Juha Kaskinen & Riikka Saarimaa (editors)

# CULTURE AS INNOVATION

## The Search for Creative Power in Economies and Societies

Proceedings of the Conference “Culture as Innovation”
6–8 June 2007, Turku, Finland

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# FOREWORDS

Finland Futures Research Centre and Finland Futures Academy organised the 9th international conference at June 2007 in collaboration with the Turku2011 – European Capital of Culture. The conference was titled "Culture as Innovation – the Search for Creative Power in Economies and Societies". The aim of the conference was to create a platform where people can meet, share and discuss new ideas concerning the future of culture, the creative economy and innovativeness. The idea was to generate multidisciplinary, lively and productive discussions and promote networking between people from different backgrounds in arts, business and science. This goal was achieved as the conference brought together some 140 participants from universities, research institutes, public institutions and companies from fifteen countries. The conference appeared a lively and positively discursive occasion.

## Description of the conference

The conference engaged a perspective that culture is contradictory: it is individual and creative, it is collective and empowering. It is also diverse, conservative and restrictive. When reflected upon, such contradictions and the understanding of culture as a creative, interactive and innovative power in society led us to ask a question: What is the future of the creative economy, the cultural industry, economic innovation and the interaction of culture and the economy?

Furthermore, how does creativity strengthen regional and national competitiveness? In what ways can culture support sustainable development that is economic, social and cultural? What conflicting views about the consequences of mixing culture and the economy exist? What future opportunities can cultural production and the creative industries offer a society? What is the significance of the production of cultural meaning and the role of cultural processes in our changing world?

Discussions about these questions were made under the following wider themes:

- Innovativeness and creative processes in economies, cultures and societies of the future
- The future of creative clusters and industries
- The role of cultural industries in economic development and competitiveness
- The power of creativity and culture for the sustainable development
- Case studies of culture, innovation and entrepreneurship
- Futures research methodology in the study of the creative economy
- Theoretical approaches for the future interaction of culture, society and the economy

## Conference Publication

A selection of papers presented in the conference is published in Finland Futures Research Centre's FFRC eBooks series publication titled "Culture as Innovation". This publication has two sections – articles and discussion papers. The division describes the hybridism of creative economy. It is not only a scientific concept that should be discussed academically, but it is an active part of existing economy and

everyday life. Therefore, we decided to publish writings on both perspectives and that way advance the contemporary discussion.

In the article section, five different articles first theoretically discuss the concept of creative economy and, secondly, present some case studies where culture and innovativeness are put in practice. Tomi Kallio, Taina Rajanti, Kirsi Vihermaa and Helena Willner describe the many-faced nature of the concept of creative economy and how different sciences deal with and define it. Paula Bello turns our interest towards the design and network theory in her article. Antti Ainamo studies the innovation platform in the region of Turku, analyses the key developments in the history of innovative capacity in Turku, and explains how the pattern of collaboration with different actors changes over the study period. Riikka Lahtonen investigates the migration willingness of cultural workers with statistical analysis. Helena Mäkinen studies web-based marketing of art galleries and artist in Turku region and gives a state of art picture on that issue.

In the discussion section, we present five exiting papers which are a kind of platforms for giving ideas for innovative thinking and discussions about creativity, cultural diversity, sustainability and regional development in the future. Katri Lietsala and Mikko Ahonen investigate how the current Social Media core services utilise brokering and compounding several resources from different sources into innovative end results. Àgnes Németh focuses on one particular component of new urban tourism, the impacts and functions of the yearly mega-event, the European Capital of Culture (ECOC). Pirita Ihamäki describes a case study where an event called “Creative writing by letterboxing” is a new way of developing written and oral communication with treasure hunt games and creative writing. Mikkola excitingly combines public catering to sustainable development. Public catering could be one good practise to advance a more sustainable future. It can be experienced in everyday life of ordinary citizens as a cultural epitome for sustainability. Ketola is bringing up an idea that cultural diversity is a central force in creativity and innovative processes. She also studies the links between cultural diversity and sustainable development and argues that cultural diversity and creativity are key issues in improving and fostering the wellbeing of people and nature all over the world.

We wish you a mind opening reading experience.

In Turku, August 2009
*Juha Kaskinen & Riikka Saarimaa*
Editors

# ARTICLES

# CREATIVE ECONOMY – A CONCEPTUAL MAPPING FROM FOUR FIELDS OF SCIENCE

*Tomi Kallio, Taina Rajanti, Kirsi-Mari Vihermaa & Hanna Willner*
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## Abstract

During the last few years, various concepts, books, articles, etc. linked to the term 'creativity' have entered both academic and everyday life discourses. Soon after the debate on 'creative class' other, similar concepts began to be identified, such as creative industry, creative economy, creative leadership.

Different concepts attached to creativity overlap several fields of science, and scholars use these creativity related concepts in conflicting ways. The ambitious purpose of this paper is to try to understand the meaning of creative economy by bringing together the perspectives of four scholars from different fields and approaching the concept from their own academic backgrounds. The respective fields of science are: marketing, accounting and finance, management and organizations and sociology.

The goal of this paper is to find common ground or at least a field where the mentioned approaches can meet and then open room for further discussion. The analysis will look for interfaces and intersections in the present discussion. While it is obvious that the aforementioned fields make up only a portion of the overall mixture of the heterogeneous academic discourse connected to the term creative economy, an analysis from the perspective of four different fields makes an interesting opening for further discussion.

## Creative economy in social theory: the concept of general intellect

This chapter looks at "creative economy" specifically from the perspective of what the concept has to offer or signifies in the field of social theory.

There are several threads of social theory dealing with the phenomena relevant to "creative economy" but here we will concentrate on a discourse stemming from Marx's understanding of the relation between capital and labour, of the commodity form of production, and its relevance to the discussion about the shift from fordism and classical capitalist production to post-fordism and the new/creative economy. The key concept Marx uses is "general intellect", meaning human scientific knowledge that is fixed in machines. But a passage in Grundrisse has given rise to new interpretations and elaborations regarding the understanding of this new form of capitalism:

> *"The development of fixed capital indicates to what degree general social knowledge has become a direct force of production, and to what degree, hence, the conditions of the process of social life itself have come under the control of the general intellect and been transformed in accordance with it. To what degree the powers of social produc-*

*tion have been produced, not only in the form of knowledge, but also as immediate organs of social practice, of the real life process." (Marx 1974, 706)*

Paolo Virno takes "general intellect" further, from "the intellect and knowledge objectified in machines" to "live labour, objectified in the live bodies of the workers, in their linguistic cooperation, in their concrete capacity to act in mutual understanding". (Virno 2001.)

Another significant utilizing of the concept of "general intellect" was made by Toni Negri together with Michael Hardt in their book Empire (2000). They combine general intellect with the concept of biopower: life has now become an object of power directly and in its entirety; what is directly at stake in power is the production and reproduction of life itself. Similarly to Virno (2001), Hardt & Negri talk of the "informatized" production: of a cooperation that is completely immanent to the labouring activity itself. "Today productivity, wealth and the creation of social surpluses take the form of cooperative interactivity through linguistic, communicative and affective networks." (Hardt & Negri 2000, 22–41, 284–294) In other words, general intellect now refers to a situation in which knowledge in general, and general human properties, social life in its entirety, become the decisive productive force.

Now what exactly does this mean? A quite recent phenomenon provides illumination here, the story of FanLib and fanfiction. Fanfiction is fiction based on existing works, the most famous and numerous at the present being fiction about Harry Potter. Fanfiction is published in online boards and forums, which are numerous as well; the biggest board being ff.net, which has in its Potter section 296907 registered members, 8094 pages listing the stories, and 4060 communities discussing different aspects about writing fan fiction. In contrast to ff.net, FanLib is a newly launched creative enterprise which presented a ”value proposition” to the fanfic writers, inviting them to join their website and publish their stories there to ”get them to the mainstream” and ”make them touch the stars”; with the idea of making profit from copyrights and advertising. To their surprise, FanLib has miserably failed to provoke anything but heated discussion and scorn from fanfic writers, who have organised e.g. a Live Journal (online weblog) community titled LifeWithoutFanLib. (See Icarusancalion).

Among the reasons for Fanlib's failure were that they failed to conduct a basic analysis of their target audience as they thought they were addressing 13-year old boys and were completely unaware that 90% of Harry Potter fanfic is written by adult women. Their real failure was to understand the functioning of the fanfic writing communities, and note that they were communities. From an online discussion:

*”Our social network is valued because it is a social network, not simply because it is associated with the production of product. This is what FanLib is not getting. Since in their world value is judged solely by the products produced, the idea that the social interactions themselves are highly valued in addition to the product is incomprehensible to them."*

*”They don't care about the process of writing or reccing or reading, nor should they. The only use they have for stories (their "value proposition", as they keep saying) is as products to be utilized and commodified. In this effort, we are merely workers in their fanfic factory. It's not just that they want to make money off us (which they do) but worse, with ideas like "colouring in the lines", they're intent on devaluing the very*

*process of creation itself — as well as our social interactions involved in feedback, reccing, etc. that have all grown up in fandom."*

The creative economy is based on "general intellect", this live force of production, and this means that turning thoughts and ideas into immaterial goods is not a mere question of finding proper techniques or processes, but that it must also find a balance between enhancing and empowering linguistic, communicative and affective networks, and exploiting, destroying or threatening them and creating conflicts.

## Accounting and finance in the creative economy

Accounting and creativity as concepts are usually not combined, mainly because of the negative connotations of "creative accounting". Accounting is seen as a set of rules and conventions that accountants learn and obey. Creativity, by definition, is seen as something new and adaptive with respect to the task constraints involved (See e.g. Amabile 1996; Ochse 1990; Stenberg 1988; Sternberg & Lubart 1996). Therefore creativity in accounting or finance is often seen as something negative, such as fraud and illegal practices. Managers do not usually consider accountants to be creative. Still, over recent decades, we have seen innovations in financial accounting, such as activity-based-accounting (Cooper & Kaplan 1987; 1988).

When talking about the connection between creativity, accounting and finance, the concepts of knowledge capital, intellectual capital and the knowledge based economy come up. According to these theories, investments in knowledge will improve the wealth of organizations or entire nations (Bontis 1996; Brooking 1997; Cañibano et al. 1999; OECD 1996). In today's world, if stock analysts only concentrate on the financial capital of firms, they are said to be missing out important notions of performance, namely intangibles. Such intangibles could be expert knowledge, know-how, R&D, learning, alliances, networks, knowledge creation and social innovations. All of these are more likely to enhance the firm value than the simple financial capital in the assets. For a financial executive or a stock analyst it is crucially important to understand the non-financial performance drivers that will create the future value of a firm. Value in a firm is created in the interaction between its human capital and its organizational capital (Edvinsson & Bonfour 2004; Nonaka 1994).

The current accounting system is about 500 years old and is based on historical costs and transactions reporting. The purpose of accounting is to portray a firm's incomes and its financial state in a realistic way (See e.g. Cañibano et al. 1999; also Myers 1996). However, in today's world, it seems to be increasingly difficult to make a transaction which records only a historical cost analysis. Hence, this looking back based approach may lead to growing inaccuracies in the understanding of value creation.

A new way of measuring intangibles can be carried out by bringing a lateral perspective into accounting and addressing value creators such as alliances, networks, cultural context and know-how on the balance sheet (Edvinsson & Bonfour 2004). Intellectual capital is one of the concepts that link finance and creativity. In the past, businesses primarily invested in the tangible production. The value of a firm was more directly linked to the value of its physical capital. Nowadays intangible assets make it increasingly difficult to understand or valuate the actual value of a company. Intellectual capital is defined as the difference between the book value of the company and the amount of money someone is prepared to pay for it. It can be divided into four categories: assets which give the company power in the market place, those representing the property of the mind, those which give the organization internal strength

and those derived from the people who work in the organization (Brooking). Traditional valuation tools such as the price earnings ratio or enterprise value do not fully capture how intellectual capital affects firm value (See eg. Cañibano et al. 1999). This is why new approaches have been developed and still need to be further developed (Sudarsanam et al. 2006).

The success stories of today's business life are not necessarily the ones creating more financial capital or real assets on the balance sheet, but the ones building up creative knowledge capital, resulting in high share values and finally in the high intangible values of firms. Building a new factory does not guarantee the future capital creation of a firm, but hiring one good designer, for example, just might. In addition, accountants and analysts have to work with this reality. The Enron case (see Swatrz & Watkins 2003; McLean & Elkind 2003; Bryce 2002) and its creatively planned accounting fraud showed that the world of accounting should be more closely linked to the reality of a firm's business. In today's reality, the understanding of accounting and finance are too important to be left outside of our creative economy.

## Marketing and the creative economy

According to the American Marketing Association's dictionary for marketing terms marketing is "an organizational function and a set of processes for creating, communicating, and delivering value to customers and for managing customer relationships in ways that benefit the organization and its stakeholders." (AMA, Dictionary for marketing terms) Value in a creative economy is created when technical innovation, artistic creativity and business entrepreneurship join together to make and distribute a new product for customers (Creative Clusters).

