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From industrial city to the creative city: development policy challenges and Liepaja case

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Abstract

The paper analyses industrial city's economic development during the 19th century and its policy, which still today has influence on the city's processes in politics, economics, social and urban development. Like with other industrial cities, Liepaja's success started in the beginning of the 19th century with the abolition of serfdom in Russian Empire. It allowed free people movement and increased the population of the city. Next wave for the city's rapid development was the railway installation. The railway, the harbour and free access to the human resources provided industrial city's advancement during the second half of the 19th century and it provided a basis for the development of nowadays Liepaja. Liepaja's harbour and industry are still playing an important role in its economic development. However, currently the number of the population is decreasing and Liepaja city has one of the highest unemployment rates in Latvia. The Paper is studying: "Liepaja's economic development policy changes, challenges and issues converting from industrial city to the city whose economic development relies on different aspects not only traditional industry", "Liepaja's creative economy, societal changes from worker class to creative class to rebuild economy", "Liepaja's creative policy, actions and place making process to develop creative economy, creative industries, creative professions and creative places. The result of the study will be recommendations for creative city economics policy implementation and creative place making process in local municipality."

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1. Introduction

Cities have changed more since the Industrial Revolution than in all the previous centuries of their existence (Cliff,...). Technological innovations provided development for urban territories during the 19th century. Moreover, this is basis for current development of city's economics, politics (incl. administration), technology, social and environmental (incl. city landscape) aspects.

The population growth, innovation intensity and development of urban areas are related to new challenges or elements of development for urban landscape and urban economies. Frey and Zimmer (2001) describe factors, which affect urban places and cities:

- Ecological elements (Size of the population; Density of the population; Space)
- Economic elements (Economic functions; Labor supply and demand; Transportation; Economic organization)
- Social elements (Social organization; Social character)
- Administration.

To analyze Liepaja's industrial development and to compare it with common urban development tendencies, authors will use Frey and Zimmer four-factor method. For researching industrialization and urbanization processes authors have used different source literature – starting from the 20th century beginning and concluding with the latest editions on Liepaja's architecture research. But to provide systematic analysis of creative economy planning and implementation in Liepaja, authors will use Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (2007) framework that offers cultural and creative hardware, software and orgware. Liepaja's development plans and latest economic statistics are used and analyzed to describe city's creative economy potential.

2. Industrial City

Development of the railway (transportation network), the telegraph and the telephone (communication network), cheap resources and the population growth illustrates industrial cities' development both in Europe and North America. Authors Greene and Pick (Greene & Pick, 2011) describe industrial cities' development and innovation waves in United States. The first identified major innovation was the steam engine on water and land transportation. The year 1830 was chosen as the beginning of this period because that date marked the buildup of steamboat tonnage on the Ohio-Mississippi-Missouri River system. The second major innovation was low-cost, mass production steel. The year chosen as the beginning of this phase was 1870, when steel rails were replacing iron on both existing and rail lines. The cost of transportation coal was reduced, and as a result, central Appalachia's bituminous coal was extracted in large quantities and moved to the major port cities. The third major innovation was the introduction of the internal combustion engine in transportation, and the beginning year chosen was 1920, when motor vehicle registration became significant and petroleum production began its steep climb. Such development goes hand in hand with other industrial cities growth.

2.1. Ecological Elements

One of the core aspects for city's economic development is the size and density of the population. The number of inhabitants, its structure and the level of knowledge are important for the city's development. Structure of the population also affects cultural life, demand for education and development of urban landscape.

According to Latvian lawyer, writer and historian Svabe (Svabe et al., 1935), Liepaja's population structure started to change after the abolition of serfdom in 1817. The number of inhabitants in 1800 is 4500, but in 1840 there are already 11 000 citizens. The number of city inhabitants has doubled in 40 years. It continues to grow and in 1881 in Liepaja already lives 29600 inhabitants. In 1914, before First World War, the number of inhabitants in Liepaja city is 94000 (Svabe et al., 1935).

Urbanization process is not something unique during the 19th century, accordingly comparing other cities in the territory of Latvia during the 19th century, in 1800 in cities lived 7,3% of population, but in 1914 already 40,3% (Latvia Central Statistical Bureau, 2013).

Moreover, interesting is the inhabitant structure: if in the 1863 Latvians are only 16% from all citizens, then in the 1914 the number already is 45% (Svabe et al., 1935). It means that Liepaja's population structure has been multicultural and such situation impacts city's social life, economy and also administration and city's governance.

