art incubators (http://www.kaapelitehdas.fi/; http://www.suvilahti.fi/; http://www.korjaamo.fi/ru/page/info/dobro-pozhalovat%D1%8C-v-korjaamo; http://www.arlingtonarts.org/cultural-affairs/arts-incubator.aspx; http://artsincubatorkc.org/facilities/. Creative institutions in St.-Petersburg have recently become active in developing former industrial areas. However, the process is rather slow as it requires targeted support from the city authorities (http://www.loftprojectetagi.ru/; http://www.tkachi-project.com/). Recultivating former industrial areas into creative activity zones is beneficial from two points of view. First, the process provides creative institutions with fairly cheap premises (which is very important considering high prices on commercial property in other areas in St.-Petersburg). At the same time the process lays the foundation for preserving unique objects of industrial architecture of the XVIII-XIXth centuries and very few industrial buildings of socialist constructivism of 1920-30s.

This can be illustrated by the first and only one museum quarter in St. Petersburg - the project "Museum Quarter" (http://www.museum-city.ru/). This project is interesting because the integration of the four museums, located on a common territory in the area of pedestrian accessibility, initiated by museums themselves. The concept of the project aims the development of a unified marketing strategy for the museums of different thematic focus of the project - a museum-monument "St. Isaac's Cathedral, Central Museum of Communications, the State Museum of Religion and History Museum, museum of Vladimir Nabokov. All these museums are regulated by state authorities at different levels from federal to city. Subject characteristics of different professions, as well as a historical retrospective of urban life have become the main ideas, to build up a common excursion programs for these museums.

One of the major results of this project is to create economic and legal model for the existence of cultural clusters in the urban space. In particular, the establishment of institutional mechanisms of interaction with organizations of various kinds of activities and forms of ownership (private, public and state sectors). Some features in the project activities outsourced (information support, design and development of promotional materials), is actively developing infrastructure of the territory of the museum quarter in the development of tourism potential (such as catering, information, landscaping, logistics).

Attractiveness of cultural objects within the framework of cultural tourism

The authors have studied interactions between cultural institutions and creative industries in organizing various kinds of cultural tourism on the basis of cultural heritage objects. To assess the degree of activity in this sphere the authors have grouped basic attractive tourist objects according to the citation index on touring operators' sites offering tours to St.-Petersburg to Russian and foreign tourists (Fig.2). Locating the objects on St.-Petersburg map proved that the majority of objects are within the historic centre. At the same time the list of objects offered to tourists, especially foreign ones, is rather limited (Figure 2).

This very fact combined with acute transportation problems in high season causes logistic headaches for companies providing service for incoming tourists.

Surveys presenting opinions of experts on cultural programmes offered by touring operators which was carried out by the authors (Gordin, 2010) provides evidence that cultural tourism industry lacks innovative flexible management mechanisms. Interactions between touring companies and local cultural institutions and creative industries are rather limited. Tailor-made, innovative excursion programmes around major museums, palaces, renowned suburbs are not in demand. The responding experts underlined that routine excursion formats make up about 90% of supply. The tourist market in general is slow in diversifying tourist offerings. The fact is especially alarming if we consider rapid development of cruise tourism which promises up to 10,000 tourists ready to visit basic tourist objects within 2-3 days. The existing territorial structure of tourist supply has become one of the crucial constraints for tourism development.

Designing programmes for incoming tourism on the basis of a limited range of attractive tourist objects proves unsuitable under current conditions. Considering tough international competition this model cannot provide competitive advantages for cities of cultural heritage.

Festivals as mobile cultural clusters

The authors have investigated the role of festivals as an effective form of linking cultural heritage and creative industries. The authors argue that from territorial point of view many festivals can be regarded as peculiar mobile clusters created for a certain period in different areas of the city. Clusterization in this case can be qualified as a task-oriented, well-planned process. Multi-genre festivals, competitions, holidays allow to concentrate various cultural institutions and creative companies representing cultural heritage and creative industries in different city areas or in different towns of a region at a certain moment.