The creative economy focuses on creating and exploiting intellectual property products; such as the arts, films, games or fashion designs, or by providing business-to-business creative services e.g. advertising. Creative economy products usually differ rather a lot from the traditional products of the industrial era. That is also why new, creative and innovative ways to market these products and services are called for. A business in the creative economy is usually based on intellectual property, ideas. Once the idea of e.g. computer software is developed, copying it and spreading it around the world is often fast and inexpensive and potential profits enormous (Coy 2000). On the other hand many products of the creative economy are quite strictly bound to a specific place and moment, e.g. theatrical performances or concerts. The same idea can even be delivered to customers using many different media. A book can e.g. be used as the basis for a theatrical performance, movie, computer game or even a theme park (Kallio, Pulkkinen, Tiilikka 2002, 6). Due to the aforesaid issues, marketing methods in the creative economy need to be multifaceted. Having just an idea isn't enough; it also needs to be successfully commercialized and transformed into business, e.g. product, brand or practice (Himanen 2005).

During the industrial era an economy based on mass production only needed to understand people en masse. The industrial era of business can be successful when it standardizes its relationships with people, and does not use up its resources by treating each employee or consumer as an individual. At the moment the industrial economy is making way for the creative economy and the world is transforming into something new, into a world where the key raw materials are knowledge and information, instead of steel and coal, and where the most valuable products are ideas and meanings that are produced by the imagination instead of machines (Creative Clusters). This is the era of the creative economy, and marketing has a critical role in it.

Marketing itself is usually considered to be a creative process. Even in less innovative organizations a company's marketing division performs a creative process. As a whole, marketing may be conceptualized as the process of offering creative solutions to consumer problems (Titus 2000, 225-235). However, in the creative economy and the changing world, marketing faces new challenges when it comes to creating value for customers. Traditional marketing methods and traditional ways of considering value chains do not necessarily work in the creative economy.

The structure of creative industries or a creative economy can be pieced together through the value chain. The first link in the chain is content creation, the development of an idea or concept. In the second phase the content is developed further; it is packaged, which often means that it is reproduced as a CD or a video, for example. Finally, in the third phase, the content is marketed and distributed. (Kallio, Pulkkinen, Tiilikka 2002, 16). Traditionally packaging, marketing and distribution have increased the value of content dramatically, while content creation itself has only been of moderate economic value. In the past 20 years this order has changed substantially. Distribution channels have multiplied, distribution costs are decreasing and the value of intellectual property rights has rapidly increased (CIM).

## Creative economy – perspectives from management and organizational studies

When it comes to the discourse related to the "creative economy", it seems that today there is conceptually imaginative though somewhat loose and, paradoxically, self-repetitive debate. Moreover, a large part of the debate seems to be taking place at the overall societal level. Even though scholars specialized in management and organizational studies have widely discussed general societal level questions related to e.g. inter-organizational, inter cultural, and even (natural) environmental topics, in many ways the crux of the discipline still lies "within the organizational boundaries" (see also Hatch 1997). Thus, many of the key themes of e.g. human resources management, organization theory, and strategic management deal with "internal", rather pragmatically oriented questions of (business) organizations.

Accordingly, from the perspective of management and organizational studies, the creative economy appears not just as another universal trend that boosts "the rise of the creative class" or vice versa (cf. Florida 2002). This is because in addition to the challenges of managing highly educated professionals and knowledge intensive work, the creative economy touches on the everyday challenges of managing and organizing "less innovative" organizations, such as factories, cleaning firms, and department stores. As labour intensive work is increasingly being sent to developing countries, especially to China and India, the question of how to organize the remaining labour intensive work has become increasingly topical. Thus, the discourse on managing a highly educated creative class should not overshadow the importance of finding new kinds of innovations and solutions for managing blue-collar organizations. In fact both knowledge intensive and labour intensive fields may contain amazing innovations, as suggested in the following examples of the Manhattan project and the pyramids.

While the "social desirability" of the actual outcome of the Manhattan project might obviously be questioned, the development of the atomic bomb undoubtedly works as an ideal type of a successful project that employed several highly educated professionals and that aimed at producing a ground-breaking innovation. In general, it is the ground-breaking technical or, to a somewhat lesser extent, social innovations that seem to be in the minds of many of the scholars who are interested in the creative economy

and creative leadership. On the other hand, when it comes to the innovative process itself, the situation with the pyramids, which is even today perhaps the most amazing construction, was in many ways quite the opposite of the Manhattan project.

The fact that the pyramids were built by "blue-collar" labour makes it an ideal type of a completely different kind of innovative project. As far is known, the pyramids were designed by a relatively small amount of engineers who made the actual technical innovations for the project; i.e. they designed the process of building the pyramids in the technical sense. It was, however, the management and organization of the tens of thousands of workers (who, according to the latest knowledge, were hired workers instead of slaves) for decades that made the execution of the technical innovation possible. Undoubtedly this required numerous social innovations; i.e. the management of blue-collar labour facilitated and made it possible to build the pyramids in a social sense.

In the case of the pyramids, the organization of blue-collar labour stands as an ideal type example of what can be accomplished by creative management and leadership. Accordingly, whether it be research centres, laboratories, factories, cleaning firms, or department stores, it is always possible to find social innovations that challenge traditional ways of doing things. When it comes to the creative economy discourse, it is therefore everyday creativity in everyday organizations that should be raised to the same level of importance as knowledge intensive work. After all, different kinds of organizations have different tasks, different kinds of challenges and thus different types of coordination mechanisms and methods of management (cf. Mintzberg 1979). To sum up from the perspective of management and organizational studies, tasks, operations, coordination, and the management of different kinds of organizations should be at the heart of the "creative economy".

## Conclusions & discussion

As we can see, each discipline, not to mention each scholar, has its, or their, own perspective and approach as well as terms and concepts on the concept of the creative economy. If we go beyond the surface, however, we note that certain themes obviously connect some of the fields more closely, while certain fundamental concepts appear in all of them.

It may not be a surprise that knowledge as the emergent constituting factor of production appears in the texts, and that three of them i.e. marketing, accounting and social theory even make the concept their cornerstone. Knowledge capital and the knowledge economy are indeed terms that usually go with discussions on the creative economy.

In addition, the theme of everyday creativity forms a clear interface between the perspectives of management and social theory. One can find a possible explanation to this from social theory. According to it, by placing the concept of knowledge capital into everyday life, the new emergent creative economy is based on a development whereby some general human qualities and capabilities, such as language, communication, relations and networks based on affects, come to play a decisive role in all production. As our presentation on management points out, this is not confined to the new creative industries, but touches on all fields of production.

We find it both important and interesting that the very concept that unites all our perspectives is value. Consequently, it is evident that the creative economy will affect our notions of social wealth and value regardless of how different the perspective on value creation may be between the disciplines. While

marketing looks at the production of added value by using the concepts of branding from a dynamic angle, social theory might here take a critical stand, warning about the dangers of misunderstanding the dynamics of social production behind the creation of value. Accounting, on the other hand, approaches the creative economy with a certain caution, mainly due to the negative connotations of 'creative accounting'. However, the changing notion of value, and that of social wealth in particular, is forcing the discipline to develop new forms of accounting. For management and organizational studies primary value is attached to people; and though the logic of creativity varies between different types of organizations, the most important resource in most cases is internally motivated employees.

The creative economy is a theme that brings different disciplines together rather than separates them. There is a clear need for joint discussions between disciplines on the issue. This paper hopefully works as the basis for further discussion between practitioners from different fields of the sciences.

We suggest that traditional scientific discourse might learn some new ways of operating, and look at the debate as an iterative process and thus draw strength from each discipline in turn, by looking at concrete common issues where accordance can be found despite general differences and disagreements.

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# FLOWING DESIGN: DEPARTURES AND LANDINGS – THE ROLE OF COLLABORATIVE DESIGN NETWORKS[1]

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*'Architecture and design are likely to be redefined*
*in their form, function, process and value in the coming years'*
Manuel Castells (2000:448)

## Abstract

The acceleration of global processes – driven by the opening of the markets, and new technologies in transportation and communication – are pushing significant changes in the practices and processes of design. Two main aspects have gone through significant transformations, and have directly affected the work of creative individuals: one is the role of imagination (Appadurai 1996), and the other is the network model of operations (Castells 2000).

In this paper, the role and process of design are reconsidered under the frame of global processes and social organisations. Firstly, the paper explores the new function and structure of design; in particular, as a mediator between different cultural settings. Secondly, it explores the social structure which supports the application of design; specifically, the platforms and networks required for its performance. The design networks are explored from three perspectives: from the expanded processes of design, from the different roles within it, and from the integration of individual and institutional networks.

## Introduction

Changes in the modes of development and of operations are leading major changes in how the design profession is practiced. On the one side, the shift from being an industrial society to a knowledge-based (Drucker 1969) and informational society (Castells 2000), and furthermore to a creative economy (Florida 2002) is reflected in major changes in the production systems of regions and nations: from tangible objects to services, complex systems, concepts, networks, and even virtual worlds. Manuel Castells already anticipated that '*architecture and design are likely to be redefined in their form, function, process and value in the coming years*' (Castells 2000:448). This forecast is substantiated by the present transformations in the process of understanding and constructing the artificial world.

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[1] This paper synthesises part of my doctoral research carried out at the School of Design, University of Art and Design Helsinki (2003-2008). Consequently, there are similarities with the dissertation publication and articles presented throughout the research.

On the other side, accelerated global processes (Friedman 1994) – also known as globalisation – cause variations in the needs and practices of design. These accelerations, driven by the opening of the markets (Stiglitz 2001) and new technologies in transportation and communication (Apppadurai 1996), have brought about two major trends in design practice. Firstly, products designed and made by local producers are pushed to expand into internationalisation as a means of surviving in the increasingly competitive regional and national markets. Secondly, the products of international companies have to go through processes of localisation, whereby the local culture and user appropriates or translates the products to fit into the context. Design is seen as a means of assisting in both these processes, and for that, the construction of networks of cooperation in research, development, commercialisation and promotion is required.

## Design framed

The range of applications of the term '*design*' proves challenging in any attempts to frame it: as a process, as a profession, as a result of that process, as manufactured goods, or even as an aesthetic style (Walker 1989). However, this paper seeks to analyse the social relationships around design, and thus, the concept of an anthropology of design, as proposed by Martin Juez is the most suitable:

> *'Anthropology of design: of uses and ideas about objects, and about objects configurating the material life and the ideas; matters of which the fields are the everyday, the imagination and the concrete, the beliefs and the paradigms from which we construct what we believe real and important [...] it has as its aim to explore the links between the human – a central matter in anthropology – with the object – the medullar task of design -; that which guides the creation of things, their uses and the place they have in the memory of the community'*
> (Martin Juez 2002:23. Translation from Spanish by P. Bello 2007)

The central idea of this proposition is to focus not only on the outcome of design, but rather on its relation with people. When looking at this interconnectivity, one also expands the field and process of design to include the complex set of social relations and cultural forms that are not only affected by the outcome of design, but are also the input for design. It also permits us to consider a multiplicity of cultural approaches and practices, which is a determining factor because this research looks at global processes. It is more concerned with the assorted relationships between people and objects than with a particular style, profession, process or product. This work, although it looks at the whole process of production and consumption as a means of understanding design, focuses on the social relations that take place during the production phase.

## Imagination and networks: global processes redefining design

The shifting modes of development and operation are directly influencing the modes of production in societies. As Lefebvre (1974) and Castells (2000) point out, a new mode of production requires a new space and, therefore, a new design system. As we shift from an industrial age to a post-industrial one where the main resource and means of labour is knowledge, information and communication, we need a

new artificial system to respond to its demands. The new design system needs to be sensitive to the way people, both users and producers, relate differently to the places where they are located and to the products and services that surround them. It also needs to consider the coherence in the relationship between the concept and the content of the product with the context in which it acts (Tschumi 2005).

Within the rapid changes in the global processes, there are two main aspects which have gone through significant transformations and which directly affect the creative individuals: one is the role of imagination (Appadurai 1996), and the other is the network model (Castells 2000). The combination and interaction of both have produced immense shifts both at individual and collective levels by reconfiguring how people relate to each other and to the objects around. Specifically, it has reorganised the structure and dynamics of design, especially that which operates in international fields.

On the role of imagination, Appadurai maintains that it has a new role in social life: it is now a social practice. A great part of his argument is based upon Benedict Anderson's (1983) concept of '*imagined communities*'. Anderson maintains that most communities, when they are larger than villages where there is a personal face-to-face contact, are imagined; it is so because most of the community's (or nation's) members will never meet their fellow members and yet each feels a sense of communion. Appadurai (1996) has built on that by proposing the concept of '*imagined worlds*'. In these '*imagined worlds*', imagination is no longer mere fantasy, escape, pastime or contemplation, but it is the structured ground, both as work and negotiation, in which the localised individuals envisage global possibilities. Imagination is no longer the talent of only the creative individuals – such as designers – but of the population in general, who imagine and design their own worlds, which can be far from their immediate realities.

