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# Cultural resources observing as basis for cultural tourism. The case of Saint-Petersburg, Russia<sup>1</sup>

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#### Resumen

La investigación cultural, como una esfera de actividad y como una rama de la economía, se puede abordar desde diferentes ángulos. Asumimos que el enfoque más adecuado en Rusia en este momento es basar dicha investigación en el análisis de perspectivas para el desarrollo interactivo de las organizaciones culturales y las empresas turísticas. Vale la pena notar, sin embargo, que el número de publicaciones de autores rusos dedicados a los problemas del turismo cultural es muy pequeño.

En este artículo se analiza el caso de San Petersburgo en un intento de llamar la atención sobre la experiencia de los observatorios culturales. El escrito plantea que dicha experiencia es necesaria y posible para llevar a cabo seguimientos complejos, investigación y análisis de desarrollo cultural como base para el turismo cultural en un gran centro cultural, como San Petersburgo.

Research of culture as a sphere of activity and as a branch of economy can be made from different angles. We assume that the most appropriate approach in Russia at the moment is to base such research on analysis of perspectives for interactive development of cultural organizations and tourist business. It is worth noticing, though that number of publications of Russian authors devoted to problems of cultural tourism is quite small (Gordin, 2009; Гордин, Матецкая, 2008; Рыбакова, 2008; Николаев, Кузнецов, Сологуб, 2005; Гордин, Браун, Андерсен, 2001; Квартальнов, 2000).

In the other countries though recent years has brought quite a big number of monographs and articles devoted to the development of cultural tourism (Timothy, 2009; Telfer, Sharpley 2008; Van der Wagen, 2007; Richards, 2006; Smith, Robinson, 2006; McKercher, 2002), as well as papers of different international organizations that directly or indirectly deal with problems of cultural tourism (Tourism Research Council New Zealand, 2008; ICOM, 2007; ECTN Cardiff Declaration on Cultural Tourism, 2005; The ICOMOS International Charter on Cultural Tourism, 2002;).

This article is an attempt to draw attention to the experience of cultural observatories that is both necessary and possible to use in order to conduct complex monitoring, research and analysis of cultural development as a basis for cultural tourism in a major cultural centre, with Saint Petersburg chosen as an example of this.

Studies of tourism as a separate area of knowledge in Russia is quiet a new phenomenon and that is why it needs to incorporate both the experience of other countries and new methodological approach to it. One of the most promising trends in these studies of tourism is conceptualization of the terms "tourist" and "tourism" in close link with the satisfaction from consumption of "cultural heritage". The essence of this approach to studying tourism consists in perceiving tourists as consumers (OECD, 2009; Prentice, 2001).

This approach to tourism is based on the idea that tourism is consumed as an experience (that we get through impressions), and that its value for consumers consists in "semantic value" adherent to it. Consequently, tourism involves both emotional and factual (behavioral) components (Prentice, 1993). Finding

adequate tools to measure both of these components is an important task in studies of tourism and in bordering studies because it allows to systematically estimate the value that consumers find in tourism.

The assumption that experience is a critical aspect of studying tourism for the development of methodology justifies research of cultural tourism. This methodology can be used for different purposes, for marketing in the first place, as a way to strengthen the preference tourists feel about some destination (Russia and Saint Petersburg). Another way to use this methodology is to increase efficiency of management in culture and tourism and to meet consumer demands in these areas.

Studies of cultural tourism is particularly important for Saint Petersburg in modern conditions as tourism is that particular area where business and culture interact. Change in aesthetic and functional features of the city space are accompanied by change in hard and soft elements of environment that are defining symbolic value for customers, influencing the adjacent markets (for example real estate and businesses). Thus through the development of cultural tourism interest to cultural environment of the city is created and reflected. Saint Petersburg, as most cultural capitals of Europe, is popular today as a place to spend days off and short vocations with the motivation driven by business purposes or leisure activities.

There are quiet separate directions of cultural development in the city as big as Saint Petersburg. They differ both because of the targeted groups of customers and due to professional skills (levels) of those who provide cultural products. Apart from these there are some other classification indicators such as defining the branches to which cultural products refer or the level of interactive customer involvement in creation of a cultural product. Different classification indicators as well as classified groups based on these indicators are considered in this article in terms of the tasks of cultural tourism development.

Modern international classifications provide systematic approach to studying cultural processes. One of the most concise and systematic classifications is represented in the papers of UNESCO (UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics, 2009).

According to the existing classification of FCS there are the following cultural domains to measure "cultural activities, goods and services that are generated by industrial and non-industrial processes", such as:

A: Cultural and Natural Heritage;

B: Performance and Celebration;

C: Visual Arts and Crafts;

D: Books and Press;

E: Audio-visual and Interactive Media; and

F: Design and Creative Services

#### Intangible Cultural Heritage (transversal domain)

In addition, three other transversal domains are included for their key role in the culture cycle for the production and transmission of culture. They are transversal because they can be applied to all of the cultural and related domains:

- Education and training
- · Archiving and preservation
- Equipment and supporting materials

It is this systematic classification that outlines the cultural sphere as a system of interlinked processes ranging from creation of cultural products to their consumption in the single culture cycle (UNESCO, 1986).

Culture cycle includes five stages (Creation, Production, Dissemination, Consumption/Participation) Exhibition/Reception/Transmission, presented slightly differently in a cyclical rather than a hierarchical model to reinforce the idea that the relationships can be complex and occur more as a network.

Tourism is the sphere far different from other industries and cannot be classified as that in traditional terms that is it cannot be measured development of certain markets or output figures. Tourism should be looked at as a "demand-driven, consumer-defined activity", and consequently it is inseparably connected with all the above mentioned domains as they all include "activities that are undertaken regularly by tourists" (UNESCO, 2009).

For this reason, there is also a now well-established international methodology for measuring the economic impact of tourism based in part on the development of the tourism satellite accounts (TSA) (e.g. see Eurostat, OECD, UN and UNWTO, 2004).

Ideally, the FCS would refer to the cultural dimensions of tourism such as Cultural tourism, Spiritual tourism and Eco-Tourism activities. Although there is no internationally accepted definition of cultural tourism, the FCS proposes the following: "customized excursions into other cultures and places to learn about their people, lifestyle, heritage and arts in an informed way that genuinely represents their values and historical context including the experiencing of the difference" (Steinberg, 2001). It can also take the form of Spiritual tourism or Ecological tourism. These activities are considered as cultural domains and counted in the domains A, B, C or in Intangible cultural heritage.

