Culture of Hits vs. Culture of Niches:

Cultural Industries and Processes of Cultural Identification in Croatia[*]

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Transition changes that occurred in Croatia in the last about twenty years have brought about transformations in all fields of activity and thus in the cultural field as well. After turbulent times of this transition period, it can be said that culture in Croatia is gradually entering the post-transition phase. Changes that occur include broader communication with global cultural trends, and are visible in the alterations of modes of cultural consumption as well as cultural production. New cultural spaces are being created that include the formation of new identitarian models. We are slowly shifting from the homogen model of national cultural identity towards models that put individual choices into the centre and that are oriented towards new cultures. In addition, new identitarian models open towards multiplicity of value orientations as well as plurality of choices inside one's own culture. A number of these changes were brought about by information and communication technologies (ICT), and here in particular we are interested in their influence on the industrialization of cultural production, cultural consumption, and how they influence the decentralization of cultural development.

In Southeastern Europe, which Croatia is part of, the beginning of cultural industrialization was evident in the socialist period, but its' true growth begun with the fall of socialism and with the development of the different capitalisms in these countries. Industrialization of cultural field implied reshaping of the models of production, distribution and consumption; these changes included redefinition of cultural institutions, formation of new cultural infrastructure, transformation of cultural work (e.g. changes in the work rights and obligations, work processes, etc.) and in incorporating Croatian culture in global cultural flows. Thus, we can speak about the end of the transition processes in Croatia (Tomić-Koludrović and Petrić, 2007: 883; Švob-Đokić, 2008: 10), and on gradual entering to post-transition phase on the economic, political and cultural level.

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When discussing cultural field, there are still unfinished transition processes that are result of continuity with the former system. By this we imply problems on the level of cultural infrastructure, cultural legislation, models of cultural financing, and on the general approach towards culture. As stressed by Tomić-Koludrović and Petrić (2007: 883), "Continuity with the former period is shown in such a way that financing of culture is viewed as 'consumption' and not as investment in production resources, as is the case with societies where processes of postindustrial modernization are underway"[1]. In this context one can speak of Croatian society as 'mixed society' (Tomić-Koludrović and Petrić, 2005), where the of first and second modernity are intertwined. Even so, as stressed by Nederveen Pieterse (2009), different versions of hybrid combinations of premodern and modern elements still coexist in a certain society, that lead us to multilinear perspective towards concept of multiple modernities, where all 'real existing modernities' are *mixed* and *layered* and not only in the 'rest of the world' but in the 'West' as well. They entail *mixed* social formations - where styles and customs of different cultures from past and present times are imported. Furthermore, *layered* here implies that different components are shared by all modern societies while other components differ due to historical and cultural circumstances. Thus, transnational modernity is created, and it is 'global multiculture' that is one of its expressions (Nederveen Pieterse, 2009: 25).

Deterritorialisation, translocality and cultural globalization

Deterritorialisation is one of key cultural changes that, as a consequence of globalization, brings towards creation of new (virtual) spaces, new communities, and furthermore, new (trans)localities. Garcia Canclini (2005: xxxv) highlights how it is the authors dealing with issue of entering and exiting modernity presuppose the tension between deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation[2]. In this way, local needs to be redefined: „(…) locality is not simply subsumed in a national or global sphere, rather, it is increasingly bypassed in both

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[1] Translation from Croatian to English J.P.

[2] "With this I am referring to two processes: the loss of the 'natural' relation of culture to geographical and social territories and, at the same time, certain relative, partial territorial relocations of old and new symbolic productions" García Canclini (2005: 228, 229)

directions: experience is both unified beyond localities and fragmented within them" (Morley, 1991: 8-9). Therefore, as a consequence of globalization, assisted by new information and communication technologies (ICT), level of physical space, of specific geography is not enough – new spaces and new geographies are opened, new global flows are widened (Appadurai, 1996: 32-33).