Access to faraway worlds, both physically and virtually, opens up possibilities, in terms of both needs and desires. The flow of images, people, and things are building blocks in the imagination of users, while at the same time they are the tools connecting them into new imagined worlds. As the imagination grows, so do the desires for certain kind of products from lands far away or from the latest global trends, and for products that can help expand that imagination, such as communication devices. Concerning the effects on creative talents, they are not only imagining worlds, but are aware of the possibilities of transforming that imagination into creativity and innovation; creative individuals, industries and economies consciously act to capitalise on this process (Hartley 2005).

From the perspective of networks, the work of Manuel Castells (2000) is paramount. He states that the new economy's main characteristic is the network mode of production because productivity and competition are now driven in global networks of interaction. Cascades (Rosenau 1990), landscapes (Appadurai 1996), flows and networks (Castells 2000), and holograms (Urry 2003) are some of the metaphors used in the social sciences to describe the complex relations in the current global order. What these metaphors share is the capacity to flow, the multilayered structure, the means to connect, and the power and energy to transform. They acknowledge the dynamic quality of networks.

Furthermore, and in direct relation to the purpose of design, Castells sees space as the expression of society, and hence relates it to the mode of production. He proposes two types of spaces that result from the network society: the '*space of flows*' and the '*space of places*'. The first relates to the processes within globalisation, while the latter describes those within localisation. He considers that even if people still live in places (locale), the functions and power of our societies are organised in the space of flows. Design, through products and services, can be seen as the interface between both spaces, between the local and the global.

## Towards a creative economy?

It is argued (Hartley 2005, Rennie 2005) that the process of globalisation brought about? creative industries as such, for the reason that new modes of organising, connecting and understanding the world were necessary. Creative thinking is constructed of the way ideas, knowledge and products are arranged in the local and global spheres. These authors also claim the importance of fostering a space in which creative participation can occur. The possibility to create an environment which fosters creativity and innovation are major agendas in public and private institutions worldwide.

Following this model, creativity is central to the development of society in all fields. The term '*creative economy*' came to be known, through authors like Florida (2002), Leadbeater (2000), and Howkins (2001), as a phenomenon that rose hand in hand with the knowledge economy, in which innovation has an increased importance.

Hartley (2005:20-22) further develops this argument by dividing into four main focus stages the process of the shift from an industrial towards an informational society, from goods to services, and from producers to consumers:

Infrastructure > Connectivity > Content > Creativity

If we apply this model to design thinking in a wide sense, the role of the discipline is to create a material and service infrastructure to support the (economic, cultural, social, environmental, technological) practices of society. The developments towards a knowledge society requires more means of establishing and maintaining connectivity between individuals and communities located in diverse places, but the apparatus itself is not enough, so there is a call for the creation of content to fulfil those gaps. Creativity then plays a crucial role in developing the infrastructure, promoting connectivity and creating content.

## Design reconsidered

There is a coexistence of different modes of development, as well as an interactive relationship between the global and local arenas of production and consumption. This reflects on design, and outlines some of the requirements for the practice of design. There have been studies on the presence of an actor that acts as an intermediary between different cultural modes, practices and forms in the social sciences. Especially within the current global processes, which have led to an intensification and acceleration of the circulation of goods between producers and users, the role of a '*cultural intermediary*' that administers those flows is strengthened. The question is how the designer may play this role.

Featherstone (1993) calls attention to the new professions, including designers, who need to become familiar with a number of different cultures, even living in '*third cultures*'. This is a concept developed by Gessner and Schade (1990) as the mediating arena within intercultural communities. These '*third cultures*' – the fieldwork of many creative professionals – converge global frames of references with the particularities of local cultures, and implement accommodating practices and modes to facilitate this. Nonetheless, Featherstone clarifies that this does not necessarily result in greater tolerance and cosmopolitanism, but can also lead to disputes and even fundamentalisms. What is important in Featherstone's contribution is the acknowledgement of the role of the creative professionals in mediating or arbitraging between global encounters and flows with local ideologies, practices, values and forms.

The tension between assorted cultural manifestations is recognised by Lash and Urry (1994), who identify a problem of interpretation. On the one hand, globalisation compels entrepreneurs of particular localities to interpret and represent certain global processes, in order to make sense of them. On the other hand, localities make the necessary social networks available in order to enable product and process innovations. In other words, localities are the contexts in which people manage knowledge, identify market needs and opportunities, develop new technologies, and initiate reactions and actions.

A problem of interpretation may be handled through cultural translators, or what Hannerz (1992) calls '*cultural brokerage*'. The incursion of external influences has long existed, through different means, filters and applications. The transnational flows offer a wider repertoire of cultural manifestations and technologies that are explored from various perspectives, and local actors perform innovative acts of '*cultural brokerage*'. Design, performing as a negotiator, may be seen as one of those cultural brokers.

For instance, Grinyer (2001) delimits two strategies for international design: firstly, as '*value exporter*' by means of local values and global virtues, and secondly, as '*value collector*' by contending local conditions and market forces. This results in the concept of translation values, which itself has three approaches: speak an own language, turn local values into global virtues, and speak your own language with a local accent. Still, the means through which design performs in these two manners have not been further explored. Nevertheless, it is patent that this requires the construction of networks that provide interaction between information, actors, processes, and institutions.

The cultural learning process within network cooperation can be seen from two perspectives: fostering innovation or fostering homogenisation. The argument for the first is that interactions between creative individuals may lead towards new, original ways of operations and know-how, and to the development of products appropriate for the local context in which they will be used. As for the second standpoint, there is a concern that the sharing of knowledge, forms and products, may lead to a cultural homogenisation, e.g., Coca-Colonisation (Kuisel 1991) or McDonaldisation (Ritzer 1995). Other arguments remark that they are both occurring simultaneously: at the same time there is a surge of new cultural forms and products, but also some local features are being overwhelmed by imported productions.

The role of the designer as a creative force may be better used for managing those struggles. The capacity to synthesise inputs from many perspectives into a precise product or service can be used in both ways: to take advantage of the possibilities of sharing, and to harmonise the traditions of the local and the novelty of the global. It can act as an enabler, bridging the international or global production with the local application and use, for example, through alliances with local partners, or vice versa, connecting the local production with the global market.

## From the creative individual towards a creative structure

The recent hype on creativity and innovation may be misleading to some extent. The focus appears to be on the '*creative individual*' who is capable of providing novel and original schemes. Then again, creativity per se cannot have major social implications if it is not purposefully applied to specific ventures, projects or targets. This is not an easy task, and it necessarily requires a social network and a correct assembly of resources. These networks and sources may be facilitated or obstructed by the global processes in progress; depending on the nature of the creative idea, the potentialities of the application, the capability of the creator, and the promises of markets, the original and novel idea will face a unique path. As

Hughes clearly asserted, eureka is important, but innovation is 110% transpiration (as quoted by Lemonnier 1993:21).

Two recent concepts assert the existence of spaces in which the synergy of human capital fosters creativity and innovation: Manuel Castells' '*milieu of innovation*' (2000) and Richard Florida's '*social structure of creativity*' (2002). According to Castells, this space provides the necessary synergy to develop new knowledge, processes and products by establishing the right set of relationships of production and management within a spatial proximity in a metropolitan setting. If we accept these concepts, it is possible to argue for the creation of conditions for design to be organised and performed in the development of society. The artificial creation of such spaces may be questioned in relation to its effectiveness, but nonetheless, resolutions and actions are constantly taken to at least build the foundations for a creative structure.

This creative structure is built in great part through networks of collaboration. Interactions and cooperation between governmental institutions, industrial companies, commercialisers, promoters and creative professionals are continuously fostered as a means of improving competitiveness by innovating in processes, products and services. Design is one of the creative practices at the core of this system.

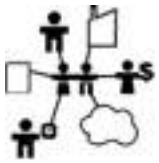
## The social networks of design

The process of design – which expands from the production to the consumption of the product – is in itself both driver and outcome of an intricate social and institutional network. The design process spreads out into the consumption stages because the integration of the final user in the development of products is a growing concern of design studies and practice. The interest arises from the professional necessity to understand the user and its context in order to develop more appropriate products. It also expands further into the disposal of the product, as the environmental impact is a central concern for the professional design practice. In addition, the arena of design not only comprises production and consumption processes, but is also strongly defined by local and global conditions.

Crang and Jackson have defined three interwoven geographies of production and consumption: the local setting, the global commodity system, and the imaginative geographies of each. What these geographies seek to describe are the complexities resulting from production and consumption regarded as global processes: '*Local sites of consumption can only exist through global networks of production and provision*' (Crang & Jackson 2001: 329). Their contribution helps situate design in this multifaceted process, and hence, points out its malleability within the several interwoven global and local stages, which form the production and consumption landscapes. However, it is also important to remember that there are still production and consumption systems that are eminently local, as the stages or phases are all located within a particular circumscribed geographical area

When analysing the most conventional stages of the process, it is evident that these networks are not only favourable but also indispensable. The diagram below visualises a scenario of the life of the designed object, and describes the characteristics of the design process under the paradigm of an increasingly connected global society. Furthermore, it introduces the multiplicity of networks necessary to conceptualise, produce, distribute, consume and dispose of products:

*Table 1.*

| | PROCESS | DEFINITION | NETWORKS |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | **Design climate** | Refers to the conditions that foster an integration of actors and resources in order to develop a precise design-driven activity. | Nodes (local and global) create links in order to develop certain projects, for promotion or just as connections for future developments. |
|  | **Pre-design process** | When all the pieces are in order, pre-design research is conducted to obtain knowledge on the resources, the possibilities, the user, the technologies, the markets, etc. In this part, the design brief is defined. | Local and global actors get together to specify the type of project, and do research on the conditions to develop it. |
|  | **Designer/ Conceptualiser** | The designer or the design team analyses and synthesises all the information received into a material object/environment, or intangible service. | Different designers bring their own ideas and values into the table, and all participants share their own local inputs. |
|  | **Producer/ Maker** | The production system transforms the designer's proposal into a precise output for the market and society. | The product is fragmented and parts produced in a production network, then assembled together. |
|  | **Goods/ Products/ Images/ Services/ Environments** | The product can be an object, an image, a service, an environment. The sum of goods form the artificial system in which we live. | The goods travel through the networks. |
|  | **Distributor** | The goods are incorporated into distribution systems, which can be local, regional, national or international. | The goods are marketed and distributed in different nodes of the network. |
|  | **Retailer/ Promoter** | The promoter uses media to present the goods to the potential consumer. The retailer is in charge of selling to the consumer; it can be physical (e.g., shop) or virtual (e.g., internet). | Local and global actors in advertisement, promotion and sale integrate to position the product in the chosen market. |
|  | **Buyer** | The buyer, a.k.a. consumer, acquires the product from the retailer, through a money exchange or other kind of agreement. | The buyer acquires the product through local and international networks; it can be the user or not. |
|  | **User** | The user incorporates the product into his or her life, and hence, appropriates it by how he or she uses it. | The user appropriates the object that comes from different and complex sources; it becomes part of his/her life. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | **Non-user** | The non-user does not use the product directly, but its presence still plays a role (e.g., status tool). | The non-user receives some indirect message from a network of influences; it doesn't necessarily mean that it becomes part of his or her life. |
|  | **Disposer** | The product is disposed of into the trash, as it is no longer required by the user or non-user. | The object is divided and thrown in pieces into networked trash. |
|  | **Recycler** | The product is reincorporated into the chain; it is pulled out from the trash, and re-used or recycled (in its totality or in parts) into something new. | Somebody reshapes the trash into something new that goes into local and international markets and networks. |
|  | **Pollution** | The sum of disposed goods creates pollution that directly or indirectly affects the world's population and the environment. | The world and local population is being directly and indirectly affected by all the waste all over the world and locally, produced by different sources and flown around networks. |

When talking about a system of material constructions, one necessarily needs to look beyond its materiality to the complex, multidimensional, intangible networks in which they exist. It is comprehensible then to say that '*What we find, in other words, are networks that are always both "global" and "local"*' (Thrift 2002:39). In other words, networks contain nodes, connections and intersections from both the global and the local arenas, producing arrangements that are particularly experienced.

Moreover, these networks have different configurations. For instance, Urry (2003:51) discerns three topologies of networks:

- Line or chain networks with many nodes spread in a more or less linear fashion
- Star or hub networks, with a central hub or hubs
- All-channel networks, with communications proceeding in more or less all directions across the network simultaneously.

These different forms are identifiable in the diverse networks required for the particular conditions of the stages discerned earlier. It recognises that these are not homogeneous, but have different structures, dynamics, and manners of relating to each other.

## The roles in design milieux

What is clear is the importance of networks and collaborations in making the leap from an idea towards an innovation. A large set of actors and agencies are required to lay the ground and manage all the elements, potentials and constraints in order to transform an idea into a reality: this is a process that requires not only the work of creative talents, but also of managers, producers and distributors. Moreover, the user has a central role: he or she has the last word in deciding if a certain idea – transformed into a precise image, narrative, product or service – will be meaningful and become part of their lives, and con-

sequently, have an incidence in the practices of societies. The end user has the power to embrace or reject any idea.