For example, a tourist visiting a site or attending a concert is already included in the cultural domains. Tourism statistics, following the TSA approach, measure the demand of visitors for goods and services (international or domestic). It includes expenditure on travel, accommodation and other expenses. However, it should also cover the non-monetary data that focus on numbers of visitors and the purpose of visits. Therefore, to avoid double counting, tourism activities are included within this domain (e.g. tourist guides and tour operators) as well as those activities outside of the cultural sector in which tourists are likely to account for the bulk of activity (e.g. accommodation). (UNESCO, 2009)

The idea to create a complex system of counting in cultural and tourism spheres using satellite accounts is extremely important for the Russian practices. In our research (Гордин, Карпова, Хорева, 2009) we emphasized that systematic creation of satellite accounts of tourism acknowledged now to be the main tool of defining its economic multiplied effect through the share in GDP, employment, investments, budget earnings and so on is ultimately difficult task that is not now provided with necessary documentation. Because of that using satellite accounts in the Russian system of statistics in tourism is impossible at the present moment. This stresses the necessity to conduct special research of production industries and social spheres connected with tourism.

In this article we would like to stress once again the urgent necessity to encourage the state system of investigation into cultural sphere and its main directions as well as to emphasize the role of cultural observatories as institutions for collecting relevant information in cultural sphere that now lies beyond the limits of current cultural research made by state organizations.

Additional criteria for classification of cultural services fostering such research at present could be the following:

- 1. Cultural objects creating the architectural landscape of destination (buildings and monuments) or the symbolic landscape of it (images connected with literature, history, art and cinematography) (Prentice, 2001).
  - According to this classification, for example, museums can only be the elements creating architectural image of the city (historical building accommodating the museum) but not the attraction for tourists in terms of their expositions. On the other hand, memorial museums (in Saint Petersburg these are memorial museums of A.S. Pushkin, A.A. Blok, Y.F. Nekrasov, F.M. Dostoyevsky, Anna Akchmatova, V. Nabokov, M. Zoshenko) could be interesting for tourists in terms of specialized excursions or as places where the writers lived and worked.
- 2. Cultural objects of global or local character. The first group includes most institutions of creative industries (cinemas, music-halls, concert halls, night clubs, art galleries), some kinds of performed art (drama, ballet and opera theatres), zoos etc. that manifest streamline trends of cultural development. Unique features of cultural objects are not important in this case. The main thing here is universal nature of their consumer features like accessibility (in terms of perception without special knowledge or intermediaries painting, music, dancing, transport accessibility, quality of service etc.).
  - Cultural benefits of local character (reflecting uniqueness of destination, traditions and place). This could be performed arts inseparably connected with national history and culture (drama theatres, religious events and festivals), national holidays, clubs and events of modern local culture other than global.
- 3. Cultural objects other than entertainment or leisure but rather with educational or scientific-intellectual functions.
  - There are a number of cultural organizations in Saint Petersburg performing this mission (specialized educational establishments of higher and secondary learning, historical museums, the museum of Arctic and Antarctic Regions, the Academy of Arts Museum, specialized libraries). Their activities are clearly not focused on entertainment or a wide range of consumers. But

they still could be interesting not only for residents but also for certain groups of tourists (educational, scientific tourism etc.)

#### Saint Petersburg as a major cultural centre

Saint Petersburg is a major centre of the world and Russian culture famous for its wonderful architectural ensembles, palaces and museums. The city is one of the world most attractive tourist centers because of its unique and rich cultural heritage. Its unique architecture, monuments, museums and theatre – the State Hermitage Museum, the State Russian Museum, Mariinsky theatre, Philharmonic society, suburban parks and palaces in Peterhoff, Pushkin, Tsarskoye Selo, Pavlovsk.

Saint Petersburg has its own long standing brand of the city of museums. Guests of Saint Petersburg can visit more than 200 museums, over 100 theatres and performing companies. Yearly over 150 festivals and competitions, 80 musical and theatre events, hundreds of exhibitions and new productions are held here. Apart from historical collections of works of art of the past, there are approximately 50 modern art galleries.<sup>2</sup>

Availability of a wide range of tangible cultural objects is accompanied in Saint Petersburg by a certain cultural atmosphere and history. Cultural city life is characterized by public water and bus excursions, busy night life and club activities. Cultural events of the world's highest level are on offer in Saint Petersburg (festivals of theatres and classical music), there is a range of many other city festivals. The official figures for 2008 illustrate cultural life in Saint Petersburg with the following:

Table N1. Cultural life in Saint Petersburg for 2008

Holiday events 75  Festivals in total: 265  musical festivals 95  children festivals 37  dancing festivals 8  festivals of national cultures 30  theatre festivals 20  film festivals 31  art festivals 29  other festivals 82		
musical festivals 95 children festivals 37 dancing festivals 8 festivals of national cultures 30 theatre festivals 20 film festivals 31 art festivals 29	Holiday events	75
children festivals 37 dancing festivals 8 festivals of national cultures 30 theatre festivals 20 film festivals 31 art festivals 29	Festivals in total:	265
dancing festivals  festivals of national cultures  theatre festivals  film festivals  art festivals  29	musical festivals	95
festivals of national cultures 30 theatre festivals 20 film festivals 31 art festivals 29	children festivals	37
theatre festivals 20 film festivals 31 art festivals 29	dancing festivals	8
film festivals 31 art festivals 29	festivals of national cultures	30
art festivals 29	theatre festivals	20
	film festivals	31
other festivals 82	art festivals	29
	other festivals	82

Source: Commeette for Culture of the Government of Saint Petersburg (http://www.spbculture.ru/img/cifra\_rus\_2008\_end\_01%20(1).pdf)

Musical festivals are closely connected with traditions of Petersburg culture. Leading Russian and foreign musicians, singers and composers participate in these events, the programmes include world's musical heritage and vanguard pieces. The most well-known international musical festivals are "The White

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Commeette for Culture of the Government of Saint Petersburg, <u>www.spbculture.ru</u>

Nights", "The Square of Arts", "Musical Olympus", "Palaces of Saint-Petersburg", "Nevskye Choir Ensembles", "International Week of Concervatoires", "Festival of Military Brass Orchestras", "The Swing of White Night", "Peter-and-Paul Jazz Festival", "From the Vanguard to Nowadays", "SKIF".