In his analysis of deterritorialisation Hepp highlights how García Canclini oversees that deterritorialisation has two aspects that have to be divided Hepp (2004: 2-3). These are *physical deterritorialisation* – the level of inequality occurs as physical deterritorialisation is not possible for all actors but only for certain 'elites' in the Castells meaning of the term (Castells, 2000: 441-442); and on the other side there is *communicative deterritorialisation* – where the level of inequality occurs on the level of access to communication tools and infrastructures (in this way we are speaking about digital divide, information divide, participation divide, etc.). Both of these aspects are intertwined on different levels, and due to their speed and changeability communicative deterritorialisation overcomes in everyday life. It is communicative deterritorialisation that is vital for understanding of media cultures in the age of globalization; they have to be analyzed as translocal phenomena (Hepp, 2004: 3-4)[3]. In this way we can speak on the new formats of the local where those that participate in the communication are oriented towards one another, but on the global level and in the new formats of communication. Both of the aspects of levels deterritorialisation contribute to the shaping of translocality; Nederveen Pieterse makes a distinction between closed/introverted cultures (which are tied to a certain place and oriented towards themselves), from translocal cultures - in which cultures are viewed as a process of 'translocal learning' oriented on the outside (Nederveen Pieterse, 1994: 672-674). Therefore, globalization processes are important for the newly emerged changes, where the level of cultural globalization is vital, but the levels of economic and political globalization have to be taken into account as they also influence redefinition of old and the shape of new 'localities'. Cultural globalization which highlights stronger dependency between different cultures on the world scale manifests itself in diverse ways; as cultural diversification and cultural

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[3] "Speaking about media cultures I include all cultures whose primary resources of meaning are accessible by technology-based media. From this point of view, all media cultures have to be theorized as translocal; inasmuch as media make translocal communicative connections possible (Hepp, 2004: 3-4)".

reidentification (Švob-Đokić, 2008: 22), cultural reinvention (Lee, 1994: 33), cultural hibridity (Garcia Canclini, 2005, Nederveen Pieterse, 1994), and towards global multiculture/*global mélange* (Nederveen Pieterse, 1994, 2009)*.* Thus, we have to research how, in what way, and to what extent the processes of cultural globalization occur in Croatia observing all levels of 'locality'.

In this way we cannot view cultural changes in Croatia only through the prism of territorial borders and/or redefinition of these borders. The observation of Croatian culture has to come out of 'container' categories that Beck mentions (2003: 56); that is, from the model of closed homogen identitarian system. We have entered an age of 'and' (Beck, 2001: 17-20), where culture of niches *and* culture of hits coexist; we have to observe changes that come with physical and communicative deterritorialisation and thus contribute to the creation of the translocal cultural forms. Furthermore, it has to be highlighted that although the processes of detteritorialisation are under way, as Castells stressed, people still live at certain *places* Castells (2000: 449), that is, the differences that occur due to historical and cultural components are nevertheless relevant. This dimension is important in the case of Croatia due to ex-Yugoslavian context as a broader cultural framework where cultural cooperation in the past was very strong. After years of neglect, regional cultural cooperation and exchange has intensified in certain fields, and especially in audiovisual field. The broader framework of Southeastern European region is imminent, partly due to economic and political processes that are connected to EU integration processes, and partly as some of the countries are already its members.

On the global level the changes in culture and creativity are happening very fast; according to pre-recession data the cultural and creative industries were among the fastest growing industries in Europe (KEA, 2006), and in the world as well according to data from UNCTAD (2008). With the innovations in ICT, digitalization, and thus larger availability of tools for production and distribution, it is easier for everybody to create, show their work and find their audience. In addition, one can notice the upsurgence of parallel cultures that are based on the differentiated and specific tastes (based on the diversity of demand) and on the division to cultural tribes according to interest, creating *niche cultures* (Anderson, 2006: 184). With technological convergence, and intertwining of (tele)communications and information technologies, the new possibilities for diversity of cultural interactions are