With the changes in economics, urban development, improvements in manufacturing, concentration of population, new transport systems, culture and education development changed also city's architecture. In both the 19th and 20th century, Liepaja is well known Art Nouveau architecture hub. Art Nouveau is a style of art that originated in the end of the 19th century and triumphed victoriously at the beginning of the 20th century. In architecture, the emergence of Art Nouveau introduced a new, contemporary system of architectural styles. The shape of building and its architectural and artistic image were developed with an aim to create a functional and convenient layout and to use appropriate building materials and structural solutions (Krastins, 2015). Krastins in the book "Liepaja. Art Nouveau Architecture" notes that many cities of the world have a good amount of Art Nouveau buildings. Some cities, like Glasgow, boast a less than dozen of them. In Ljubljana, which is often referred to as one of Europe's Art Nouveau centers; there is no more than a score of them. The city of Liepaja has more than 120 buildings that feature some elements of Art Nouveau, and at least 70 of them are real masterpieces of this style. Art Nouveau is an embellishment of Liepaja.

Architecture is the reflection of the economy and society development level, which cardinally changed during the 19th century, in accordance to the industrial city development tendencies – transport and manufacturing development.

2.2. Economic Elements

As with other industrial cities, transport network provided rapid economy development for Liepaja. In this case, the harbor and the railway development in the 19th century were going hand in hand with economy development waves. Important impact on city's development was forming of Liepaja-Romni railway line, which was opened in 1871. The broadening and deepening of the harbor (starting from 1860 to 1904), gave the economic and innovation impulse for the city's development. City grows rapidly – underwater telegraph line is opened in 1869, Machine-building factory and ironworks was established in 1875, Liepaja Maritime School was established in 1887, Gas Plant was established in 1882, Nail and Wire Factory (today one of the largest metallurgy companies in the Baltic States - Corporation "KVV Liepajas Metalurgs") was established in 1882 (Gintners, 2004) etc.

Liepaja becomes "the manufacturing capital city of Latvia" and in 52 manufacturing companies (1910) was employed 7810 workers, which is 8,4% of all workers in Latvia (Svabe et al., 1935). In 1897 every Liepaja's economically active inhabitants (total – 30851) work in manufacturing and crafts (27,53%), servants service (27,96%), traffic and transportation sector (8,53%), trade industry (7,92%), state and public administrative work (14,57%), freelancers and intellectual workers (2,11%), agriculture (1,76%), sanitary work (1,88%), other sectors – 7,7% (Gintners, 2004). Such labor market statistics demonstrate economic structure of the city that is based on manufacturing and related sectors of economics.

As those days modern city - Liepaja is an innovator on the Baltic States level and in all the Russian Empire, where – the first Russian Empire Savings Bank was established in 1825; wellness center with hot and cold sea water baths was established in 1860; the Holy Trinity Church organ was rebuilt in 1885 and it became the largest organ in the World; first electric tram was installed in 1899 etc. (Gintners, 2004).

Industrialization, urbanization and militarization (Liepaja was important military defense point in Russian Empire) changed social and cultural face of the city.

2.3. Social Elements

To describe social life and to understand the Liepaja's role in Russian Empire, authors analyzed Tsars', Royal Court's and other Royalties' visits in Liepaja during the 19th century. Gintner (Gintners, 2004) has investigated the visits of Tsars and Royal Families in Liepaja and the main conclusion is that visits were regular and connected with transit, recreation or for dealing with state matters. The list of Royal Court visits in Liepaja:

- Russian Tsar Alexander I (1808)
- Swedish King Gustav IV Adolph (1810)

- Russian Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholaevich (1830)
- Tsar Nicholas I and Grand Duchess Maria Feodorovna (1834)
- The heir to the Russian throne Nicholas and Royal family (1860)
- Tsar Alexander II and Tsarina, The heir to the Russian throne Nicholas, Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich (1862)
- The heir to the Russian throne Alexander Alexandrovich (1872)
- Tsar Nicholas II (1898)
- Tsar Nicholas II and Empress Alexandra III (1903) (Gintners, 2004).

This list demonstrates relatively high intensity of Royal Court visits in Liepaja; accordingly, it shows Liepaja development level and military, economic, culture and recreations options. It should be mentioned, that in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century transportation system and communication system to govern the Empire was relatively slow. Therefore visits were thoroughly planned and with high impact on local social life. The high society visits and staying in the city provided also rise in cultural life. For instance, Emperor Pavilion in Seaside Park was built for holding events during Tsar's family visit in 1862 (Gintners, 2004).