The competition of young opera singers organized by Yelena Obraztsova and the competition of the young musicians on wind and percussion instruments of N.A. Rimsky-Korsakov foster the influx of young talents to Saint Petersburg cultural life.

One the most popular in Russia International Theatres Festival "Baltiysky Dom" has gained European fame. The festival of Russian Theatres of CIS and Baltic States "Meetings in Russia" and the festival of mono performances "Monocle" are establishing their popularity. The international festival of performances for young audience "Raduga" has long running perspectives. The festival of new theatres and studios "Christmas Parade" focuses on new companies and names. There is also city festival "Saint Petersburg Theatres for Children" and charity festivals.

One of the new city traditions is the festival of Russian films "Viva Cinema of Russia", one of the most prominent in the country, as well as documentary films festival "Message to a Human Being" and "Festival of Festivals" representing the masterpieces of the world cinematography. The International Festival of Films for Children "Yunifilm" is held in March.

The traditional image supported by Saint Petersburg is that of cosmopolitism and tolerance due to a big number of cultural and religious centers.

#### **Development of tourism in Saint Petersburg**

In recent years we have seen an increase of the inflow of tourists to Saint Petersburg: 2,1 m of foreign tourists and 2,2 m of Russian tourists in 2007 as compared to 2 m foreigners and 2 m of Russians in 2006. The share of tourists buying individual tours is steadily growing and has reached one third of the whole. This tendency is monitored worldwide and can be explained by a number of reasons: income growth, new technologies for communication, Internet, for example, and new opportunities it implies.

Business reasons and outstanding official culture of Saint Petersburg are among the main motives for tourist visits to the city. There is a group of tourists that can be called "specific cultural tourists" as compared to the majority of "general cultural tourists" (Richards, 2006), but their share is quite small.

There are substantial distinctions between Russian and foreign tourists in terms of demography, motivation for trips, attitude to Saint Petersburg and spending level in the city. Foreign tourists tend to be older, spend much more than Russian tourists (200-250 Euros per day on average that is 4 times more than average spendings of Russian tourists), visit Saint Petersburg only once, with the main aim to see palaces (to get acquainted with historical and cultural heritage of the city), and spend usually 2,5 days in it. Motivation of Russian tourists is more versatile, they tend to come to Saint Petersburg more often than once and stay here longer (4,5 days on average). (Programme of the Development of Saint Petersburg as a Tourist Center for 2005-2010).

Growth of the number of individual tourists is a positive factor because those who travel alone tend to spend more than tourists in organized groups. At the same time requirements for city infrastructure are getting stricter because tourists are not bound to participate in particular routes or programmes. The dynamics of hotel reservations shows on-going extension of time spent in the city during high season. At the moment high season is the period between May and October.

According to the "Programme of the Development of Saint Petersburg as a Tourist Center for 2005-2010" efforts to promote the city as a tourist center are combined with widening the opportunities for hospitality industry, creation of comfortable conditions of stay, development of infrastructure. This includes increase of the accommodation facilities, construction of new hotels, developing the segment of small inexpensive hotels and development of world famous chain hotel businesses.

Quite controversial development strategies are implemented in Saint Petersburg in parallel. These include industrial, business, educational and cultural spheres. City territories development using cluster approach has not yet found its supporters though it proved to be advantageous for the development of culture and cultural tourism worldwide.

Internationally spread practice of creating tourist clusters can become a sort of catalyst and generator for ideas helping to combine different industries and producing synergetic effect for territorial development (Roodhouse, 2006; Scott, 2000).

The projects of creation and development of cultural (tourist) clusters are based on the idea of increasing the flow of tourists through easy access to cultural and tourist centres, development of tourist infrastructure, creation of modern touristrecreational complex, allowing to fully use all tourist potential of the territory and involving it in the city logistics (for example, cultural districts in London - the South Bank, Exhibition Road, Soho/West End and the City Fringe; and in Vienna - MuseumsQuartier Wein).

The knots of this chain project, the places where tourist clusters (tourist centres) are located, must have a number of features:

- high degree of concentration of tourist attractions connected with each other and allowing to combine them for different specialized or packaged tours thus creating significant added value;
- relatively high degree of concentration of workforce with appropriate skills and qualifications;
- · well developed tourist, engeneering, transport, social and energy infrastructure:
- widely spread cooperation between tourist companies and organizations providing services within tourist infrastructure accompanied by internal competition with this environment.

Factors fostering development of tourist clusters in the city are:

- rich cultural and historical heritage;
- transport accessibility of major cultural objects;

- well established international cooperation and opportunities to participate in international cultural and tourist projects;
  - o big companies that are interested to invest in tourist sphere;
  - o availability of training and re-training system for staff to be able to improve their skills.

There are also factors that hamper the development of tourist clusters in the city:

- Insufficient amount or low quality of tourist infrastructure;
- Dominance of individual tourist products and lack of complex tours;
- Poor use of the whole range of tourist potential;
- Poor development of informational tools providing promotion of the tourist potential of the city and marketing of tourist products.

Development of cluster approach to exploitation of territories raises new questions for cultural observatories. In the first place it is research of potential (mapping) of creative industries in Saint Petersburg. This research should be targeted at studies of the following factors:

- Existing organizations that could provide services or products in creative industries in Saint Petersburg;
- Location of these organizations (index of creativity of the city districts);
- Scale of the existing organizations of creative industries and their markets:
- Employment level;
- Networking links between these organizations (what communities they are included in);
- Customer base of these organizations;
- Financial performance of these organizations.

So, cluster approach puts new tasks for cultural observatories in terms of monitoring processes in cultural tourism, their statistical recording and analysis. The problem is aggravated by the fact that there are different approaches used in statistics of cultural and tourist industry. The second problem is that many processes in tourism tend to be latent and can not be estimated by economic methods (incomes of guides promoting some of the trade organizations or food industry outlets, intimate services for tourists and some others). The third problem is that reliable statistics in cultural sphere encompasses only state organizations while private organizations don't supply statistical data at the appropriate level. The task to organize correct collecting of reliable information necessary to describe the processes within tourist cultural cluster and beyond it is extremely urgent.

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# Special aspects of research into cultural industries for the purposes of tourism development

Much attention in Saint Petersburg today is paid to the necessity of interaction between culture and tourism (scientific centers, development programmes, international consulting etc.), but methods and forms of presenting information about culture with the aim of using it for tourism development has been the focus of attention of too little publications. Thus the main aim of this article is to define the tools and methods of describing of different processes in cultural sphere for the purpose of most efficient development of cultural tourism.