created. It has to be mentioned that convergence is not only present on the technological level – it implies the interconnection of multiple media systems, which enables the circulation and coexistence of multiple media contents (Jenkins, 2006). These possibilities allow for the fast flow of symbols through virtual and physical borders that as a consequence (among other things) have processes of hybridization of cultural shapes and (local) cultural change. In this way different models of intercultural communication are developed, that augment the diversity in 'real' as well as in the digital domain. This results in the emergence of convergence culture, that also presupposes the coexistence and interaction of two cultural logic; one coming from the *corporate convergence* (that relates to commercially directed flow of media content), and the other from *grassroots convergence* (informal, coming from users) Jenkins (2006: 162). Jenkins also stresses that it was Internet that enabled the visibility of the already existing coexistence of participation and commercial culture[4], that is, of niche cultures and the culture of hits.

With the further development and influence of the transnational companies in cultural industries it is more and more difficult to define the 'origin' of cultural goods and services. In this sense we can speak of translocality of a part of cultural production that circulates through global cultural flows. In the context of the culture of hits one has to mention the research on global cultural industry by Scott Lash and Celia Lury (2007) who highlight the changed circumstances that globalization brought for culture. Lash and Lury show how culture has become ubiquitous and it is not primarily question of mediation of representation (as in 'classical' cultural industry), but it becomes a question of twofold process that include the mediation of cultural objects/things, but also the thingification of media[5]. This new context is highlighted by Lash and Lury with the usage of the new term cultural objects. Cultural objects are everywhere – as information, communication, as branded products, as financial services, as media products – they are not exception, they are the rule (Lash and Lury, 2007: 4). Authors highlight how cultural objects are at the same time

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[4] „(...) the web has made visible the hidden compromises that enabled participatory culture and commercial culture to coexist throughout much of the twentieth century" (Jenkins, 2006: 141).

[5] Lash and Lury (2007: 8) follow the trajectories and give analysis of seven cultural objects, from which four are media that become thing-like (Wallace and Gromit, *Toy Story*, the art movement of YBA or (a group of) young British artists, and *Trainspotting*) and three thing-events that become mediated (Nike, Swatch and global football).

structure and a form; they are dynamic and are moving in flows and fluxes (Appadurai, 1996) and it is through this movement that the value is added. "The cultural object, we have been suggesting, is at the same time a structure and a form. It is dynamic; that is, it circulates and moves through or perhaps better as flows and fluxes. Its movement, we also suggest, is in part a matter of a series of engagements with its environment: with its users and other features of its environment. These engagements are a series of 'structural couplings'" (Lash and Lury, 2007: 198). Lash and Lury highlight the importance of the concept of 'global microstructures' developed by Knorr Cetina that highlights the importance of objects as *locus* of a global interaction order[6] in which the actors that are geographically distanced observe each other in the relation to a certain thing/object. In their analysis of global culture industry Lash and Lury (2007) deal with the cartography of trajectories of cultural objects on the global level and show how the meaning making[7] is crucial on the level of production, and on the level of consumption. Their analysis of the global cultural industry illustrates how culture has become an important factor in the economic production and vice versa, and how local interpretations of certain global cultural objects have to be taken in a multidimensional way – the trajectories of cultural objects on the global level are welcomed by different interpretations and usage on the local levels. The concept of global culture industry, as offered by Lash and Lury, is important for the analysis of Croatian context. We shall take a look on the dimension of the translocality of these cultural things/objects that have 'traveled' through global cultural flows, and in which way they have found their own place and have created new meanings in the Croatian context and have influenced the new processes of identification.

Cultural consumption and production between culture of hits and niche cultures

In Croatia we can decipher new cultural identification and new spaces of cultural development and here we would like to discuss two specific context of their expansion. On

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[6] "We look at the importance of what Knorr Cetina calls 'global microstructures' in this context, as our objects become the locus of a global interaction order" (Lash i Lury, 2007: 38).