The first ideas of Latvia as a national country were born during the second part of the 19th century. Nationalist ideas and first movements affected also Liepaja's society. In 1903 Liepaja Latvian Society was established, also history and national identity research organizations or movements were created during the last part of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

Turning point was Revolution of 1905 in Russian Empire. It was like a landmark in local community development: the proletariat required was for 8-hour working days and salary increase per 20%. There were several strikes with human victims during 1905 (Gintners, 2004). Social movements in Europe, local society's activities and citizens' activities were with impact to the city administration process, which put a basis for the 21st century's city administration where city's governments are appointed through election process.

2.4. Administration

In 1877 Russian Empire City Regulations for Baltic provinces' cities starts administrative reforms also in Liepaja city. It provides selection of city government, which previously was based on segmentation of population, changed to the elected city council. First elections happened in 1878. At that time, there was only one representative from Latvians. From 54 city counselors Germans are 44, Jewish – 7 and Polish – 2 (Gintners, 2004). In the next elections (1890) to the City Council were elected only 2 representatives from Latvians. The new municipal governments' functions are not very different from their nowadays functions. In their authority were such functions: governance of city property and finances; urban landscaping (streets, roads, bridges, city lighting, sewerage etc.); education; hospitals; fire services, manufacturing supervision (Vanags, Vilka, 2005).

In 1892 the new Local Government Law was approved. It was not so liberal anymore. In addition, it gave rights to participate in elections only to big proprietors and industrialists. Accordingly election rights was only to 1,3% (Gintners, 2004) of Liepaja inhabitants after the latest reforms.

However, implemented regulations for the cities, industrialization and city landscape, architecture and in social life created foundation for city economics development in the independent Latvia between both world wars (1918-1939) and after independence recovery in 1990, when city is faced with different challenges and formation of creative economy.

3. Creative City

Culture-led development first came to prominence in the late 1970s, as a wide range of places, most significantly large cities, were struggling to deal with the consequences of economic restructuring. The need to replace 'traditional' jobs in manufacturing (or in the case of rural areas in primary industry) led to a search for alternatives (Richards, 2007). Creative city is one of such alternative. The creative city researcher Charles Landry approaches

cities as ecosystems where cultural and symbolic values act as catalysts fostering general development (Landry, 2000).

3.1. Creative City Development Necessary

The 19th century gives a great economic, social, city landscape and even political heritage for the 21st century urban development. Manufacturing (in metallurgy), the harbor, culture, SPA traditions, city landscape is a legacy from the 19th century. Of course, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' times and occupation (1940-1991) should be taken into account, with its crucial impact to the economics, society, democratic state values, nature etc.

Five years after State independence recovery (1995), in Liepaja lives 100271 inhabitants (Liepaja City Council, 2015). Liepaja still is very multicultural and the Latvians are only 43,6% (in 1915 it was 45%). After Soviet army left Liepaja, the number of inhabitants decreased for approx. 20%. Decrease of population continues during 90ies and in the beginning of the 21st century. It is related to economic migration and Latvia's integration in European Union, which provided free labor market. Moreover, city is faced not only with the decreasing of the number of inhabitants, but there is also high unemployment rate. In August 2015 it's 11,9% (Latvia Republic State Employment Agency, 2015). Compared to other cities, it is higher than average in Latvia, which is 8,5%. It is also the second highest unemployment level between the largest cities in Latvia.

In addition to the social challenges, Liepaja has to deal with issues of rundown infrastructure in the very beginning of 90ies. To provide business incubation and development for the city, Liepaja Special Economic Zone (Liepaja SEZ) was established. According to the law of Liepaja SEZ (Saeima, 2014), Liepaja SEZ was established on March 1 1997 and it will exist until December 31 2035. The purpose of the Liepaja SEZ is to develop business environment, manufacturing, shipping and air traffic, as well as international trade through Latvia. The aim of the Liepaja SEZ is to attract investment for expanding of manufacturing and infrastructure, and to create new work places and to ensure the development of the region.

In 2014 in Liepaja live only 71125 inhabitants. Economically active population is 28553 in 2015 (Liepaja City Council, 2015). In 2015 23,3% from all economically active population are working in manufacturing. Positive tendencies can be seen with formation of new businesses. In the first quarter of 2015 160 new enterprises has been established, it is 8,8% increase, when compared with first quarter of 2014. In addition, industrial production in the first quarter of 2015 has increased by 30,6%, when compared with first quarter of 2014. The total amount of industrial production in Liepaja is 4,7% (EUR 138,6 million) of total industrial production in Latvia (Liepaja City Council, 2015).

In this situation, when population is decreasing, but economy shows development capacity, Liepaja city and municipality has several challenges. One of them is infrastructure and population balance (or imbalance). Infrastructure, which was developed during Soviet time, provides capacity for 100 thousand and more inhabitants. Besides, high unemployment rate is the reason for social tension in the city.