The research included the analysis of the role festivals play as stages linking cultural heritage and creative industries which helps to make joint activity within certain projects more active. There have been shown favourable prospects for developing cooperation in this very format considering current complicated red-tape system of financing which exists in Russia. Project format of financing allows organizations and institutions from various economic sectors to get finance from budgets of different levels. This creates an opportunity for creative industries of commercial and unprofitable sectors to

participate in various festival projects. Important conclusions have been made to represent festivals as a separate form of mobile cultural clusters temporarily employing the infrastructure of both cultural institutions and creative industries. This is especially true considering two points. The first one is lack of ethnocultural clusters in St.-Petersburg (despite great numbers of migrants and deep multinational roots of St.-Petersburg culture). Another point is the necessity to speed up the process of establishing creative clusters in St.-Petersburg. In view of rapid development of creative tourism throughout the world (counterweighing consumptive tourism) festivals are capable of forming attractive creative environment for many categories of cultural tourists (Gordin et al., 2011).

Conclusion

The results of the research (some results obtained are still under analysis) allow to make some basic conclusions concerning prospective lines of developing interaction between cultural heritage and creative industries in St.-Petersburg. One of the crucial points is weak predisposition of many state cultural institutions for any forms of interaction with creative industries. The reason accounting for the fact is the existing system of state budgeting which guarantees most cultural institutions financial stability and at the same time pushes them beyond normal market relations. Underdeveloped competitive environment defocuses those engaged in this sphere from studying the demands of the visitors and meeting their requirements to meeting the demands of cultural authorities. This very mode of interaction is peculiar to cultural institutions which become objects of mass tourist demand in high season. Consequently, they chiefly focus not on meeting the requirements of visitors on the basis of segmenting these demands but on further entrenching the system of unified mass service. In the meantime most offers coming from creative industries concerning servicing separate tourist categories are being rejected. The reason is that creative industries in most cases are oriented towards highly profitable market segments. The same segments can provide high profit for cultural institutions themselves and they address commercial structures in some cases on outsourcing basis. However, this mode of interacting is impeded by existing procedures of choosing service and goods suppliers in Russia. Being targeted against corruption, these procedures create obstacles for interaction between commercial structures and law-abiding cultural institutions.

Considering the problem from the point of view of cluster approach it should be noted that weak market focusing is specific for cultural heritage clusters, most of which are formed on the basis of state cultural institutions.

The second group of conclusions concerns the prospects for providing service for St.-Petersburg residents on the basis of joint effort of creative industries and state cultural institutions. The research served the basis for determining ways of improving the existing situation by means of developing mobile formats of cultural servicing provided by cultural institutions. Another prospective way is to establish mass-culture clusters which allow creative industries to offer cultural services on demand. The process can involve well-known cultural brands and cultural heritage content they possess.

The research is in the final phase and basic conclusions will be reported at the conference as they seem to be interesting for discussion.