The design practice relies on a complex infrastructure that resembles the all-channel network that Urry referred to (2003). In these intricate webs, designers interact with a full infrastructure of other professionals, such as researchers, trend and market analysts, industrialists, producers, retailers, promoters, marketers, etc. Borja de Mazota (2003:34) describes the different actors in the design market:

- *Design 'producers':* Includes design schools, designers (free-lance, design consultancies, in-house designers), and trend styling agencies.
- *Design 'manufacturers':* Segmented according to design input in product and/or service strategy.
- *Design intermediaries:* Those linking designers and the market, such as designers' agents and/or recruiting consultants, advertising and corporate communications agencies, and R&D consultancies.
- *Design prescription 'design contagion system':* The structure that promotes design, such as press media, architects, design museums, and design awards.
- *Design distributors:* Comprises design galleries and showrooms, and retail stores (by designers or segmented by specialisation).
- *Consumers:* Segmented by attitudes towards design.

Even if this categorisation seems exclusive of 'high-design' or 'specialised-design', it is useful to understand the complexity of design networks. The most relevant contribution is the acknowledgement of the importance of building connections between the different actors. There are different reasons why the design market cultivates different types of networks, such as:

- The exploration of links with other disciplines or cultural systems to develop new processes, forms and languages.
- The establishment of intercultural relationships and practices to facilitate the exchange of ideas, processes and products.
- The interaction between traditional forms and customs with contemporary concerns to negotiate technological developments and market-economy demands.

## Interactions of networks in the design milieu

The varieties of networks and relationships behave and interact differently at the various stages of the design process: in the phases of research, development, production and consumption. These structures and behaviours depend on the formation and interaction of nodes, and in the flow of information within the nodes. These nodes may be formed of individuals or institutions depending on the roles necessary within a design project, and regularly they are from different disciplines or backgrounds. Thus, the networks are characterised by being cross-disciplinary, and cross-institutional.

The following table deconstructs the different type of networks that operate simultaneously in the professional design practice (Bello 2007:20):

*Table 2.*

| Type | Aim | Structure | Actors |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Governmental** | Promote regional or national development. | Large-scale integration of networks. | Government offices: trade, industry, etc. |
| **Educational** | Create future designers and develop research. | Between institutions, with the industry and the government. | Universities, polytechnics, post-graduate, independent research centres. |
| **Promotional** | Promote the local services and material production: culturally, economically, politically, etc. | With media, industry, universities, designers' associations. | Promotional centres (public and private). |
| **Commercial** | Trade of products and services. | Several industries simultaneously, with clients and media. | Shops, fairs, producers. |
| **Industrial** | Production of goods and services. | Fragmentation of processes, subcontracting, collaborations between SMEs. | All types of manufacturing and service industries. |
| **Professional** | Organisation of design practice and services. | Between associations, NGOs, consultancies, agencies. | Designers' associations, consultancies, agencies. |
| **Personal** | Promotion of own design work. | Links between individuals and larger networks (all of the above). | Designers, linked with all those that support the practice. |

It is important to acknowledge that these categories do not act as separate entities, but rather as layered landscapes often overlapping to achieve their aims. For instance, universities have partnerships with industry to develop new materials, products or services, and promotional centres collaborate with the government to promote certain sectors.

One of the main strategic aims of design policies is to integrate these parallel networks within the national and regional areas, and into global networks of design, production, and consumption. Policies promoted by governments see that these networks will not only strengthen their competitive advantage but will make them players in modern, global landscapes. Hence, they seek to facilitate the cooperation between professional designers' organisations, industry, educational institutions, government and the public. Some countries have succeeded to a certain degree, but most countries are institutionally disarticulated, which only accentuates the segmentation and the inequality in production and consumption systems (Bello 2005).

## Conclusions: design practice in the long view

As has been explained throughout this article, design is experiencing major changes in its mode of operations in order to respond to the demands of the new economy, and there is substantial evidence to believe that these changes will continue to occur in the future. Designers, trying to develop better products for the user or to improve competitiveness, look for tools and methods that can assist in that process, which now floats between the local and the global. Both localisation and internationalisation in the design process appear to be imminent trends, and these necessarily require leaping from local to global

networks and vice versa. The most promising way to do this is through the establishment of participatory processes with actors situated locally and/or globally, depending on the circumstances and objectives of each design project.

The implications of this paradigm shift represent new capabilities required of designers: they will need to frame themselves and their work within global processes, deal with other cultures and disciplines, be sensitive to cultural products and forms, and keep their sight on the large, world picture. The designer needs to be seen as a creative individual that enables relationships between people, between and with products and services, and that synthesises global and local needs, potentials and restraints. It also calls for an integration of networks, not only of actors, in order to articulate initiatives and actions. These demanding tasks call for more research on the required new network processes within design practice.

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# THE INNOVATION PLATFORM IN THE REGION OF TURKU: WHY AND HOW TO DESIGN SYSTEMIC INNOVATION?

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## Abstract and introduction

Most scholars across urban and economic sociology, innovation, and industrial organization agree that well-being in society and wealth creation in the economy hinge on local capacity for innovation. Most of them also agree that such a capacity must stand up in a positive way in international and inter-regional comparison. Also, they tend to agree with Manuel Castells in that, **"**[c]ities and spatial forms are a fundamental dimension of society, and thus change and evolve with society"[2] (Castells 2005, cf. Porter 1990, Freeman 2002). Where such scholarship has as of yet left us partly in the dark is on the precise social mechanisms of how, then, to create and sustain this innovative capacity. This paper is to serve as a basis for further theory development and guide further data collection, analysis and interpretation, rather than as of yet constitute a fully proven theory. The paper builds on ideas, concepts, and theory originating or carried in the work of Castells. The paper focuses on applying the work to study innovative capacity in the City of Turku. The paper analyses and interprets data collected on three sectors of unequal size in the Turku region -- biotechnology, information and communication, and industrial design -- to specify why and how investments and innovation focusing on the first sector, in particular, with the analysis extending until early 2007. In analyzing these data, the main research questions is: What are key developments in the history of innovative capacity in Turku? More specifically, what were key developments from the early 1990s until 2007? How did actors collaborate and how did the pattern of collaboration change over time during this period? What does the longitudinal case of phenomena going under labels such as "biotechnical grouping", "BioTurku" and "Turku Innovation Platform" suggest are challenges in a city like Turku in attempting to sustain and strengthen innovative capacity? In synthesis of answering these broad questions, the paper finds that good ideas have long existed in the City of Turku on how renewal of innovative capacity might be triggered and momentum maintained. New capacity development while exploiting the old capacity has amounted to a challenge, however, as well as

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[2] Castells (2005) continues: "So, the transition from the industrial society to the information age... although obscured by ideology and hype, refers to a fundamental transformation of the social structure, around the interaction between culture, economy, institutions and the new technological paradigm ... a revolution that took shape from the 1970s onwards, with its historical epicenter in Northern California. ... New technologies allow for the simultaneous concentration and decentralisation of settlements and activities, connecting places through networks... The wealth of nations, and of cities, depends on innovative capacity". Important here is that by "places", Castells means cities more than nation-states (see also Castells 2002).

structuring collaboration with outsiders to the City and the region. Implications for generalisability of the findings and further research are given, including action plans for innovation policy and the precise strategy of research.

## Literature review

Concern with globalization in terms of wealth creation and societal well-being began around 1990 in (economic) sociology. One of the key figures and advocates of the idea that world society and the economy are becoming global is clearly urban sociologist Manuel Castells (1996; cf. Swedberg 2000; Scott and Davis 2007).

## Milieux of innovation in the new economy

Castells's theory is that "milieux of innovation" are characteristic of a "the new economy". This concept of "milieux of innovation" has been a key source of inspiration for both Castell's followers and for his critics. The theory is that the "new economy" is a system "with the capacity to work as a unit in real on a planetary scale" (Castells 1996:62, 92). What characterizes his theory is first and foremost the premise that the global economy and society are based on a "new kind of infrastructure technology", consisting of both information processing devices and the networks in which these are embedded. The features of this "new" economy include (selective) globalization of markets for finance, goods, services, science and technology; internationalization of production; increasing significance of information and knowledge-intensive production; transition from vertical models of production and management to various forms of networks; displacement of economic activities from individual corporations to projects and networks; emergence of the network company and so on (cf. Swedberg 2005). The global markets for finance, goods, services, technology, production, and information and communication technology are in this system all connected to one another in networks that not only connect localities to one another but also make localities dependent on this "system of networks" (Hautamäki 2007). The revolution of financial investment, de-investment and re-investment around the world around the clock transforms industrial local or international firms into organizations that are organized in a horizontal manner so that their architectures are transformed into "networks enterprises"; that is, into intra-organizational networks (Castells 1996:151-200). Castells (2000) defines a "networks enterprise" as an "organization around process, not task; a flat hierarchy, team management; measuring performance by customer satisfaction; rewards based on team performance; maximization of contacts with suppliers and customers; information, training, and retraining of employees at all levels" (Castells 2000).

According to Castells, innovation is always different from production operations, which may be set up as greenfield operations in any one site as a process of vertical integration. Innovation, according to Castells, is rooted trans-nationally in and across the local units of global networks enterprises as a process of horizontal coordination. Large cities and other metropolitan areas are in this framework the key "milieux of innovation" (Castells 2005, Hall 1998, Castells and Hall. 1994). The metropolitan areas both function as and emerge as symbols of locally or territorially rooted environments that are successful in stimulating and spreading innovative activities, effectively working as nodes in global networks of innovation rather than only as nodal points of exploitation or those of control.

One reason for why Castells views the major metropolitan areas of the world as sources or carriers of innovation and knowledge of the global network economy is that metropolitan areas are cultural and cognitive elements that allow for face-to-face processes of interaction that function as interfaces between otherwise different fields of industry, the economy and society. The metropolitan areas are here more natural candidates for actors than are nation-states, for example (cf. Scott and Davis 2007), which are typically much vaster and sparsely populated areas than are metropolitan areas. In "major" (that is, large) metropolitan areas, especially, citizens interact with people who are strangers to them on a more or less routine basis. Castells explicitly operationalizes a geographical area as a 'good' or 'bad' innovative milieu on the basis of that area's networking capacity, both internally within the milieu and externally across milieus, as well as both in terms of technological infrastructure and in terms of possibilities for social networking. When such networking possibilities are diverse, abundant and high-quality, citizens interact with others in other cities and abroad as often as they do with strangers in other cities and areas within their own nation-state. At least potentially, there is more critical mass and increasing returns on networking in an 'open' rather a 'closed system' (see Scott and Davis 2007 for discussion on open and closed systems). Thus, a "system" that is "open" across national boundaries, other things given, expands innovation capacity more than does a "closed system" that involves only intra-national interaction. A capacity to bridge a digital divide or another such 'structural hole' generates an opportunity for 'arbitrage' and creative entrepreneurship.

The joint impact of the theoretical developments, above – globalization, persistently local activity, and the transnational proliferation of models of rationality -- include substantial changes in the societal and economic conditions for economic growth and for policy-making in states and regions (Cooke and Morgan 2000/1998). Factor inputs are less and less restricted to "spaces of places" such as traditional political or administrative boundaries, but move across what Castells (2000) calls "spaces of flows".

In this framework, nation-states and regions area areas or spaces that need to attract flows of new information in order to renew the premises for and sustain economic development. Growth can and will distribute unevenly across geographical regions. In regional economies that restructure in this model, the goal will not be only to exploit but also to explore new growth areas, many of which areas will involve production and utilization of new knowledge-intensive technologies. Within this context, "[m]ilieux of innovation are [viewed as] the fundamental sources of innovation and of generation of value added in the process of industrial production in the Information Age" (Bruun 2002). "Milieux of innovation" will drive innovative capacity within the locality and, in turn, global innovation, applications as new products, new services, new systems, or innovations, and possibilities for commercial exploitation of such innovations.

## Critical and synthetic perspectives

While the ideas of Castells and Hall that that the world economy has gone through a fundamental change has become a "global network economy" based on nodal interactions across "milieux of innovation" is a good and interesting theory, this theory has been challenged by a number of economic sociologists. Neil Fligstein, for example, has pointed out that competition and other economic activities in world trade have not expanded very much in relative terms during the past few decades; that new technologies constitute only a small part of world trade and GNP; and that the basic structure of firms has not

changed of information technology (1996, 2001:191-222). According to Djelic and Ainamo (1999), firms still tend to be organized and innovate following national and local institutions. The firms still adhere to peculiar local cultural legacies, rather than having made a shift into fully global networks enterprises.

On a level of high abstraction, the views of Castells and those of his critics can be synthesized by noting that globalization and persistently local economic activities are not always diametrically opposed. An example of such a synthesis is John Meyer and his associates who find that while contemporary world culture and the modern world society are not new phenomena, at least they are phenomena that are more significant in comparison to what they were in the past (see Meyer 2000 for an overview). In this view, the West produces distinct models for organizing politics, education and the economy. Then, these models are copied and diffused around the world. In this view, all modern nation-states are concerned primarily with economic development, especially with the ideology of such development. Scripts or models exist for accounting, for describing what a successful firm should be like, and so on. Of crucial importance in all of these scripts is the idea or myth of rational actors – be they in the form of nation-states, modern organisations, or individuals. According to Meyer (2000:239; see also Swedberg 2000: 71): "Actors are entities with rights and interests and with the assigned right and capacity to represent these interests. Actors, thus, are assigned agency – derived main from the moral universe: it is in this sense that they are 'small gods'."