[7] „In global cultural industry, production and consumption are processes of the construction of difference"
(Lash and Lury, 2007: 5).

the one side we can decipher new cultural identification processes that occur through joining the flows of cultural objects of global culture industry (Lash and Lury, 2007), and through the cultural production through localization and reappropriation of products of this industry in Croatian context. On the other side new processes of cultural identification occur through the changes that happen through specific cultural niches (Anderson, 2006) - the niches of cultural production as well as the niches of cultural consumption. It has to be noted that participation in models from 'below' primarily is not commercial, but understands opening towards other models of participation (free culture, open culture, etc.)[8]. The concepts of global cultural industry and niche cultures will be used here so as to decipher what are the new spaces of cultural development in Croatia. We shall use the available data on the cultural consumption and production in Croatia, with the special emphasis on the selected fields of cultural industries.

In order to analyze general trends of cultural goods and services in (and from) Croatia we shall show data of cultural import and export and trade balance for the period 2000-2005 (in millions of USD)[9]. During this period, the import of cultural products and services to Croatia has increased several times; according to available data, from 281 to 817 millions of American dollars. According to same source it can be noted that export of cultural products from Croatia has also increased – that is, from 118 to 397 million USD. Trade balance for all reviewed years was negative (from negative balance of -163 millions in 2000 to negative trade balance of -480 million USD in 2005). This data illustrates that Croatian culture is under intense influence of foreign cultural content. It can be presupposed that in most of the cases these are cultural products and services of global companies, which we shall try to research through the analysis of selected fields of cultural industries in Croatia - through the analysis of available data on cultural consumption as well as cultural production and distribution.

In order to further illustrate the above presented data on influence of global trends on the (field of) cultural industries, here we shall outline selected data on film industry in Croatia.

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[8] One of first such non-commercial, innovative grassroots initiatives in the cultural field in Croatia that showed an opening towards a new model of cultural development, decision making in culture and, thus, a new model of cultural policy is Clubture - a nonprofit, inclusive, participatory network of organizations in culture (Višnić and Dragojević, 2008). More details on the model of Clubture in: Vidović (ed.) (2007).

[9] http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/statistics-markets.php?aid=112&cid=76&lid=en (Accessed: 8.11.2010.)

Let us take a look at the figures on films and video films according to the country of origin in 2009[10]. When analyzing foreign cinematography, it can be noted that in Croatia USA production has a dominant position: in total films provided in Croatia 71.1% of films and 68.3% of video films were from USA. Behind USA is Croatia - according to data from film distributors in Croatia in 2009 out of total films provided there were 5.25% and 9.07% video films of Croatian origin. On the third place is United Kingdom with 5%, and 5.8% respectively. When we compare data of film distribution with the data on film production, it can be noted that one part of films do not 'live' to be presented through 'classical' distribution; from one side this is due to film type (e.g. if they are oriented primarily to festivals), but also it highlights the very bad policies for film distribution.

Concerning the distribution and attendance to Croatian films in European Union, according to data of LUMIERE[11] database of European Audiovisual observatory, the attendance to movies (usually co-productions) in EU27 is rather low. While for the films from 2008 the data was not available as well as for one part of films from 2006 and 2007, the available data shows that the attendance to Croatian movies at the European level is rather low[12]. Here one has to stress the problem of distribution of 'small' cinematography, that is not only a Croatian problem, but of other countries as well. Nevertheless, one has to highlight the lack of strategy of promotion of Croatian films in Europe, where interested audience could be found. The question of quality of movies is an issue that has been occurring since the nineties, while the problem of financing of film has been lessened with the introduction of Croatian Audiovisual Centre[13], although it is still present.

It is also important to research what kind of market structure we are dealing with in relation to global and local level. Not only that the ownership over infrastructure is relevant, but

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[10] http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2010/08-03-04_01_2010.htm (Accessed: 8.11.2010.)

[11] http://lumiere.obs.coe.int/web/search/index.php (accessed 26.02.2010). LUMIERE database operates from 1996, it includes systemized data collected through European Audiovisual Observatory, national centers and through MEDIA program of European Union. It has to be noted that this data has to be taken cautiously, but nevertheless it is the only standardized data of this kind for the comparative analysis on the European level.