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Appendices

Picture 1.
Creative clusters in the historic centre of Saint-Petersburg.
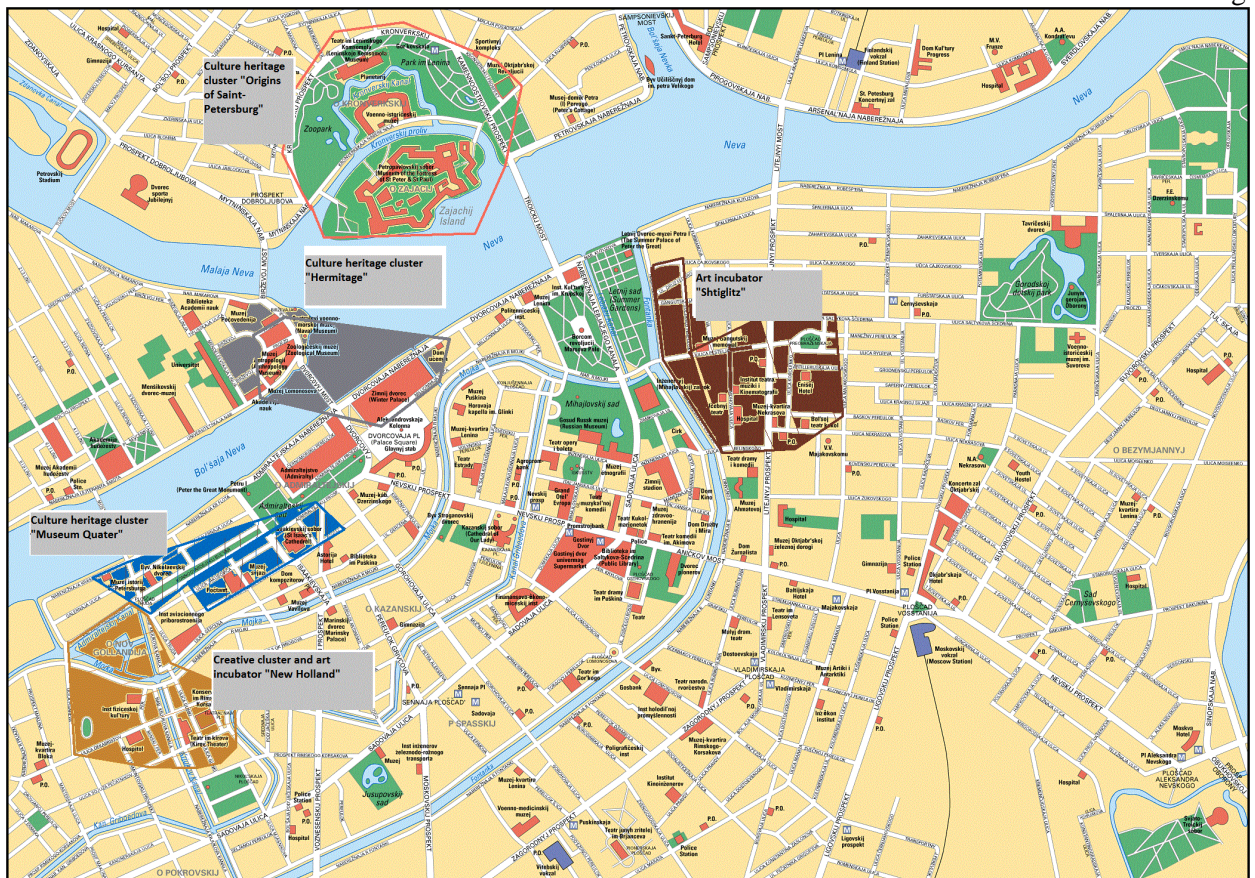

Figure 1.

Level of interaction between cultural heritage & CI

Organizations of cultural heritage / Variety level of interaction	H (high)	A (average)	L (low)	Total
brand (absolute number)	20	10	2	32
percentage of total	8,8	4,4	0,9	14,1
decoration (absolute number)	17	20	22	59
percentage of total	7,5	8,8	9,6	25,9
content (absolute number)	52	23	23	98
percentage of total	22,8	10,1	10,1	43

need's creator (absolutre number)	27	7	5	39
percentage of total	11,8	3,1	2,2	17,1
Total				228

Figure 2.
Basic attractive tourist objects according to the citation index on touring operators' sites offering tours to St.-Petersburg to Russian and foreign tourists

Russian tourist			**Foreign tourists**		
Total number		40	Total number	40	
Group 1	**rate of mentioning**		**Group 1**	**rate of mentioning**	
City tour	100%		City tour	100%	
Peter and Paul Fortress			Hermitage		
Hermitage			Rivers / canals tours		
Tsarskoye selo			Tsarskoye selo		
Petergof			Churches		
Pavlovsk			Peter and Paul Fortress		
Churches			Russian Museum		
Palaces			Synagogue		
Group 2	**rate of mentioning**		**Group 2**	**rate of mentioning**	
Myths / Legends	75%		Petergof	57%	
Russian Museum			Aurora ship		
Kunstcamera museum			Palaces		
Rivers / canals tours			Pavlovsk		
Night Petersburg			Gatchina		
Aurora ship			The Oceanarium		
The Oceanarium			Craft market		
			Museum of Musical Instruments		
Kronstadt city					
Oranienbaum					
Group 3	**rate of mentioning**		**Group 3**	**rate of mentioning**	
			Art centre "Pushinskaya 10"	15%	
Apartment Museum	37%				
Erarta (contemporary art museum)			Circus		
Water park			Water park		
			Museum of Russian Vodka		
Zoological Museum					
Naval Museum					
Gatchina					
Icebreaker Krasin					
Art centre "Pushinskaya 10"					
Museum of the Siege of Leningrad					
Puppet Museum					