More specifically, in reality, innovative activities are fundamentally local ones. Bell (1999 finds that "new" ideas in fact accumulate first and foremost in the model of old technologies, triggering similar processes of industrial revolution and economic and societal change as did the earlier breakthrough technologies in their time. Powell et al. (1996, 117) have found that, in fields of rapid technological development, "research breakthroughs are so broadly distributed that no single firm [or other actor] has all the internal capabilities necessary for success." Rather than the single actor being more tightly connected with the global economy and society, it is "the field [as a whole in which a single firm is embedded] is becoming more tightly connected" (Powell, Koput et al. 1996, 143). Collaboration occurs across a multitude of firms and within a multitude of fields, taking forms ranging from R&D to marketing and licensing. Distributed work is significant not only for sharing risks or acquiring access to knowledge and information on an ad hoc basis but also in terms of developing absorptive capacity for interacting with other firms, locating oneself in a network position, seeing the opportunities provided by collaboration and benefiting from it. It is an experience of networking that makes firms more competent networkers, and thus – following to Powell and his colleagues – more competitive in the modern network society and network economy. Freeman (2002) concludes that "systems of innovation" involve creative tensions between the global and the local, which tensions are best overcome with collaboration by local policy makers, industry representatives, and researchers in universities, research institutes, and industrial laboratories (Janasik 2002; see Ainamo and Ahteensuu 2007 for the role of the media as a fourth 'estate').

In sum, even if the concept of "milieux of innovation" is not a completely new one but in part an outcome of rhetoric such as that related to rationality, this concept is nonetheless valid in that it relates to how various local elements cross-pollinate with global ideas to generate new knowledge, new processes, new products, restructured systems, or all of these kinds of innovations (Castells 2000, 421; see also Kostiainen 2000; Kostiainen and Sotarauta 2000).

## Methodology and data

The study is based on a regional innovation capacity perspective and analyses the capacity creation process in the light of parameters identified in urban and economic sociology. The paper builds on Bruun's empirical research (2002; see also Hukkinen, Höyssä and Bruun 2003), who conducted a series of interviews in the spring and early summer of 2001, choosing his interviewees in Turku in part by the snowball method, and in part as a comfort sample. In part, the interviewees thus themselves suggested people who should be interviewed, which generally is good for identifying those who are visibly participating in collaboration or controversy. Bruun also made sure he interviewed people from several organizations in each actor-category in order to get a better sense of how well the interviewees selected by the snowball method represent their categories. He did no interviews with members of the City Council or the City Board of Turku, or with representatives of the "old" pharmaceutical and diagnostic industry in Turku except for two brief telephone interviews (see appendix). In addition to the interviews, he used various documents as primary material, including strategic plans, memoranda, assessments, risk analyses, and overviews.[3]

Next, the paper presents a seminal narrative of the milieu of innovation in the case of the metropolitan area of Turku, with particular emphasis on the university system, industrial infrastructure, and local public policy, as well as capacity for social innovations. The reveals three sectors of strikingly unexplored innovative capacity that are of unequal size: information and communication technology, industrial design, and biotechnology based on medical research.

## The innovation capacity of the city of Turku

Turku is situated in the southwestern part of Finland, on the shore of the Baltic Sea. It is the oldest Finnish city and played a significant political, economic and cultural role in the country's early history. Towards the end of the 20th century, other cities (Helsinki, the new capital, and Espoo and Vantaa, satellites of Helsinki) bypassed Turku in national significance. Since the 1990s, many other regional centers, such as Tampere, Oulu, and Kuopio have successfully competed with Turku for talent and other resources. With approximately 172,000 inhabitants, Turku is today Finland's fifth largest city (after Helsinki, Espoo, Tampere, and Vantaa). Administratively, Turku belongs to the greater Turku region (officially *Turku sub-region*), which also includes the towns of Kaarina, Raisio, Lieto and Naantali, and totals a population of about 230,000. Demographically in terms of a place to work for many people living in Turku, the Turku region can also be said to Salo, so that there is an "extended" Turku region.

The economy of Turku and its region is diversified. Public services, firstly, and industry, secondly, are the dominant sectors. Other important sectors are construction, transport, as well as research and development in information and communication technology in Salo and in Turku proper. In terms of industrial design, the largest product design consultancy in the Nordic country is located in Turku. This firm, ed design, has a history of working for firms based in Salo, such as for Nokia mobile phones, which has research operations in Turku and also other key activities in nearby Salo.

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[3] Aside from Bruun's work, much of the data for this paper was in the Finnish language. Where translation from Finnish to English was needed, Bruun or the author of this paper did the translation.

R&D in Turku was from the 1980s organised mainly by local universities as basic research or applied, while technology development and industrial research was mainly carried out by Nokia, Nokia's contractors, and other major corporations. At the end of the 1980s, the City participated in the establishment of a technology centre in Turku by investing millions of Finnish Markkas (the currency of Finnish Markka was changed to Euros only in 2001) in facilities and equipment for biotechnology research and development. In the early 1990s, the city administrators initiated and put much faith in their capacity to create a sustainable local advantage in biotechnology. The project transformed into plan to design and build production facilities for new biotechnology start-ups that might benefit from the construction of such facilities. The City of Turku was soon more and more involved in the biotechnology network, utilising the idea of network governance rather than hierarchical government. This represented a major shift in attitude, because previously these activities had primarily been seen as a concern of the universities and industry, not of the city administration. Yet, as a legacy of the past model of governance, the City followed regional industrial policies shown in numerous studies to lead to competitiveness in high-performing regions such as the Silicon Valley, Emilia-Romagna and Baden-Württemberg (Saxenian 1994; Castells and Hall 2000/1994; Cooke and Morgan 2000/1998; Kivinen and Varelius 2000), in reconversion regions such as Styria in Austria, Wales and the Basque country (Cooke et al. 2000; Cooke and Morgan 2000/1998); in regions self-organized as industrial districts like Friuli in Italy (Cooke, Boekholt et al. 2000); and regions in transitional economies like Lower Silesia in Poland (Cooke, Boekholt et al. 2000). In the model of these policies, the first explicit Turku strategy for innovation was formulated and accepted by the City Council, which strategy identified biotechnology, information technology and culture as strategically significant areas and emphasized the need to encourage knowledge production, innovation, and the emergence of new technology firms (Turku City Council 1997). The city took upon itself to be the manager of local innovation networks and established a new structure for this, Turku Science Park. The goal of the bio-grouping was to be dynamic and self-organising rather than a static structure.

Then, the so-called 'dot.com boom' ended. In effect, this translated into a downturn in global financial markets and a drastic decline in venture capital that was available for highly expensive and slow development of commercial applications in biotechnology. The officials in the City of Turku felt that there was a need for reorientation in policy. However, the path dependencies that had taken off in Bio-Turku could not be overturned. It was soon realised that, in fact, the policy and structure were not developing in the desired direction; nor was any one taking charge of the bio-grouping (nowadays called Bio-Turku) that was running out of funds and momentum. By about 2005, it became legitimate to openly voice in Turku that BioTurku had not performed up to expectations. In 2007, discussions began about what would be the next "Turku Innovation Platform".

## Discussion and conclusion

As the evidence presented in this has show, collaboration through local networks need not only be a feature of innovation, production, and business firms. The public sector, in this paper the public sector in Turku, can also seek this kind of an experience of networking.

The transition from the traditional choice situation between vertical top-down policy or abstention from innovation to an emergent policy of participation in a horizontal network at the turn of the millen-

nium was potentially dramatic, because it contained a shift in policy-thinking from "government" to "governance" – that is, a transition from a notion of centrally co-ordinated and sectored policy-making with narrowly defined problems, clearly articulated goals and resources that meet specified needs to a totally new kind of notion of decentralized and collaborative policy-making in which problems are hard to define, objectives are multiple, and these objectives sometimes downright contradictory. The resulting "policy networks" in Turku were "patterns of relations between interdependent public, semi-public and private actors involved in processes of public policy-making in a certain policy field" (Sotarauta 2001, 39). Unfortunately, given a spread of the policy domain with a "policy network" rather than a policy of 'central planning', the amount of stakeholders and the volume of their needs easily exceed resources (Heffen et al. 2000), a potentiality which became reality (Sotarauta 2001). Increases in demand for resources in the case of some new network actors did not automatically upgrade supply of such resources to meet the new demand, as policy makers had tacitly assumed during the 'dot-com boom'.

In conclusion, this paper demonstrates the risks of too much emphasis on static structures of public policy-making in attempts to create new innovative capacity. The downturn of the world's financial markets was a critical turn that took local policy makers of BioTurku by surprise. The economic turn of 2001 was a 'chance event' external to the particular sectoral system. Paths of evolution were triggered in which it was difficult to intervene once these paths took off from the earlier path. The policy makers tried to make a transition back to an 'on/off' mode of policy of top-down decision making after their new policy had met with failure. Tinkering with semi-autonomous local "system" or "milieu" failed to control or harness the dynamic forces of potential chaos that had been unleashed. BioTurku may be but a specific instance of a more general phenomenon whereby historically derived and tacit structural characteristics weigh heavily on local interaction long after initiation of projects to increase dynamism. Exposing the assumptions and structures of hegemony behind policy choices in a locality such as Turku can emancipate local actors to engage in genuine policy choices when such choices may be needed, however. A well working "system" may be one that consists of a rather resistant and stable 'constitution layer' that is well codified and a more responsive 'innovation layer' that is more fuzzy in terms of its rules of operation. Longitudinal and comparative statistical analysis is among the appropriate designs to study such a proposition arising from this paper. Analysis valid for both research and practice will take into account more than one path of evolution and more than one scenario of the future.

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# MOBILITY OF CULTURE WORKERS

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## Abstract

Cultural employment is one of the fast growing areas in the labour force. Previous research on cultural labour markets indicates the existence of differences compared to other industries such as high education levels, extensive multiple jobholding, low average and high variability in earnings. However, information on an important feature, namely labour mobility behavior, is lacking, mainly due to lack of sufficient data. This article investigates personal, working life and family characteristics that are in the background of the migration decisions of culture workers. Approximately 50 % of culture workers live in metropolitan regions. Hence, what is of our special interest is migrational flows from the countryside to cities and from rest of the country to the metropolitan region. The analysis is based on data from the Finnish Longitudinal Census. The sample used in this study is a 7 per cent sample of individuals residing in Finland 2001. For the analysis, the data are restricted to individuals in the labour market aged 15-74 using panel data from 1995 to 2001.

## Introduction

Cultural employment is one of the fast growing areas in the labour force (see e.g. García et al. 2003, Power 2002, Karttunen 2001). However, information on important feature, migration behavior, is lacking, mainly due to lack of sufficient data. This paper investigates personal, working life and family characteristics that affect the migration decisions of people employed in cultural industries.

Over the last thirty years considerable research effort has identified the factors that affect peoples' migration decision. The personal characteristics are regarded as the main determinant affecting individual's decision to migrate. According to previous research, high education level and youth increases the likelihood of migration and especially to the central regions (Kauhanen and Tervo 2002; Ritsilä and Ovaskainen 2001). Unemployed workers are more likely to migrate than employed workers, due to low cost of moving (Ritsilä and Ovaskainen 2001).

Previous research on cultural labour markets indicates the existence of differences compared to other industries such as high education levels, extensive multiple jobholding and uncertainty in the labour market, youth and high variability in earnings (Wassal and Alper 1985, Menger 1999). All these characteristics are expected to have an effect on person's migrational behavior.

Approximately 50% of culture workers live in metropolitan regions. Hence, what is our special interest are migrational flows from the countryside to cities and from rest of the country to the metropolitan region.

## Estimation method

The estimation executed is threefold: first to see the overall propensity to migrate. Second, we examine the propensity to migrate from countryside to city. Third, we examine the propensity to migrate from rest of Finland to the Helsinki metropolitan region.

The research question is examined using the cross sectional binary logit model based on the method of maximum likelihood (see, Greene 2003). The dependent variable that is whether an individual has changed municipality is controlled by a dummy variable getting the value of one if the individual's municipality of work has changed during the research period and value of zero if it has remained the same. The choice is based on utility maximization, thus formulating the $i^{th}$ individual's utility choice *j*.

$$U_{ij} = \beta_j' x_i + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad \text{for } j=0,1, \qquad (1)$$

The probabilities for the choices are given by

$$\text{Prob}(Y = 1) = F(\beta', x) \text{ and} \qquad (2)$$

$$\text{Prob}(Y = 0) = 1 - F(\beta', x) \qquad (3)$$

The log-likelihood function for sample of *n* observations is

$$\ln L = \sum_{i=1}^{n} \{y_i \ln F(\beta' x) + (1 - y_i) \ln[1 - F(\beta' x)]\} \qquad (4)$$

## Data and variables

The descriptive analysis, as well as the following empirical analysis, is based on data of the Finnish Longitudinal Census. The Longitudinal Census File has been merged from various registers by matching the personal identifiers across them. The census file is maintained and updated by Statistics Finland. The sample used in this study contains 7 per cent sample of individuals residing in Finland in 2001. The socio-economic status of the sample individuals is well documented. The data provides information on personal characteristics, working life characteristics and family characteristics. In this study, we use a sample consisting of people in the labour force, the total sample size per year amounting to 175 249 individuals. This study utilizes a panel data set from 1995 to 2001. The migrational behavior of each individual during this period is examined.