[12] According to LUMIERE database 'Armin' (dir. Ognjen Sviličić) had 2 989 viewers (distribution in France), 'Karaula' (dir. Rajko Grlić,) had 15 517 viewers (distribution in Poland and Slovakia), while 'Sve džaba/All for free' (dir. Antonio Nuić), had only 611 registered viewers (distribution in Romania).

[13] Croatian Audiovisual Centre was established in 2007 according to the Law on audiovisual activities (67/07).

ownership over content that is distributed through these channels is also important. When taking a look at the present situation in Croatia, it has to be stressed that the new channels of commercial televisions have brought about to the strengthening of the domestic production, primarily as series although mainly as soap operas entertainment shows and, to a narrow extent, drama series. This opened opportunities for the local production that is developing in several ways - partly as original domestic production, while on the other hand we can see the hybridization of cultural products of global trends, e.g. in 'direct translation' of available (entertainment) shows and creation of hybrid formats.

Global influences are evident mainly in the formats of entertainment shows such as reality shows, and different licensed shows of entertainment formats. Through global cultural flows a lot of cultural objects/things have arrived In Croatia, some of which have either stayed in their original forms, or are domestificated in their localized and hybridized formats[14]. The question of quality of the content of these shows has to be raised especially as they dominate the media space. What is also important is the issue of how public broadcasting service is trying to compete with commercial channels using the same model of entertainment and reality shows with its relevant discourse. In this context the question of commercialization of public television and potential homogenization of media space is raised. Also, what is problematic is the fact that 'translated' and localized formats of television programs are classified as domestic program[15], by which the commercial televisions provisionally comply the quota required by the legislation[16]. What is needed is stronger regulation and control of the following of legislation so as to strengthen the domestic production and to diversify the program. In conditions where public television is

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[14] From localized formats we can highlight shows based on the Freemantle Media license: brands of entertainment and reality shows – 'Hrvatska traži zvijezdu' (RTL) (*Idol)*, 'X Factor', 'Supertalent' (NOVATV) (*Got Talent*), 'Ljubav je na selu' (RTL) (*The Farmer Wants a Wife*), 'Odred za čistoću' (RTL) (*How Clean is your House),* and games such as – 'Pazi zid!' (NOVATV) (*Hole in the Wall*). Then there are licensed shows of the Endemol corporation such as 'Uzmi ili ostavi', (*Deal or No Deal*), 'Jedan protiv sto' *(1vs100)*, 'Operacija trijumf' (*Operation Triumph)*, *Fear Factor, (RTL) Big Brother;* and shows based on BBC licences such as *'*Ples sa zvijezdama' (*Strictly Come Dancing*), 'Zvijezde pjevaju' (*Just the Two of Us),* *'*Trenutak istine' (*Weakest Link*), that are created in HRT production (Croatian Radio television – public broadcasting service); and on the Channel 4 license such as 'Jezikova juha' (*Ramsay's Kitchen Nightmares*), etc.

[15] „Najbolje emisije iz domaćeg i stranog programa u sezoni 2008/2009" On: http://www.rtl.hr/najbolje-emisije-clanak-139 (accessed 23/02/2010).

[16] Law on Electronic media 153/09, Article 40, http://www.nn.hr

producing such entertainment program so as to compete with commercial television, one has to ask what its social role is.