Cultural sphere today as well as Russian economy as a whole is going through the process of deep transformation being enriched with new institutions and functions but loosing previous structures and mechanisms of support. Studing and monitoring of cultural activities of different forms is extremely urgent for Russian practices and making decisions concerning investments, developments and innovations. Despite the fact that these principles were declared in basic government decisions (programmes of social and economic development, programmes of cultural development), there is no methodology or informational structure to assess cultural development.

The analysis of the role of culture in regional economy is based on the general economic indicies and those of different industries that give answers to the following questions (Culture & development 20 years after the fall of Communism in Europe, 2009):

- What do governments, regions and cities spend on culture?
- What do citizens spend on culture?
- What dobusinesses and charities spend on culture?
- The main features of public policy-making in culture.
- Inherent and external goals for culture policies.
- The social functions of culture.
- The contribution of culture to the economy.
- The role of culture in regional, urban and environmental development.
- Shaping the image of the nation, branding the city
- The place of culture in the job market.
- Governance in culture and cultural management.
- Education and career of culture professionals.

When looking at interaction between cultural establishments and tourist business it is necessary to take into account what sectors of industry they belong to.

It is well known that in the countries all over the world most objects of cultural heritage are in state or municipal ownership. This fact creates favourable conditions for state statistic control of the activities of museums, museum-reserves, parks or other cultural heritage objects. However, more and more non-state structures of cultural sphere participate in the tourist business, such as tour agencies, art galleries, gift shops. An important feature of development of cultural tourism in Russia is the fact that some subsectors of cultural sphere

became non-state after privatization (tour agencies, gift shops), others (art galleries and saloons) were newly established. Notwithstanding how they became private sector of cultural sphere, these subsectors are very active in the market and use innovations in their work with tourists. It should be taken into consideration, though, that non-state organizations of culture are not the subjects of such detailed statistical research as state organizations. This introduces new tasks for researchers of cultural tourism.

In general one should mention that cultural sphere in our country is the focus of quite intent attention paid by statistical bodies and groups of researchers. Many problems, for example, problems of improvement of state governance in cultural sphere, innovative thechnologies in management of cultural organizations are studied deeply, comprehensive studies of demand and behaviour of consumers in the market of cultural products are published. However, many of the questions connected with systematic approach to development of culture are left behind, among them creation of the system of indices demonstrating development of culture and its interaction with other sectors of industry, education and tourism in the first place.

It is obvious today that creation of scientific culture observatories and, what is more important, their interaction at the network level is very urgent to form adequate management paradigma in cultural sphere. In the country as multinational and versatile as Russia regional features of cultural development make a great difference.

#### Culture and tourism - interaction and target groups

This section of the article is devoted to a classification of cultural activities and its certain criteria that will enable us to see interaction of culture and tourism more vivdly and to adjust principles of studying of this interaction. First of all, we shall look both at culture connected with different forms of art and cultural heritage and at, various cultural events that could be tied to this heritage or could have their independent interactivity. Saint Petersburg is clearly reflecting world tendency to festivalize culture and to develop management of events in culture (Richards, 2006).

The second criterion is authentic and artificial tourism. So far, the fact, that tourists have their own awareness when choosing places to visit basing on their own experience of consumption of cultural products and preferences, has been ignored. Untill recently many scientists preferred to study factors that influence numbers of tourists or management of culture and variety of services attracting potential customers (O'Dell, 2005). This attitude to tourist business can be characterized as "tourism without attracting tourists" which eventually led to lack of conformity between consumed product and purchase (Urry, 1995) and to inability to perceive the essence of transformation that has to take place – the thing that is bought into the thing that is consumed. There are a number of classifications of tourist experience (Cohen, 1979; Smith, 1978) that are based on ability and desire of tourists to have inauthentic experience.

Cohen (1979) produced a typology of five modes of tourist experience:

 the recreational mode; the tourist seeking relaxation and recreation to restore his or her general sense of well-being;

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- the diversionary mode; the tourist seeking escape from boredom / seeking to make alienation bearable;
- the experiential mode; the tourist looking for meaning aesthetically in the lives of others;
- the experimental mode; the tourist sampling alternative lifestyles in places distant from their homes;
- the existential mode; the tourist who has achieved enlightenment by embracing the culture of a place distant from their home, and when at home lives as exile.

Cohen claims that tourists focused on recreation and versatilie impressions are ready to perceive inauthentic experience and even prefer it because "real thing may be too terrifying or revolting, to be enjoyable". (Cohen, 1979:184). For these visitors people and landscapes visited were not seen as part of their "real" worlds, but as set asides as tourism experiences. Yet the significance of inauthenticity has as much to do with the consumer as with the scene (Cohen, 1979; Pearce, Moscardo, 1986).

The above mentioned aspect results in lack of convergence between experience and impressions from tourist activities and original desire and expectations of tourists concerning destination. To a great extent this becomes a problem for cultural organizations and tourist businesses, namely for their information promotion.

According to research (ETC & WTO, 2005) lots of tourists constitute a group of individual tourists. Internet plays an important role in arranging the tour. That is why establishing information environment of cultural organizations in Internet should draw particular attention. In fact, information technolodies advances "break off" interpretation from the interpreted destination and are stimulating visits to places already seen at a distance. Interpretational potential of a site should be in line with these requirements and planned as part of strategy so that distant and local interpretation would coincide. Special concern is needed so that real experience in particular would not disappoint the customer in comparison with the virtual one. In this scenario content of the site and virtual presence are inseparably connected as a tourist product (Prentice, 2001).

#### The third criterion is internal and external nature of cultural resources.

The first group of cultural resources is originally focused on community culture. For example, libraries, cinemas, secondary educational establishments of culture are, as a rule, organizations managed by municipal or city authorities. Their services evidently influence cultural environment of tourist destination and the way residents perceive many cultural events, but they don't influence the development of tourism. At the moment standards of quality of life are adopted as the basis for meeting the cultural demands of this group of customers (residents) (Programme of social and economic development of Saint Petersburg for 2008-2011). Demands of population in cultural sphere are met according to this legislation.

It is important to point out that recently the priority task of the city authorities was to boost the activities of residents in cultural sphere. Increase in these

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activities is reflected indirectly in development of cultural tourism. It is the local population that supplies the necessary communication resources for development of tourism, in the first place through creative and culturally active residents speaking foreign languages. This group of people constitutes professional and semi-professional environment producing new cultural technologies that are interesting both for residents and tourists.