In Liepaja City Development Plan 2002-2010 (the first city development plan after the collapse of USSR) focus is on development priorities. Culture was announced as city's "development industry" (Liepaja City Council, 2002). The cultural life is an important impulse for economic development. Lately funds invested in culture in the developed countries are considered as culture investments not culture subsidies. More and more culture and art are considered as service industry in economy – especially music and media fields. Culture's impact can be analyzed from several aspects: economic development in other fields, employment, quality of working force, regional development, and impact on education, as it is said in Liepaja City Plan 2002-2010.

At the same time, An Overview of the Current Situation (Liepaja City Council, 2002) recognizes that city's economic development is mainly driven by Liepaja Special Economic Zone, Trade Port and the companies placed there. Therefore the goal of Liepaja city development strategy 2002-2010 is to promote welfare of the city and its inhabitants, to secure preconditions for sustainable city development, providing competitiveness of the city and its integration in Europe, to facilitate diverse economic development, providing healthy, friendly and safe environment for business and community (Liepaja City Council, 2002., Liepaja Development Plan 2002-2010). To implement such aim, Liepaja city planned several priorities:

- Development of the productive sector – to create attractive environment for entrepreneurship and investments, facilitating the development of small and medium enterprises in the perspective branches of economy

- City infrastructure – to provide easy accessibility to the city and the region and the services by development of the required infrastructure for the implementation of new economic activities
- Development of human resources – to develop safe and attractive, healthy city environment, providing respective educational, health care and social services, rendered in due time and available for everyone, and possibilities of valuable recreation.

City's main focus on infrastructure and environment development was sensible in the beginning of 21st century, because of the rundown city landscape and the specialization in industry development, but it does not stop decrease of population, which is a vital resource for city's economic development.

Now Liepaja is looking for new solutions in public governance, economics specialization, and engaging the community and implementation of social innovations. Economic system and development which is based on more than one hundred years old values, where important is the quantity of population, is not sustainable in the situation, when traditions of society, global trade market, management methods, public governance aims, information technologies and communication traditions has changed.

The center of gravity in the post-capitalist society – its structure, its social and economic dynamics, its social classes, and its social problems – is different from the one that dominated the last two hundred and fifty years and defined the issues around which political parties, social groups, social value systems, and personal and political commitments crystallized (Drucker, 1990).

3.2. Creative City Planning

David Emanuel Andersson et al. (2011) argues that a more complex economy implies more diverse preferences, which in turn implies that the Hayekian knowledge problems that afflict planning are even more serious in a post-industrial than in an industrial society. While the set of shared objectives is small in an industrial society, we can expect it to be smaller in a society where people are not only more diverse in their geographic origins, but also more diverse in the skills that they make use of as producers and consumers.

Latvia Cross-Sectoral Coordination Centre (2015) offers smart shrinking policy implementation for local governments. Urban shrinking is a new challenge for politicians and decision makers, because it is hard to explain to the society these development changes in the form of regress. Liepaja city from the 19th century has grown in different ways – the traditional policy was based on provision of regular growth. Even the Liepaja City Development Strategy 2008-2014 announced a priority to provide population increase from 86 thousands to 100 thousands (Liepaja City Council, 2008). Only the latest Liepaja City Development Programme 2015-2020 (Liepaja City Council, 2015. Liepaja Development Programme 2014-2020) has recognized Liepaja population decline - the base value there is 71 926 in 2013, but the attainable value is 70 000 in 2020. The mass of people is not crucial factor for city development anymore as it was in the 19th century. New structures, management methods, intensity of innovations, social innovations, people knowledge, automated proceses, creative landscape etc. factors becomes important for creative city development. Furthermore, there are economic changes, the productivity is rising although employment figures are declining. People are now forced to accept the commute between home and work; the city loses its attraction. The quality of living outside the city is certainly higher as you can afford a house and a garden (Schett, 2011/12). But to provide systematic analysis of creative economy planning and implementation of such politics in Liepaja, Authors will use Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (2007) framework that offers cultural and creative hardware, software and orgware:

- Creative hardware – infrastructure/spaces for creative production, consumption and presumption
- Creative software – atmosphere/ambience, fashion, quality of life, perceived diversity, 'vibrancy'
- Creative orgware – sectors, industries, clusters, policies, governance.