The classification of regions is based on classification of municipalities by Statistics Finland. Municipality is the basic unit of Finnish local self-government. In this study, the classification used combines municipalities into NUTS 4 -regions totalling of 77 regions. These regions have been grouped into three classes based on the amount of population and degree of urbanisation in the region: rural regions and cities, and of the cities the metropolitan region is specified as its own region due to its significance in the field of culture and arts. The educational level is defined by the classification of Finnish Standard Classification of Education (2002).

To identify culture workers is not an easy task. The emphasis might be in traditional artistic activities, it can include production of culture and culture-related objects, or it can cover all creative and innovative work. As for the start, the new literature of cultural industries and occupations has faded out the

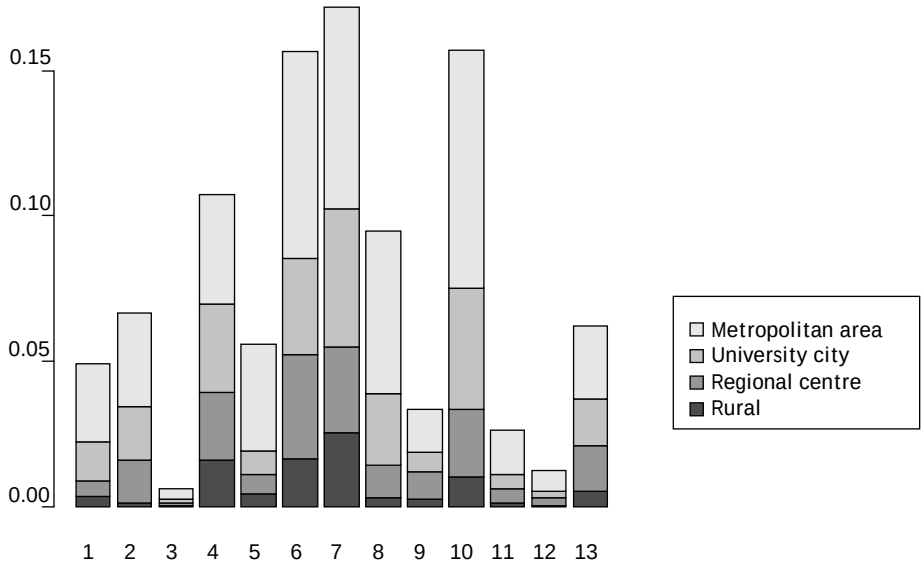
old division to high culture and popular culture. It embraces commercial cultural goods and emphasizes the role of not only arts, but also entertainment and advertising in promoting innovation and thus economic growth. As a rule, official reports and studies have promoted this view of cultural sector defining it to include not just museums and operas, but for example broadcasting as well.

Cultural activities do not easily fit into a classification system because the boundaries between cultural activities and non-cultural activities are often vague. Because the data are relied on official registers, there are problems as the identification of culture workers is not precise. The definition of cultural employment used in this study follows the classification of industries adopted from Statistics Finland, the EU framework for cultural statistics, and previous Finnish studies and statistical publications.

In this study, we employ so-called value chain model as this definition is commonly used in the field of cultural economics and gives a better idea of the total labour force employed by cultural activities. According to the value chain –model, the group of culture workers consists of all people who get paid because of cultural activities. For example, culture workers working in theatre are not just the obvious actors and directors, but also for example managers and people selling the tickets. (For further discussions, see Throsby 2001a, Throsby 2001b). In this study, to group of culture workers is compiled of people working in cultural industries.[4] The census does not acknowledge multiple jobholding that is common in this field (see Menger 1999). Instead, the industry of which individual receives most income is being noted as the industry by which they are characterized. This study uses the industry classification systems adopted from Statistics Finland. Industries data apply on all the people employed in the selected cultural industries, also those not in cultural occupations. Although in some definitions included to culture, sports have been left out. Cultural industries include 55 industries. (Karttunen 1998)

This study includes the following industries: Architectural and industrial design and art; Arts facilities; Art and antique shops and second-hand bookshops; libraries, archives, museums etc; Production and distribution of books; Production and distribution of newspapers and periodicals; Other publishing, e.g. news agency activities and printing of newspapers; Advertising; Photography; Radio and television; Production and distribution of motion pictures and videos; Production and distribution of music and sound recordings; Amusement parks, games and other entertainment and recreation (Figure 1, Table1).

[4] People working in cultural occupations outside cultural indsturies are not included in this study. Such person could be for example an industrial designer in a mobile phone company.




1. Architectural and industrial design and art
2. Arts facilities
3. Art and antique shops and second-hand shops
4. Libraries, archives, museums, etc.
5. Production and distribution of books
6. Production and distribution of newspapers and periodicals
7. Other publishing
8. Advertising
9. Photography
10. Radio and television
11. Production and distribution of motion pictures and videos
12. Production and distribution of music and sound recordings
13. Amusement parks, games and other entertainment and recreation

*Figure 1. Labour force in cultural industries by industry group and region category.*

Of the sub-sectors main employers are those related to publishing, although in these industries certain sectors are declining due to the adoption of new technologies. Other large employer is radio and television (including also manufacturing of television and radio receivers etc.). Of the industries traditionally considered as (high) culture, main employer is that of libraries, archives and museums.

The number of men and women in cultural industries does not differ drastically. The most significant differences can be seen in the industries related to library, archive and museum work and production and distribution of books, in which women represent over two thirds of the employment. Production and distribution of music and sound recordings, radio and TV work and architectural and industrial design and art are male-dominated. In other industries, the differences are relatively small.

Culture workers are slightly higher educated compared to employees in other industries. Greater percentage of cultural employment is highly educated compared to all the labour force, apart from doctoral degree which is more common in other industries. Women in cultural industries are higher educated than men. Entrepreneurship seems to be rarer amongst culture workers compared to all labour force, representing less than 6 per cent of employment in the culture sector. The exceptions are the sub-

sectors of architectural and industrial design and art and second hand and antique shops in which 38% of labour force are entrepreneurs.

On average, the taxable incomes are slightly higher amongst culture workers compared to all labour force. But the differences between sub-sectors are large. High education does not seem to guarantee big incomes. Women earn less than men.

*Table 1. Labour force in cultural industries in 2000 by industry, gender, regional distribution, educational level, entrepreneurship and income.*

| Industry | Share in cultural industries | Gender | Regional distribution | | | Educational level | | | Entrepreneurs | Income |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Share of Women | Rural | Metropolitan area | Other cities | Primary | Secondary | Higher | Share of entrepreneurs | Mean €/year |
| Architectural and industrial design and art | 0,05 | 0,39 | 0,07 | 0,55 | 0,38 | 0,12 | 0,26 | 0,62 | 0,38 | 26 700 |
| Arts facilities | 0,07 | 0,49 | 0,02 | 0,48 | 0,51 | 0,23 | 0,50 | 0,27 | 0,005 | 23 300 |
| Art and antique shops and second-hand bookshops | 0,01 | 0,57 | 0,08 | 0,57 | 0,36 | 0,27 | 0,51 | 0,22 | 0,38 | 13 400 |
| Libraries, archives, museums etc. | 0,11 | 0,77 | 0,15 | 0,35 | 0,50 | 0,16 | 0,27 | 0,57 | 0,003 | 20 300 |
| Production and distribution of books | 0,06 | 0,69 | 0,08 | 0,66 | 0,25 | 0,22 | 0,37 | 0,41 | 0,03 | 24 100 |
| Production and distribution of newspapers and periodicals | 0,16 | 0,57 | 0,11 | 0,46 | 0,44 | 0,25 | 0,40 | 0,35 | 0,001 | 30 800 |
| Other publishing | 0,17 | 0,36 | 0,15 | 0,40 | 0,45 | 0,37 | 0,48 | 0,15 | 0,02 | 27 400 |
| Advertising | 0,09 | 0,52 | 0,03 | 0,59 | 0,38 | 0,20 | 0,44 | 0,35 | 0,07 | 28 900 |
| Photography | 0,03 | 0,51 | 0,08 | 0,44 | 0,48 | 0,29 | 0,52 | 0,19 | 0,09 | 22 200 |
| Radio and television | 0,16 | 0,38 | 0,07 | 0,52 | 0,41 | 0,18 | 0,48 | 0,34 | 0,01 | 29 300 |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Production and distribution of motion pictures and videos | 0,03 | 0,48 | 0,04 | 0,59 | 0,37 | 0,23 | 0,49 | 0,28 | 0,04 | 20 800 |
| Production and distribution of music and sound recordings | 0,01 | 0,24 | 0,04 | 0,57 | 0,39 | 0,36 | 0,33 | 0,32 | 0,13 | 24 600 |
| Amusement parks, games and other entertainment and recreation | 0,06 | 0,55 | 0,08 | 0,40 | 0,51 | 0,28 | 0,50 | 0,22 | 0,06 | 19 600 |

*Table 2. Variable names and definitions.*

| **Name** | **Definition** |
|---|---|
| Dependant variables | |
| Mobility | = 1 if migrated living region (NUTS4) between 1995 and 2001<br>= 0 otherwise |
| Move-to-city | = 1 if migrated from countryside to a city between 1995 and 2001<br>= 0 otherwise |
| Move-to-metropolis | = 1 if migrated to the metropolitan area between 1995 and 2001 |
| Explanatory variables | |
| Age | |
| YOUNG | = 1 if younger than 30 years<br>= 0 otherwise |
| Gender | |
| FEMALE | = 1 if female, = 0 otherwise |
| Education | |
| PRIMARY | = 1 if primary education<br>= 0 otherwise |
| HIGHER | = 1 if higher (tertiary) education<br>= 0 otherwise |
| Family | |
| CHILD | = 1 if has children 18 years or younger<br>= 0 otherwise |
| SINGLE | = 1 if not married<br>= 0 otherwise |
| Entrepreneurship | |
| ENTREPRE | = 1 if is an entrepreneur<br>= 0 otherwise |
| Income | |
| LOWINCOME | = 1 if income less than median<br>= 0 otherwise |
| House owning | |
| HOUSE | = 1 if is a house/ flat owner<br>= 0 otherwise |

## Results

In this study, we used the binary logit model to examine the migrational behavior of culture workers compared to other workers. This panel data utilizes the data set from the year 1995 to 2001. The migrational behavior of each individual during this period is examined. The estimation executed is threefold: first to see the overall likelihood of changing one's living region the propensity to migrate is studies. Second, we examine the propensity to migrate from countryside to city. Third, we examine the propensity to migrate from rest of country (from rural regions or other cities) to the Helsinki metropolitan region.

First to see whether working in the cultural industries has an effect in the probability of changing living region, moving from countryside to city or moving to the metropolitan area, a dummy indicating being a culture worker or not, is included in the model. Then, various other explanatory variables are included and especially interaction variables to see if there are any differences in the characteristics of culture workers' migration behavior related to that of other workers. Tables 3 and 4 show the estimation results, reporting the estimated coefficients, statistical significances and standard errors.

For the group of non-cultural workers the variables controlling gender, age, family ties, education, entrepreneuship and income show the expected signs following previous migration research. Women, individuals who have under aged children, primary educated, entrepreneurs and home and flat owners have lower propensity to migrate compared to the reference group. People younger than 30, highly educated, people whose income is lower than the median and those who are not married have higher propensity to migrate. The same results hold also in moving from countryside to a city and moving to the metropolitan area.

The results show that individuals employed in the cultural industries have lower propensity to migrate than others in the labour force the estimation result reaching statistical significance at 0,05 level. They are also less likely to be moving from countryside to the city, reaching statistical significance at 0,01 level. The coefficient for moving to the metropolitan area is slightly positive but is not statistically significant. Why culture workers are more reluctant to migrate?

*Table 3. Binary logit model for the likelihood of changing NUTS4 living region (individuals in the labour force in 1995-2001, n= 175 249).*

| | **Mobility** | | **Interaction** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Coeff. | Std. Err. | Coeff. | Std.Err |
| culture | -0,274* | 0,117 | | |
| female | -0,666*** | 0,014 | -0,060 | 0,075 |
| young | 1,085*** | 0,015 | 0,019 | 0,085 |
| child | -0,557*** | 0,015 | 0,066 | 0,091 |
| primary | -0,664*** | 0,018 | 0,176° | 0,107 |
| higher | 0,596*** | 0,016 | -0,177* | 0,084 |
| entrepre | -0,460*** | 0,064 | 0,306 | 0,203 |
| house | -1,258*** | 0,0136 | 0,377*** | 0,077 |
| lowincome | 0,460*** | 0,016 | -0,101 | 0,082 |
| single | 0,147*** | 0,017 | 0,256** | 0,095 |

Notes: *** statistically significant at the 0,001 level ** statistically significant at the 0,01 level
* statistically significant at the 0,05 level ° statistically significant at the 0,1 level

Interaction variables reveal the similarities and differences in the culture workers' and other workers' migration behavior. Highly educated have positive coefficient in estimating the overall likelihood to migrate, but for highly educated cultural workers, the coefficient is negative, so the effect of higher education on migrational behavior is smaller on culture workers. The same applies when the dependent variable is moving to the metropolitan area: the coefficient for a highly educated migrating to the metropolitan area is highly positive and it is as well positive for the highly educated culture workers but the effect is smaller. However, to be moving from countryside to a city, the propensity for the highly educated culture workers is even negative. It seems that the labour markets for highly educated culture workers are not just in the cities.