Saint Petersburg is one of the major educational centers both nationally and internationally. The potential of interaction between culture and education is underestimated and remains unused for stimulating creative innovations, cultural mobility and creativity. Professional art education not only sypplyies cultural tourism with qualified specialists but also provides it with resources for creative ideas that attract tourists.

That is why one of the tasks of cultural observatories today is studying the market of professional education in the sphere of culture, career opportunities in creative sector, mainstream tendencies of the labour market of specialists of this kind.

As we have already mentioned, Saint Petersburg still has the brand of a major cultural center due to its cultural heritage. Most of tourist sites and informantion materials are exploiting only this aspect of cultural life of the city<sup>3</sup>.

There are not many attractive cultural events in the city in comparison with many other European and world centers of culture. We take a risk of assuming that in the near future cultural policy in Saint Petersburg will be biased towards development of creative industries. The tendency of development of creative industries is vital for many regions and is of primary importance for Russian and world culture in the next 5 years (Parrish, 2007; Hartley, 2005; Bell and Jayne, 2004; Florida, 2002; Donovan, 2001).

There is more than one impetus for development of this sector: necessity to diversify cultural products in terms of interactivity, modern forms and technologies, improving attractiveness of cultural sector. Some sectors of creative industries in Saint Petersburg have traditionally been well placed in terms of resources for development (for example, cinematography, new pavilions and film studios, educational establishments preparing specialists for cinematography). As long as creative industries are an inseparable element for development of cultural tourism it is necessary to have information about the potential and resources of this sector. Information could be either supplied by cultural organizations or educational establishments for professional

The second group of cultural resources is focused both on tourists and residents. Most cultural resources of destination belong to this group in many European cities and major cultural centers of the world like Saint Petersburg. It is worth mentioning that this sector of culture is distinguished by versatile economic features, kinds of activities etc. The supply is provided by state organization (subjected to different levels of authority), commercial firms, entrepreneurial

http://www.saint-petersburg.com/attractions/index.asp

http://www.st-petersburg.world-guides.com/index.html

http://www.travelmuse.com/destinations/RU/66/saint-petersburg/\_guide/7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> http://www.okaydave.com/projects/saintpetersburg/imagery.html

http://www.visit-petersburg.com/?page=articles

structures, non-state non-commercial organizations. Under these circumstances research and collecting information about development of this sector is rather complicated. There is statistical information concerning supply and demand in state organizations, but as for entrepreneurial structures, it is virtually absent. The second problem hampering studies of cultural sector is lack of information on different groups of consumers of cultural products (residents/tourists), Russian/foreign tourists, countries of origins of tourists, social and demographic data on consumers and their motivation etc.)

Collecting and analysis of data concerning preferences and satisfaction of different segments of consumers should be made both by the cultural organisations and by tourist businesses because cultural tourism product implies not only services of cultural organizations but also a great deal of additional services and infrastructures.

Not only aesthetic (artistic, professional) factors should be taken into consideration by organizations of culture but also factors of success and market criteria. It is necessary to collect statistical data (informational support) both in commercial structures and public (state) sector of cultural organizations based on quantitative criteria that define effeciency (success) of their activities. These criteria may include numbers of visitors, sales of tickets segmented according to different groups of tourists. Most public sector organizations used price discrimination as a way to boost internal consumption of cultural products by the population (Russian citizens have the right to buy tickets to many state museums and theatres at discount price), hence it is possible to estimate the share of foreign and Russian consumers. But it is practically impossible to estimate the number of residents or non-residents basing on the number of tickets. Season tickets can give statistical data on the number of residents consuming some products as well as sociological polls but these data are insignificant. In general we can speak about lack of reliable sociological data in Saint Petersburg.

It is important to remember that information on behaviour and preferences of different groups of consumers can improve efficiency of both cultural organizations because it directly underlines the main characteristics of their activities and of tourist agencies because they offer their products according to the tastes of tourists.

Assessment of activities of cultural organizations can be versatile, but there are key aspects helping to make conclusions about their attractiveness. These are:

- content of cultural product (repertoire or topic);
- the form of presentation of cultural product;
- interpretation of cultural information (Prentice, 2001:36-38);
- development of accompanying services (cafes, shops, IT services etc).

It is quite clear that services of this type can be either universal for all groups of consumers (for example, music, dance, painting, most part of performed arts make it possible because of the nature of these cultural activities), or they can differ considerably depending on the type of audience. When they are oriented at the target audience consisting of tourists, universal (global) cultural product is essential, but it does not always converge with cultural demands of local

population (Ashworth, 1992). Not only and to a less extent is the content of universal (global) cultural product important, but more so its quality. As for residents, for the moment standard of service has already been worked out (Programme of social and economic development of Saint Petersburg for 2008-2011). This programme defines the efficiency of industry by assessing its contribution into socio-economic development of Saint Petersburg. The contribution can be measured by the system of industry indices, standards of life in Saint Petersbug: standard of social effeciency of cultural services, infrastructural standard, standard quality of cultural services (see Supplement  $N^0$ 1).

When thinking about tourists these standards should be reviewed and enlarged by characteristics relevant for tourists, for example:

- informational accessibility (information channels of distribution, language diversity);
- easy navigation (guidelines) of cultural organizations;
- convinient admission time (flexible working hours, seasonal promotions);
- individual or group visits;
- additional services (language guides, WiFi zones, computers, cafes, shops etc.);
- transport accessibility;
- pricing policy (bonus schemes, price promotions etc.);
- · admission capacity/seating capacity.

No doubt some of these characteristics can be used as elements for cultural services for residents with the idea to improve the system of standards of socio-ecinomic development of the city (information or transport accessibility, additional services).

One of the standard criteria for cultural sphere consumtion by tourists could be the number of touring routes with cultural bias. Special routes should be worked out in the city centre including visits to cultural organisations in view of shortterm period spent in the city and distances between them.

Developing linear touring routes or heritage networks can be one of the strategies for development of cultural tourism in the city (McKercher, 2002). Incorporating cultural organisations in the same touring routes and their network cooperation is the management task for cultural and tourist organizations. The role of cultural observatories can be to assess, analyse and provide informational support of existing touring routes. Special features and uniqueness of cultural products are pressing us to make market reseach of the consumers in cultural sphere. One of the most urgent issues of cultural research in Saint Petersburg is defining cultural preferences of different groups of consumers.