3.2.1. Creative hardware of Liepaja

Liepaja infrastructure has changed and improved during the last two decades. Starting from logistics (the port, the transit routes, the railway) and finishing with the culture buildings – renovated museum, theatre and Latvia Society

house buildings. The all-time largest investment is in Liepaja concert hall “Great Amber” building. Its opening is in 2015. Opening of concert hall “Great Amber” forecasts increase in cultural tourism and development of academic music field.

To develop creative industries, it is intended to develop Creative Industry center “D10”. Its opening is planned in 2017-2018. In more than 3000 sq. are outlined co-working space, creative business offices, prototyping labs, and residences, space for entertainment. Creative industry center’s specialization is outlined in three directions: fashion and textile industry, video-audio and new media sector and industrial experiments.

3.2.2. *Creative software of Liepaja*

Liepaja often is described as vibrant and creative city because of rich cultural life, entertainment offers and city landscape. Creative atmosphere is formed from several aspects. First, education and youngsters. Liepaja is housing the oldest art school of Latvia – Liepaja Design and Art School and the well-known Liepaja Em. Melngaila Music School. Liepaja University, which historically is based in humanities, social sciences and art. Youngsters and students concentration in city allow making experiments in creative city landscaping. Liepaja Theatre, Liepaja Symphony Orchestra, Liepaja Museum and other culture institutions and activities, makes city life active and attractive. It also attracts artists and helps to create educated and highly skilled society.

The first creative industry mapping in Liepaja - creative industry magazine “Creative Coast” (Modernists, 2014) shows large scale and several creative business in Liepaja city – starting from small art’s boutiques and stylish bakeries and ending with innovative electro bike’s and lingerie manufacturers in Liepaja. Creative Industry Centre “D10” Strategy (Liepaja Culture Department, 2015) confirms creative industry impact on local economy. In 2013 in creative industries and related sectors were working 4475 people. It is 12,40% from economically active population. In creative industries and related sectors were working 424 business companies and their turnover in 2013 was 95 million euros.

3.2.3. *Creative orgware of Liepaja*

Liepaja creative city policy and creative industry development is integrated in Liepaja development documents – Liepaja City Development Programme 2015-2020 and Liepaja Sustainable Development Strategy 2030 (Liepaja City Council, 2015. Liepaja Sustainable Development Strategy 2030), where the vision of city is defined – Liepaja is a creative and active city situated in the coast of sea, where people live fully, get education, work and relax. To implement such sustainable aim, Liepaja city has defined perspective entrepreneurship development directions:

- SPA, rehabilitation and health tourism
- Culture, sport and Creative industries
- Energy and energy resources
- Information and communication technologies.

If we compare with the first Liepaja City Development Plan from 2002, then entrepreneurship perspectives from tourism, information technologies and logistics are changed and are more specific now. Moreover, now perspective entrepreneurship direction asks for highly skilled human resources.

Liepaja is one of the leading cities in Latvia to implement a creative economy. Liepaja Culture Department has established a Creative Industry Cluster (the first and the only cluster for creative industry development in Latvia). It is a virtual creative industry cooperation platform with members such as creative entrepreneurs, freelancers, creative NGOs, education and research institutions. The purpose of the Creative Cluster is to provide activities and networking. Creative Industry Cluster has developed a Creative Industry Centre Strategy which provides an establishment system and implementation structure for creative industry development.

Liepaja municipality is looking for new methods to implement social innovations, therefore provide for inhabitants a greater involvement in the city processes. This year different activities and processes were organized; including Creative Industry Cluster, prototyping of Creative Industry Centre “D10”, free postcards “Creative Liepaja”, where Liepaja city vision for 2030 were presented.

4. Conclusion

Liepaja has creative city's features, which has formed during the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century. Liepaja's nowadays economy, governance structure and development policy is based on industrial city development principles, where the mass of inhabitants, cheap resources, developed transportation system and infrastructure is important. Despite the mass of population decline and city shrinking, there are positive tendencies in the economy development and city's economic perspective. City Council has announced perspective economic directions, which has high added value and asks for highly skilled employees.

In the 21st century traditions of society, global trade market, management methods and public governance aims, information technologies and communication traditions have changed, therefore city governance, policy planning and development policy needs transformation. Consequently, city governance and policy implementation are looking for new methods, to provide greater society involvement. To continue creative city policy implementation, there should be:

- Developed vision and action plan for smart city shrinking. It has to be related with perspective economic directions of the city
- Provided investments in professional and tertiary education to guarantee perspective economic directions implementation
- Involved further social innovations in public governance to provide society involvement in creative policy implementation
- Provided environment for creative industry entrepreneurship development, including physical space (Creative Industry Centre), business-incubating services, activities for knowledge and skills development etc.

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