With workers that have primary education, the situation is the opposite: overall they have lower propensity to migrate and to be migrating to a city or specifically to the metropolitan area. But the interaction combining primary educated and culture workers is in all classes positive. The propensity to migrate from rural regions to a city is even positive for the primary educated culture workers.

House and flat owning reduces the propensity to migrate, but house and flat owners that work in the cultural industries the effect is smaller than other house and flat owners. This result is statistically significant at the 0, 01 level in all three estimations.

Another interesting notion is entrepreneurs whose propensity in all three classes is negative compared to employed workers. But cultural entrepreneurs' have higher propensity to be migrating on the whole, to be migrating to a city and specifically to the metropolitan area. This result is however not statistically significant. As other entrepreneurs have a higher propensity to be living in the rural areas, cultural entrepreneurs have a higher propensity to be living in the cities and metropolitan areas. Apparently cultural entrepreneurship is something that differs from other entrepreneurship.

*Table 4.* *Binary logit model for the likelihood of moving from countryside to a city and for the likelihood of moving to the metropolitan area (individuals in the labour force in 1995-2001, n = 175 249).*

| | **Move-to-city** | | **Move-to-metropolis** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Coef.* | *Std. Err.* | *Coef.* | *Std. Err.* |
| *culture* | -0,473** | 0,153 | 0,084 | 0,195 |
| *female* | -0,026 | 0,015° | -0,002 | 0,024 |
| *young* | 1,076*** | 0,017 | 1,148*** | 0,027 |
| *child* | -0,346*** | 0,017 | -0,790*** | 0,031 |
| *primary* | -0,188*** | 0,018 | -0,687*** | 0,036 |
| *higher* | 0,162*** | 0,019 | 0,635*** | 0,026 |
| *entrepre* | -0,243*** | 0,038 | -0,648*** | 0,080 |
| *house* | -0,998*** | 0,016 | -1,526*** | 0,028 |
| *lowincome* | 0,275*** | 0,019 | 0,288*** | 0,030 |
| *single* | 0,140*** | 0,020 | 0,147*** | 0,032 |
| **Interaction** | | | | |
| *cultfem* | -0,073 | 0,096 | -0,084 | 0,114 |
| *cultyoung* | -0,058 | 0,113 | 0,007 | 0,134 |
| *cultchild* | -0,005 | 0,118 | -0,231 | 0,179 |
| *cultprimary* | 0,290* | 0,117 | 0,260 | 0,174 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *culthigher* | -0,249* | 0,119 | -0,221° | 0,125 |
| *cultentrepre* | 0,335 | 0,244 | 0,444 | 0,354 |
| *culthouse* | 0,335** | 0,102 | 0,460** | 0,133 |
| *cultlowinc* | 0,215° | 0,114 | 0,123 | 0,133 |
| *cultsingle* | 0,094 | 0,126 | 0,188 | 0,163 |

Notes: *** statistically significant at the 0,001 level ** statistically significant at the 0,01 level
* statistically significant at the 0,05 level ° statistically significant at the 0,1 level

## Conclusions

This article investigates the characteristics of culture workers' migration behaviour. Culture workers are highly concentrated to the urban areas and especially the metropolitan areas. Can there be found migration streams of culture workers from countryside to cities and specifically to the metropolitan area?

In this study, we used the binary logit model to examine the migrational behavior of culture workers compared to other workers. This panel data utilizes the data set from the year 1995 to 2001. The migrational behavior of each individual during this period is examined. The estimation executed is threefold: first to see the overall likelihood of changing one's living region the propensity to migrate is studies. Second, we examine the propensity to migrate from countryside to city. Third, we examine the propensity to migrate from rest of Finland to the Helsinki metropolitan region.

For the group of non-cultural workers the variables controlling gender, age, family ties, education, entrepreneurship and income show the expected signs following previous migration research. Women, individuals who have under aged children, primary educated, entrepreneurs and home and flat owners have lower propensity to migrate compared to the reference group. People younger than 30, highly educated, people whose income is lower than the median and those who are not married have higher propensity to migrate. The same results hold also in moving from countryside to a city and moving to the metropolitan area.

The results derived indicate that in terms of the direction of the effect, positive or negative, most of the determinants analysed have the same effect on artists as on all other professional workers. According to the estimation results, the characteristics that have an effect on people's migrational behaviour seem to have a smaller impact on culture workers' migrational behaviour than they do on other workers'. Streams of cultural workforce flowing to the cities that would differ from other workers cannot be therefore found.

Especially interesting finding was that educational level has a different effect on culture workers' migrational behaviour than it has on other workers. The effect of higher education on likelihood to be migrating is positive but for the culture workers the effect is smaller and even negative for the likelihood of moving from rural regions to a city. The primary education has the opposite effect it reducing the likelihood for migration but the effect is smaller for culture workers and even positive in migrating from rural regions to a city.

Another interesting notion is entrepreneurs whose propensity in all three classes is negative compared to employed workers. But cultural entrepreneurs' have higher propensity to be migrating on the whole, to be migrating to a city and especially to the metropolitan area. This result is however not statistically significant. As other entrepreneurs have a higher propensity to be living in the rural areas, cultural entrepreneurs have a higher propensity to be living in the cities and metropolitan areas. Apparently cultural entrepreneurship is something that differs from other entrepreneurship in the choice of location.

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# WEB SITES AS NEW COMMUNICATIONS DEVICES IN THE ARTS FIELD

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## Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to identify the characteristics of the local visual artists who market their artworks online, to analyze the content of the online marketing communication about them and their artworks and examine the nature and level of Internet use among them. The main part of the data were collected about the visual artists belonging as members to the Arsnet web gallery, funded by The European Social Fund and the City of Turku. A content analysis of the web sites was taken. The analyses reveal that the web sites of 148 Arsnet artists are mainly of promotional type, highlighting the artistic merits of the artists. The level of Internet use for marketing purposes is only in the beginning phase. About one-third of the total artist population does not even have an e-mail address. Only 35 personal homepages were found. The amount of the transactional information on the web sites was limited. Only 4 artists are offering their artworks and services for sale directly or indirectly and only 5 artists mentioned the word "price". Further research is warranted to research the effectiveness of the online marketing of visual arts.

## Introduction

### Internet as a new commercial tool in the visual art market

Companies are quickly moving to use the Internet as a way of doing something that ordinary communication media cannot: reaching consumers across the country and around the world interactively and on demand – all at a reasonable cost (Ainscough & Luckett 1996, 36). The companies having an Internet connection use it for utilizing e-mail communications, having a web page and making some use of transaction processing via the Internet (Lawson, Alcock, Cooper & Burgess 2003, 268).

The web pages can be classified in many ways on the basis of their principal marketing or e-commerce function. The page can be an interactive brochure, a virtual storefront, an information clearinghouse or a customer service tool (Ainscough & Luckett 1996, 41–44). The page can be, e. g., of "brand image" type, trying to create a positive portrayal of given brand(s) or the "retail sale" type of page, having a clear intent to sell the product or service of the company (Dholakia & Rego 1998, 726). Based on their study of UK fashion retailer use of Web sites, Marciniak and Bruce (2004, 390) found that the sites were used for two main purposes, i.e. marketing (informational) and selling (transactional) purposes.

Besides typologies, models of the stages of e-commerce adoption have been developed to evaluate the level of maturity of e-commerce for organizations. Usually, most organizations begin with an uncomplicated Web page and add modules for functionality and complexity (Lawson et al. 2003, 267).

This study belongs to the field of visual arts marketing. Although several text books and research papers have been published in the field, to date little is known of the extent and nature of the visual arts involvement in the Internet (Clarke III & Flaherty 2002, 149; Arnold & Tapp 2003, 156). The reason may be, that artists, by large, overlook the commercial aspects of their art, doing art for art's sake. However, the Internet also provides the environment for new forms of markets in this field, such as the electronic matching of sellers and buyers or enabling a direct exchange (or sale) between sellers and buyers (Clarke III & Flaherty 2002, 150).

This study takes as its topic the use of the Internet as a relatively new form of marketing visual arts (or pictorial or plastic arts). The marketers (or sellers) are mainly the artists themselves, art galleries and various types of art and antique dealers or shops. The buyers of visual arts are many types of individual and institutional art consumers, collectors and investors. In marketing, the Internet as a mass-marketing medium falls somewhere in-between advertising and selling, combining elements of both (Berthon, Lane, Pitt & Watson 1998, 692). In this study, the marketing process is divided into two main parts, depending on its purpose at hand. On one hand, visual arts need to be advertised or promoted (see for the concept Kotler 1999, 106) to the potential buyers, offering them a great deal of promotional information in order to interest them in buying works of art. On the other hand, transactional information is offered to the potential buyers in order to actually sell and deliver the artworks. Both promotional activities and transactional activities can be undertaken both in person and online.

## The purpose and data of the study

The purpose of this paper is to identify the characteristics of the local visual artists who market their artworks online, to analyze the content of the online marketing communication about them from the viewpoint of marketing effects and to describe the nature and level of Internet use among them. In order to achieve this, the following research objectives were developed: 1. To establish the characteristics of the local visual art markets and the main outlets for marketing visual artists and their artworks, 2. To analyze the amount and content of the online promotional information about the local visual artists and their artworks, 3. To examine the nature and level of Internet use for transactions among the local visual artists and factors relating to the use, and 4. To analyze the content of the online transactional information about the artworks of the local visual artists.

To date, little is known of the online presence of visual artists, as no formal database on the subject exists. The data (collected in April 2007) for answering research question number one were obtained from industry and telephone directories (Turun Seudun puhelinluettelo 2006; Lounais-Suomen Puhelinluettelo 2006), the local newspaper (Turun Sanomat 2007), and web sites of arts companies. The data for research questions numbers two, three and four were mainly obtained from the section of the visual arts of the online art gallery, Arsnet. This gallery includes the web-pages of 148 artists located in Turku or its surrounding areas. In addition, data on the age of the artists were acquired from the nationwide visual Artists' Internet Registry (www.kuvataiteilijamatrikkeli.fi).

A content analysis (see for the procedure Neuendorf 2002) was taken to classify the data for computer analyses. The content of the online marketing communication was classified as *promotional* and *transactional information*. The *promotional content* of the web site describes all the communicated elements with the aim of increasing the attraction toward the artist and his works as a buying object. These elements are communicated parts of the artist's overall identity. *Transactional content* – reveal-

ing the level of e-commerce involvement – consists of displayed contact information, information on product offerings, prizes, retail outlets, as well as information on sales and delivery arrangements.

The data were initially summarized by use of univariate statistics (frequencies of variables) to provide a better description of the artist's identity. Crosstabs analyses of SPSS were utilized for examining the relationships between the availability of an e-mail address and a web page and the elements of the artist's identity.

## Marketing communications and the Internet in the arts field

### The structure of the visual art markets and the role of online trade in it

There is no consensus which type of artists and art works should be included in the visual arts (fine arts or plastic arts). The numerous classifications vary in their content (e.g. The Economy of Culture in Europe 2006, 2, 57). Because it is hardly possible to define the visual arts and the visual artists in a universal manner, the definitional choice here was context-situated. For this study, the visual arts include the following genres and styles chosen from the cover page of the online arts gallery Arsnet (www.arsnet.fi): aquarelle, environment art, glass art, landscape, light art, metal art, media art, painting, performance, photography, portrait, printmaking, sculpture and textile art. The works of art are *unique works of art* (painting, sculpture) or *reproducible works* of art which are serially reproduced objects (prints, posters, postcards, photos, etc.).

The main outlets for visual arts are *art shops (dealers)*, *art galleries*, *auction houses* and *online art markets*. *Art dealers operate* mainly in shops and are mostly specialized in old art. *Galleries* operate through exhibitions and concentrate on contemporary art, even "art made this week". *Auction houses, by special auctions*, sell both established art and contemporary art, although their weighting is on the established art. Nowadays, galleries, art shops and auction houses can also operate on *online markets* through Internet presence. In addition to the above mentioned distribution channels, many *antique shops* and second-hand shops sell pictorial art in their shops or at the art and antique fairs, and some shops also sell via the Internet.