Polls focused on motivations, cultural preferences, expectations and satisfaction of cultural demands held abroad can be used as the basis for assesment of tourists. One of the most interesting research is ATLAS Cultural Tourism Research Project<sup>4</sup>, which is the main source of cultural tourism consumer

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> http://www.tram-research.com/atlas/presentation.htm

information worldwide. ATLAS Cultural Tourism Research Project undertaken by Tourism Research and Marketing (TRAM), which has extensive experience in the cultural tourism field. Apart from that it is necessary to take into account studies that have already been held (such as European Cities Tourism Research and Statistics Working Group, 2004; ITAS-Project PICTURE: Pro-active management of the Impact of Cultural Tourism on the Urban Resources and Economies, 2003-2007) concerning tourist structures in other cities with cultural structures similar to Saint Petersburg (European cultural capitals with classical background) as well the fact that Saint Petersburg takes part in international projects aimed at develpopment of cultural tourism.

The same type of cultural demands research of Russian tourists and residents of Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) are also necessary because of migration in the country and the city and because of national and cultural diversity of the city residents and guests. Exposure and analysis of cultural preferences of subcultural and national communities is one of the aims for monitoring cultural development in Saint Petersburg.

We don't have any statistical data about tourists from CIS and Russia coming to visit their relatives because some of them don't need to get visas for entry. The share of this group of tourists is quite large in Saint Petersburg because of a great number of educational centers and universitites, offices of large companies, centers for training of different industries tec. This segment of cultural and tourist services consumers should be seen as the target segment of cultural tourism (involving organizations of the 2nd level that are not quite popular among tourists) for the following reasons:

- These tourists are well aware of and have good guidelines for consumption of cultural products (recommendations of their relatives and opportunities to arrange the trip in advance);
- They are aimed at new inmpressions and new cultural experience (as their trips are in most cases second trips or regular visits);
- They can economise on other expenses (accommodation) but spend more on cultural products;
- They involve both "new residents of Saint Petersburg" and indigenous population in active participation in cultural events.

Apart from standard criteria of cultural consumption studies of needs and demands of residents also have to concentrate on new aspects. We need information on so called "creative class" (Florida, 2002), requirements and opportunities for creative and innovative ideas of residents. Collecting this sort of information is inseparably connected with development of creative industries and analysis of cultural resources by studying:

- Identification of cultural industries and their strengths;
- Availability of business ideas in cultural sector;
- SWOT-analysis of the industry.

This sort of information could be collected in professional educational establishments, at seminars etc. by cultural observatories.

The third group of cultural resources are those oriented exclusively at tourists. Tourists in London, for example, account for 32% of visitors in West End theatres, so if tourist flow ceased, most of them would be closed (Quine, 1999). The ultimate point of such cultural product is the play by Agatha Cristie "Mouse-trap" performed in St Martin's Theatre in London since 1952 being the only their production. 10 m of spectators visited the theatre since then. The play is considered to be a cultural attraction of London, is recorded in the Guinness Book of Records and is clearly targeted at tourists as its main audience.

In the sector of elite culture there are events aimed at attraction of upmarket consumers (income or professional level). In most cases they constitute a thin layer of residents and tourists outside the main segment of consumers (of culture or cultural tourism) but characterized by special demans (for quality of service, interpretation, audience etc.) Representatives of this group often become role-models for people of middle class, so their behaviour, values and preferences could provide useful information defining future prospects for development of cultural services.

It should be emphasized that development of elite tourism in Saint Petersburg is well placed. The brand of Saint Petersburg as the imperial capital full of power and luxury is the first reason for this. Preserved or restored impressive buildings, rich interiors, the magic of places associated with lives of aristocracy are ideal for realization of Veblen model of "demonstrative consumption" described in his classical book "The theory of the leisure class" (Veblen, 1994 [1899]). Authenticity of the place, "luxury with historic roots" conforms to basic principles of elite consumption like status, exclusiveness, deficit and high degree of prestigious price.

The second reason to develop elite tourism in Saint Petersburg is the potential of cultural organistaions to provide exclusive conditions for VIP guests some of which are exploited during visits of state officials, but could well be offered for elite tourists. Well known examples are excursions in the State Hermitage beyond admission time, high-priced tickets to the Tsars Box of Mariinsky Theatre<sup>5</sup>.

However, in terms of cultural tourism development it is also important to design and promote special cultural events in pursuit of eventful tourism strategy. A vivid example and a recent development of this type is a New Year Tsar's Ball in Catherine's Palace<sup>6</sup> in Pushkin that has got world fame. Despite the ticket price of several thousand euros more than 300 foreign tourists are attracted to the ball by wonderful skills of performers, sophisticated atmosphere and luxurious imperial palace halls.

Apart from that one can speak about cultural events of ethnic (folklore) nature. Such as animation, performances, festivals designed for tourists in accordance with national customs and traditions that are not visited by residents. This segment of cultural products is also developing in the city, for example by the International Center of Festivals and Holidays, by some topical museums, creative performing companies, accompanying industries like souvenir manufacturing or restaurant businesses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The State Academic Mariinsky Theatre (<u>http://www.mariinsky.ru/en/playbill/playbill/</u>)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> New Year's the Tsars Ball (http://www.tsarball.com/engl/year/index.htm)

It is worth mentioning that tourism being a market industry very quickly reacts to change in customers' demand. Restaurants and hotels offer a variety of different services with national flavour; many restaurants promote not only Russian cuisine, but also national traditions of taking meals or drinks, create interiors in national style and demonstrate national customs and entertainments. A good example is the newly opened Museum of Russian vodka with a restaurant in it. One of the latest tendencies here is appearance of topical hotels (hotel "Brothers Karamazov", "Rachmaninov Hotel", "Pushka INN" hotel and some others) supporting and promoting culture in tourism.

#### Information support of development of cultural tourism

Different groups of tourists have different forms of accessibility to cultural products which is an important factor of cultural tourism development. Firstly, they don't have a wide choice because of seasonal character of work of cultural organizations. Secondly, they have language barrier when visiting some events. Thirdly, they lack information about cultural life of the city. The last factor gains importance as more individual tourists come to visit Saint Petersburg. Our estimations show that individual tourists account for 70% of Russian and 10% of foreign tourists. Lack of information as well as other factors (quick rise of cruise tourism, safety problems and language barrier) are hampering development of individual tourism.