As concerning the publishing sector when taking a look at the production level in 2008 in Croatia there were 8 025 titles published (books and brochures included). It has to be highlighted that the largest number of titles come from social sciences 23,9%, then literature 21%, and then from applied sciences, medicine and mechanics 13,3%[17], while the other percentages remain to other publications. Out of these published titles, one can only make a narrow analysis on the level of cultural consumption of citizens for fiction and non-fiction titles. For further outline of the level of cultural consumption in a specific time period, and for the area of publishing, we shall analyze the data on sales in Croatian bookstores according to data from Book Information System (KIS) for the period of February-August 2007[18]. Top list of ten bestseller titles (with the joint list of fiction and non-fiction) shows the domination of foreign authors – out of twenty six titles that ended on this top list of ten bestseller titles in the analyzed time period only six titles belong to Croatian authors. Other twenty titles that change places on the list are works by sixteen authors where some of these authors are represented with several titles. Authors from English-speaking world dominate, where eleven of them come from USA, Great Britain and Ireland[19], while others come from Turkey, China, Brazil and Slovenia[20]. Most of the titles are fiction titles (eighteen of them), while eight titles are non-fiction – diet handbooks, self-help books, books of

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[17] According to the data of Central Statistical Bureau, First Release, "Published Books and Brochures, Newspapers and Magazines, 2008", Year: XLVI, Zagreb, 22 October 2009, NUMBER: 8.3.1. http://www.dzs.hr

[18] We shall be using data from Book Information System (KIS) that covers data on popularity and sales of books - they include the data from the broadest number of bookstores including eleven bookstore houses (some of them with more bookstore places and Internet sale). The data used here was the last published before KIS provisionally closed. During finishing of writing of this article KIS begun with their work again.

[19] Cecilia Ahern *P. S. I love you* (IR), Dan Brown *Deception Point* (USA), Patricia Cornwell *At Risk* (UK), Victoria Hislop *Island* (UK), Imogen Edward-Jones *Fashion Babilon* (UK), David Icke *THe Biggest Secret* (USA), James Oliver *They F*** You Up* (UK), J. K. Rowling *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* (UK), J. R. R. Tolkien *The Children of Hurin* (UK), William Arntz, Betsy Chasse and Mark Vincente *What the Bleep Do We Know?* (USA), and Lauren Weisberger *Devil Wears Prada* (SAD).

[20] Orhan Pamuk *Cevdet Bey and His Sons*, *My Name is Red*, *Snow*; Wei Hui *Shanghai baby*, *Marrying Buddha*, Paolo Coelho *Witches of Portobella*, Mojca Poljanšek and Breda Hrobat *90-day diet I and II* and Janez Drnovšek *Thoughts on Life and Enlightenment*.

essays, and titles of quasi-scientific nature[21]. Among the 'usual suspects' there are global hits from authors such as Paolo Coelho, Dan Brown, J.K.Rowling, J.R.R. Tolkein, Victoria Hislop, Cecilia Ahern and Patricia Cornwell; but on the other side also Wei Hui and Orhan Pamuk. This data outlines how on the level of cultural consumption in the field of publishing there is a domination of foreign authors, where the majority of the titles can be defined as global cultural objects as Lash and Lury (2007) define it. Croatian book audience in this way is a part of global cultural flows, with the heavy domination from Anglo-Saxon world. On the other hand the connecting of Croatian book production scene in European and global (cultural) flows is very slow and sporadic and Croatian authors are at their margins. There is no strategy of book promotion on the country level and thus selected publishers are finding their own niches through which they offer their publications to foreign publishers[22]. The support for foreign publishers exists, but it is not a result of the developed strategy of promotion of books on the foreign markets[23].

In order to illustrate general trends in cultural consumption in the field of music we shall take a look at the data on the week sales of the albums for the period of 28th September 2009 to 14th of February 2010 according to data from Croatian Phonographic Association. When analyzing data of Joint Croatian top list of sales (that include the sales of CDs of domestic and foreign programs), it is interesting to note that on the lists of ten best sold titles for the abovementioned periods out of nineteen titles of foreign authors only eight have managed to repeatedly show among the first ten at the weekly top charts[24], while the others have managed to enter into top ten only once[25]. During the researched time period on the top list among the ten most popular Croatian artists twenty five of them circulated the list (among which some of them with two titles) and seven titles of various compilations.

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[21] By quasi-scientific titles it is understood: David Icke *The Biggest Secret*, William Arntz, Betsy Chasse and Mark Vincente *What the Bleep Do We Know?* And book by Davor Domazet Lošo *Attack of the Clones*.