"Subdued" culture is starting to play major role to promote destinations in conditions of tough global competition for cultural tourists; it uncludes special events and creating monopoly for uniqueness. According to "Visit Britain" research<sup>7</sup> emphasis should be put on "hidden opportunities", activities which have a high impact on visitors' likelihood to recommend Britain, but are not necessarily reasons to visit in the first place. Encouraging more visitors to try Britain's theatres, performing arts, pubs, festivals, cultural and live music events, and markets can really make a difference to visitors feeling welcome and spark that all-important emotional connection with Britain.

Thus, one of the tasks of cultural observatories is in research of the "hidden opportunities" market for tourists and as a result designing new offerings and cultural routes. Developing of cultural atmosphere and potential opportunities of destination is crucial because this will develop the city's brand (develop cultural mythology of Saint Petersburg and interactive forms of cultural environment). This approach could boost cultural tourism in the city and give impetus to tourists to visit it many times. Target customers of policies of this sort could be tourists from Scandinavian countries, Baltic region (Russian speaking part) and CIS with Saint Petersburg being the symbol for the whole of Russia, for good neighbourhood relations and for partnership.

Another aspect to remember when creating information flow is the fact that most tourist services (guided tours, transport etc.) have become private commercial sector as a result of transformation of cultural and tourist sectors in Saint Petersburg in recent years which led to the loss of unique knowledge of guides about tastes, preferences and satisfaction of tourists. In their pragmatic

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> VisitBritain's Research and Forecasting *Welcome and the visitor experience (July 2009)* http://www.visitbritain.org/Images/Welcome%20Topic%20Profile\_tcm139-170413.pdf

approach to professional skills of guides excursion agencies and tourist companies exploit them only as staff servicing tourists, not as the most creative part of labourforce. We assume that professional communities of guides could become the basis for creation of expert panels able to collect information for cultural observatories.

Most tourists prefer to plan their visits using Internet facilities, that's why Internet should have several resources of information concerning cultural tourism with special attention to quality of content.

For example, search for "tourist attractions in New York" through Google search engines (English version) produces 1,620,000 information resources. The same search for Saint Petersburg (Russia) produces 86,400 resources with scarce and conservative information (in terms of the range of cultural organizations and cultural events).

Table N1. The number of sites dedicated to places of interest in different cities

Paris	1,410,000
London	784,000
Rome	597,000
Amsterdam	364,000
Barselona	357,000
Moscow	155,000
Vienna	193,000
Prague	181,000
Helsinki	79,300

Source: www.google.com, September 2009

Despite the fact that in 2003 Saint Petersburg was celebrating its 300 anniversary and a number of international advertising campains were launched to promote it, most of the major cultural objects are not well known abroad. The city authorities underestimate it thinking that the city is highly appealing to potential tourists. In fact more efforts should be put to form and promote positive image of the city abroad.

Obviously, for adequate development of cultural sphere tourist companies should deliver necessary information about their customers, for example:

- geography (countries of residence of tourists). It is proved that there are great differences in preferences, needs and the way people of different countries react to cultural information (Reisinger, Turner, 2003; Richards, 2002; Pizam, Sussmann, 1995);
- social and demographic characteristics of tourists (age, sex, education, family status). A number of researchers proved that educational level is the primary stimulus for cultural needs. Heilbrun and Gray (2001) remark "(T)hat education is, in fact, the single most important factor determining arts participation has been verified by statistical analyses". The difference

in participation between high and low education levels in the USA is five times as great as the difference in participation by income level;

- professional occupation of tourists and their involvement in culture (professional, amateur, eventual);
- channels of information about the city and its cultural life.

The main problem of collecting information lies in the fact that these tourism-related services are covered by separate statistics and are not aggregated to a figure representing the total demand or supply of the tourism sector. To measure tourism, physical indicators such as the number of arrivals (World Tourism Organisation) and overnight stays (Eurostat) are usually used, but not indicators representing the monetary flows (Leidner, 2004) or cultural preferencies.

#### Conclusion

Thus to understand strengths and weaknesses of cultural landscape is in the interests of cultural tourism. We will point out several guidelines to be used for collecting and exchange of information between culture and tourism which will help to create parameters of cultural tourism development:

#### Culture for tourism:

- Through creation of cultural product
- Through the growth of supply
- Through creation of standards for services

#### Tourism for culture

- Studies of the tourists as consumers of cultural products
- Mapping of cultural objects and their accessibility
- Expectations of tourists before and extent of satisfaction after consumption of cultural product.

#### These industries must work out together:

- New services of cultural tourism (routes, programmes, products etc.)
- Strategy for information channels concerning cultural tourism product
- Marketing strategy for cultural tourism development
- Development of cultural industries and the city atmosphere

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The aims of political authorities in terms of cultural tourism are:

- To support the federal level development of innovative information technologies, creation of data base and interactive tourist portals providing information about cultural routes, their content, events, monuments, historical, places, museums, private appartment houses and other objects to boost successful development of the sector of cultural tourism.
- To hold educational seminars and to provide consulting services for municipal authorities helping them assess their cultural potential and turn cultural tourism in the profitable sector of economy and cultural tourism.
- To improve promotion and marketing of cultural products in the market
- The main problem in studies of cultural sector is lack of connections between institutions dealing with monitoring and analysis and as a result lack of methodology, aims and data base. The centers making research of cultural sector include:
- Scientific centers (Institute for Cultural programmes<sup>8</sup>, Leontiev Center<sup>9</sup>)
- Private consulting firm
- Educational establishments for professional training of cultural managers (universities and colleges with socio-economic departments and chairs)
- State authorities (Committee for Culture of the Government of Saint Petersburg) and regional departments subordinated to them
- Cultural organizations
- Marketing organizations working in close link with cultural organizations (for example, in film distribution)

The field of cultural policy has shifted from areas that have traditionally been rather closely allied with the state and state intervention toward more of a relationship with, and dependence upon, industry. This shift is revealed in a change in vocabulary; government cultural agencies have begun to present themselves as responsible, for example, for "Creative Britain" or even to restructure themselves as "Creative New Zealand". One result of this shift is that the center of gravity in research is moving away from research offices with a general mandate to more specialized research groups and centers that are familiar with the terrain of various segments of the cultural industries. Some of these centers are clearly linked to the industries that they observe, raising issues of confidentiality and reliability and encouraging rivalry among competing centers of expertise (Schuster, 2002).

The statistical methodologies for studying these entities are much more highly developed than the statistical methodologies for studying artistic and cultural

The International Centre for Social and Economic Research - Leontief Centre, http://www.leontief.ru/eng/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Institute for Cultural Programs, <a href="http://www.spbculture.ru/en/instkp.html">http://www.spbculture.ru/en/instkp.html</a>

activities in the nonprofit and governmental sectors. The difference in quality between these two sets of statistics may well provide the pressure finally needed to improve statistics gathering on the nonprofit and governmental sides.

Another way to frame this shift is to notice that in the years since many of the research organizations and institutions studied here were created, the boundaries of the field of cultural policy have expanded beyond the boundaries of the traditional ministries of culture and arts councils. Multiple governmental agencies have always been involved in cultural policy.the early work of the Département des Études et de la Prospective (DEP) demonstrated this clearly in France.but that multiple involvement is now much more explicit. Culture is no longer the sole domain of national ministries and arts councils, and the research portfolio has changed to reflect this shift. (Schuster, 2002)

Tourist Service Bodies having problems in meeting successfully the growing demand for the Cultural Tourism need specialized research and training programmes in the field of organization of cultural tourism.

Following the examples and experience of other cities developing cultural tourism and cultural heritage for the development of tourism one can name the following trend for future work: designing training programmes in order to fully understand professional needs tied to new profiles for "destination areas" and for cultural tourist services; training credit criteria and assessment of competences, applicable to different education and training channels. (UNESCO, 2006)

Apart from that, some current tasks within the framework of integration of tourism and culture include the following:

- to maximise the potential of heritage tourism to the region by forging working relationships between the heritage and tourism sectors;
- to manage and monitor the Heritage Tourism Programme;
- to realise opportunities arising from major regional initiatives including the Tourism Programme, initiatives of international organizations (for example, World Bank supported with targeted loans the number of projects of Saint Petersburg museums and other cultural organizations in order to strengthen their material and technical standing).

However, we would like to emphasize once again that there are no organizations functioning as mediators between these structures and the place where knowledge is stored (collecting reliable information from different sources), making independent analysis and providing long-term horizons for research, analysis and comparisons. We think that cultural observatories like those existing in many cultural capitals of the world can solve the problem (The Budapest Observatory; Observatoire du Canada; Observatoire des Politiques culturelles de Belgique).

In conclusion we would like to stress that it is cultural observatories that can become mediators of information processes between cultural sphere and tourism. In the first place these cultural observatories possess data bases of cultural organisationa and people working in these organizations. On the one hand this allows them to provide marketing and promotion of the programmes, on the other hand, they can conduct monitoring of programme implementation and different surveys aimed at improvement of existing procedures. Secondly, variety

of communication methods and data processing techniques, that these observatories possess are necessary for realization of such programmes. For example, working with electronic resources, data bases, data processing according to different criteria - all that is necessary for realization of national policy in the sphere of culture and tourism. Thirdly, cultural observatories usually fulfil the tasks of looking for "the best practices" and creating the data base for benchmarking and potential comparative analysis, as well as accumulation of of data base of cases of the best projects. It is cultural observatories that can become the basis for creation of educational programmes for specialists in the sphere of culture and tourism and make recommendations for its future operation.

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#### Supplement №1. The list of standards for life in Saint Petersburg for 2008-2011

Task	The indicator for implementation of the task	Unit of measurement	2008	2009	2010	2011
Development of cultural	Budget costs for culture per one resident per year	thousands of rouble.	3,5	3,2	3,3	3,3
sphere	New objects of culture	thousands of sq.metres	26,7	31,7	45,0	55,0
	Amount of services provided for pollution by cultural organizations per one resident per year	thousands of roubles	2,7	3,3	4,0	5,0

Aims, standards, indices	%	2007r. assessment	2008r. Guaranteed amount	2008r. Aimed amount	2009r. Guaranteed amount	2009r. Aimed amount	2010r. Guaranteed amount	2010r. Aimed amount	2011г. Guaranteed amount	2011r. Aimed amount
Proportion of population participating in cultural events organized by state cultural organizations and by amateur cultural structures **/***	%	220,00	-	230,00	-	240,00	-	245,00	-	250,00
Amount of city events ***	units.	70,00	-	71,00	-	72,00	-	73,00	-	73,00
Amount of festivals and performance competitions	units.	250,00	-	251,00	-	252,00	-	254,00	-	255,00

#### Indices demonstrating activities of city governmental authorities

Capital costs of consolidated budget of Saint Petersburg spent on culture **/***	MIn roubles.	952,09	952,09	5418,06	5418,06	4090,80	3500,07	3500,07	2900,00	2900,00
Current costs of consolidated budget of Saint Petersburg spent on culture**/***	MIn roubles.	8755,59	8755,59	10408,54	10408,54	10683,40	10683,40	11280,14	11280,14	12041,27
Amount of theatres	units.	52,00	52,00	53,00	53,00	53,00	53,00	55,00	55,00	55,00
Amount of museums and museum reserves (with branches)	units.	183,00	183,00	185,00	185,00	185,00	185,00	186,00	186,00	187,00
Amount of concert organizations	units.	17,00	17,00	18,00	18,00	18,00	18,00	19,00	19,00	20,00
Amount of public libraries (with branches) ***	units.	190,00	190,00	197,00	197,00	201,00	201,00	211,00	211,00	219,00
Share of public places of cultural organizations supplied with equipment for disabled visitors	%	10,00	10,00	20,00	20,00	30,00	30,00	40,00	40,00	50,00
Share of attendance of cinemas financed from the budget of Saint Petersburg	%	8,00	8,00	15,00	15,00	20,00	20,00	30,00	30,00	40,00
Share of attendance of museums and museum reserves financed from the budget of Saint Petersburg	People per 100 th residents	169 000,00	169000,00	172000,00	172000,00	175000,00	175000,00	178000,00	178000,00	180000,00

Source: ЗАКОН Санкт-Петербурга от 20.03.2008 N 140-24 "О ПРОГРАММЕ СОЦИАЛЬНО-ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКОГО РАЗВИТИЯ САНКТ-ПЕТЕРБУРГА НА 2008-2011 ГОДЫ" (Programme of social and economic development of Saint Petersburg for 2008-2011). (<a href="http://gov.spb.ru/gov/admin/otrasl/c\_economy/ekonomika/prognoz">http://gov.spb.ru/gov/admin/otrasl/c\_economy/ekonomika/prognoz</a>).

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