[22] Example of Fraktura and Sandorf publishing houses.

[23] List of programs financed – Ministry of Culture: http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=5418

[24] Lady Gaga, Madonna, Eros Ramazzoti, Pearl Jam, Norah Jones, Backstreet Boys, Robbie Williams and Gregorian.

[25] Rammstein, Michael Bublé, Michael Jackson, Dianna Crall, Tom Waits, Susan Boyle, Bob Dylan, Macedonian singer Toše, Sade, MAssive Attack, and Depeche mode.

At the top circulates turbo pop-folk Dražen Zečić who during the fourteen weeks on the list has stayed for six weeks at the first and six weeks at the second place, while the longstanding at the chart were chansonier Arsen Dedić and pop diva Josipa Lisac, who were at the top during the whole researched period, oscillating in the positions at the list.

As concerning entering of Croatian music production on the other markets, primarily we are speaking about the regional market of the countries of ex-Yugoslavia. When we speak about flowing to the global markets, it has to be noted that this occurs mainly through the niche markets; e.g. here we would like to mention group Bambi Molesters – who entered the global market through the niche of surfer rock. Music trajectories from niches to global cultural industry are characteristic for hip-hop producers from Croatia who sell the beats on foreign market or for artist such as Tamara Obrovac, who has achieved success at the world music scene. One has to stress that it is communicative deterritorialisation that is of crucial importance for these examples. In this context we need to mention that piracy in the music sector is rather high in Southeastern Europe. But, as data shows unlike other countries from the region (Bulgaria, Montenegro, Greece, Romania, and Serbia), in which the percentage of piracy of domestic music was over 50%, in Croatia this percentage was lower - 25-50% in the year 2004 (Primorac and Jurlin, 2008: 80). Such situation influences the sales of CDs and digital files - the drop of sales is evident on the global level. The influence of peer-to-peer exchange is here also important; although it is hard to assess it due to the difficulties with the gathering of data. Like other artists on the global scale who are influenced with the drop of sales of CDs and digital files, artists in Croatia are also forced to orient themselves to performances/concerts as sources of income. Such practice can prove to be very problematic as it asks for constant touring. It can be said that in such a way the artists are going back to the times of troubadours, that is, to be in line with current changes, to 'youtubeadours'.

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New features/attributes of Croatian culture are resulting from increasingly large influence of global communication processes and, thus, from opening towards the global cultural industry. Cultural products and services of this industry are heavily present on Croatian cultural market that is in this way in touch with global cultural trends. In this sense we can

speak about the entrance of global cultural objects on these fields that are important element of global culture of hits. We can decipher such trends in cultural consumption and in cultural production through localized and hybridized content of global cultural industry, but in specialized niches for global markets. It is interesting to note different trends in cultural consumption, according to selected fields. In film industry, for example, most of the films in distribution are of foreign, American production. Domestic titles do not reach their audiences due to weak or non-existent distribution policies. Hits of global cultural industry are present in film distribution, as well as in content of television shows, and in book industry. Thus, as regards to publishing sector, as evident in selected data on consumption on books, audience is oriented mainly to books by foreign authors, while domestic authors are less popular. On the other hand, music consumption is oriented towards domestic titles rather than foreign ones. These differences in cultural consumption trends are intriguing and show the multiplicity of value orientations, that call for further research.

The role of information and communication technologies is important for the development of new cultural expressions, new cultural practices, and new forms of participation that is especially important in the context of the development of niche cultures. Through niches selected contents of Croatian culture find their trajectories towards global cultural flows. In addition, new spaces of cultural development open up, new options of cultural identification evolve that are more and more distanced from homogen identitarian model and are moving towards more heterogenic model that includes broader range of cultural interactions and exchange and enhances pluralism in culture. What remains to be answered is how to mainstream local cultural production from specific niches, so as to balance out the strong influence of global culture industry.

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