The visual art market can also be seen as two distinct fields (Figure 1). *The primary market* is one in which original artworks are sold for the first time (Zorloni 2005, 61–62). New art enters the market mainly through art galleries, showrooms and museum exhibitions, whereas auction houses and auctioneers, art and antique shops and some other actors operate as *the secondary market* (or sometimes even tertiary market) engaged in the resale of artworks (Velthuis 2003, 181–182; Zorloni 2005, 62). *The online sale of art works can occur both on the primary and secondary markets.*

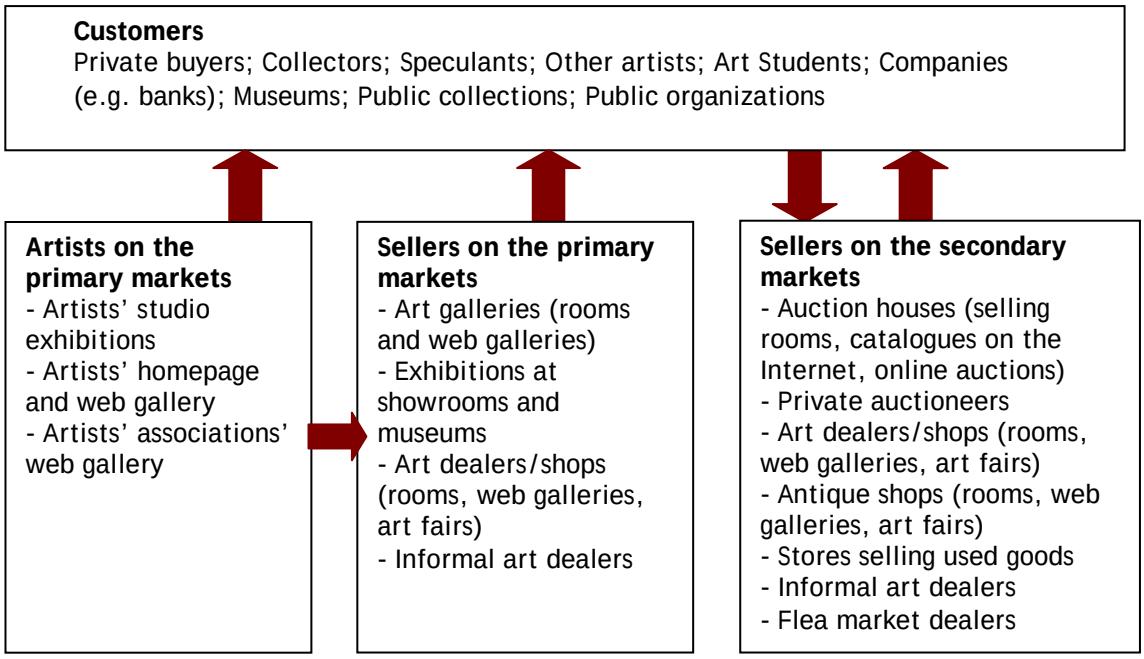


*Figure 1. The structure of the visual art markets.*

## Marketing visual artists and their artworks

### 1. The benefits of marketing visual artists online versus in person

On the primary market, an art marketer (be it the artist or the art gallery) can choose between selling online (through artists' and galleries' web pages) or in person. An art seller choosing between online or in person faces trade offs, because there are differences between online and traditional galleries. Some of the benefits and drawbacks of online art galleries are presented in Table 1. It is constructed based on the phases of a typical marketing (e.g. personal selling) process. After identifying potential buyers, the marketer tries, through the sales presentation, to promote the buying decision. After an actual transaction, post-sale (deliver and payment) and follow-up occur (see Dwyer, Hill & Martin 2000, 153).

*Table 1. Comparing marketing visual arts online versus in person.*

| | Art galleries online | Traditional art galleries |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Nature of the offering | A very large stock of artworks by various artists | A limited stock of artworks, often by only one artist at a time |
| 2. Nature of the potential buyers | A very broad audience, even internationally; The interested buyers cannot be delineated from mere surfers | A limited local and national audience; The gallery owner can use personal networks to find interested buyers |
| 3. Time of exposing the sales offering | Not time-bound: A 24-hour-a-day presence on the net | Time-bound: Exhibition during opening hours only |
| 4. Creating awareness and interest: the intensions of the potential buyer | Any web surfer can hit the page; The web exhibition must be very attractive to awake interest and induce the surfer to stay on the page | The visitors of the exhibition usually have some pre-interest in the artist being exhibited before entering the gallery |
| 5. Creating the buying desire: highlighting benefits | The web page must be impressive, relying only on written and visual elements related to the artist and his/her artworks to induce the buying | The actual exhibition and the real objects are always more impressive than virtual images only |
| 6. Inducing evaluation, and selection | Evaluation and selection of artworks is based on personal judgment of the potential buyer and positive critics; High risk | Evaluation and selection of artworks can be based on the recommendation of the gallery owner as an arts expert; Risk is reduced |
| 7. Closing the sale | On-screen order forms, purchase baskets; Two-way communication with the artist possible; E.g., price negotiable with the artist after contacting him via e-mail | Exchanges primarily face-to-face with the gallery owner; Price negotiable with the gallery owner and/or artist |
| 8. Organizing delivery and payment | Delivery by post for routine purchases; Cash on delivery; Other options after contacting the artist | Delivery details can be agreed upon in a flexible manner; Many payment options |
| 9. Feedback | Cost-effective in providing feedback on the purchase | Expensive in providing feedback on the purchase |

## 2. The model for marketing visual artists and their artworks online

We can assume that purpose of marketing communications online, e.g., the artist-related web pages, in the first place is to highlight the kind of display and information that is effective in creating positive beliefs and meanings toward the artist and his artworks in the minds of potential buyers. These factors relate to the concepts of identity and brand.

We can use corporate analogies by citing corporate identity concepts to refer to an artist's identity. A corporate identity has an internal perspective and represents the ways a company chooses to identify itself to all its publics (Simões, Dibb & Fisk 2005, 154). Equivalently, *artist identity* encapsulates how the artist views himself and, *through his positioning, how he wants others to perceive him*. A strong artist identity helps him gain *artistic success, commercial success,* and *reputation* among the art publics. Successful artists and their works can even become brands comprising certain brand qualities (Meyer & Even 1998, 14). An artist becomes a brand when his name evokes the characteristics of his work. At this stage s/he has a differentiated place in the art system and can command higher prices (Zorloni 2005,

66). Successful artists can be thought of as brand managers, actively engaged in developing, nurturing, and promoting themselves as a recognizable "product" (Schroeder 2005, 1292). An artist's overall identity develops as a circle based on his demographics, artworks, artistic merits, artistic success, commercial success and reputation. The artist's identity at hand forms the starting point for marketing him and his works through online communication offering both *promotional and transactional information* about him and his artworks to the public.

Traditionally, the influence of mass communication has been explained as a hierarchical sequence of effects, passing from attention to action, usually purchase. One of the traditional models contains the following phases: *awareness, knowledge, liking, preference, conviction and purchase* (East 2003, 50). In yet another example, the phases are: *attention, interest, desire, conviction and action* (Weilbacher 2001, 20). In new markets, awareness may have to be built up in order to get new customers, but in established markets, advertisements mainly retain customers (East 2003, 53).

Operational model for marketing the arts online consists of the following phases: marketers try to communicate the positive elements of the artist's overall identity to the art buyers. On the first hand, the aim is to create *awareness and interest* towards the artist and his works, which can lead to the *desire* and *positive evaluation* toward the artworks and finally induce the *selection and the buying decision.* Commercial success and the satisfaction with the purchase can increase the reputation of the artist, which further reinforce the artist's overall identity (see Figure 2).

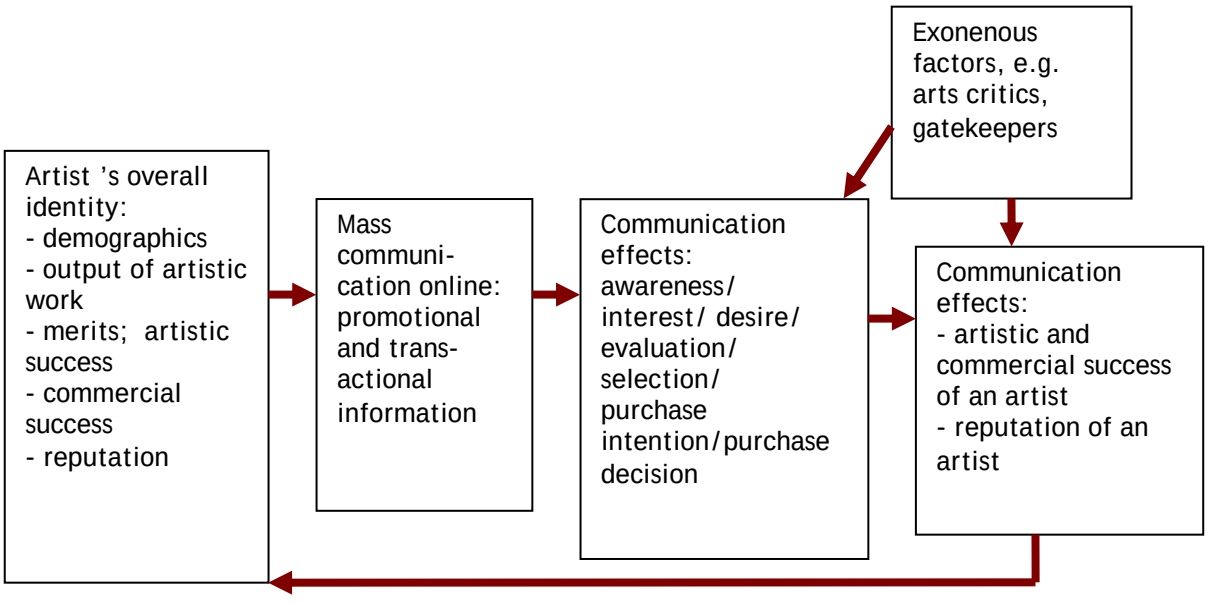


*Figure 2. The operational model for marketing visual artists and their works.*

## 3. An artist's overall identity as the basis for the content of online communication

Based on both the marketing literature and the arts-related literature, the following classification can be formed for analyzing the elements of the overall identity of an artist to be used in his positioning to the art buyers. They are (1) demographic identity, (2) quantity, type and quality of artworks, (3) personal artistic merits and artistic success, and (4) commercial success and reputation. All these identity ele-

ments are related to each other. The phases of an artist's career path can be defined based on these elements with some accuracy.

1. *The demographic identity* of an artist comprises age, gender, location and general education. There are research results according to which these identity factors are not important for an artist's success and arts income (e.g., Robinson & Montgomery 2000, 529).

2. The *output of artistic work by the artist.* The *quantity of output, the range of artworks* and the *physical and intangible attributes of works vary. Physical features* are usually described by the artist's technique, choice of media, the size of the work and the style (Zorloni 2005, 66; Schmitt & Simonson 1997, 84; Meyer & Even 1998, 14). *Intangible* features comprise *the quality, price and benefits of artworks.* Because the quality of art works is difficult to directly assess, *prices* are often used to judge the quality of an art piece (Velthuis 2003, 186). The pricing mechanism of *new artists* is not established. Instead, the value of art in *the old master market* has been widely researched and published (Robertson 2005, 235–236). *Intangible features* comprise also functional, experiential and symbolic *benefits of the artworks* for the art buyer (Colbert 2003, 35). Furthermore, as types of benefits, the following have been suggested: a) aesthetic qualities of the work (aesthetic value), b) status from the possession of the work (social value), and c) an economic investment (investment value) (Velthuis 2003, 186).

3. *Artistic merits and artistic success of an artist* are multidimensional, overlapping concepts. 3.1. The first part of artistic merit relates to *the prerequisites of a recognized professional artist career, e.g. arts education and arts experience.* The results of the importance of formal arts education from the perspective of output quality and arts-related earnings have been inconsistent (see e.g. Robinson & Montgomery 2000, 529; Throsby 2006, 9–10). Instead, many researchers have shown the importance of arts experience in years from the debut exhibition. In the arts, on-the-job learning is important (Robinson & Montgomery 2000, 529; Landwehr 1998, 260).

3.2. The second part of artistic merit comprises the factors strongly influencing artistic success. Conversely, artistic success increases the artistic merits of an artist as a circle. These merit factors are related to *the gaining of high qualifications to practice professionally as a visual artist* during the career and the subsequent *quality of professional activities*. To these merits belong *one-person shows at a major gallery, work selected for exhibition at a major gallery, group exhibitions, festivals and group works, grants and awards, titles and honorable awards, as well as memberships in associations, catalogues and documentaries* (e.g. Robinson & Montgomery 2000, 529; Zorloni 2005, 66; Throsby 2006, 5). For example, *memberships in the major artists' organizations* can be seen as a merit, because they have relatively strict membership criteria. Moreover, especially in plastic arts *grant* income plays an important role in offering possibilities for working full-time as an artist (Heikkinen & Karhunen 1996, 351). In contrast, the receiving of grants can be seen as an indicator of a high-level artistic activity. The artistic success can be assessed by works *purchased or commissioned by a public gallery or institution*.

4. *Commercial success and reputation.* Commercial success can be separated from the artistic merit and artistic success. The concepts are often related to each other, but not necessarily always. Commercial success is measurable as prizes and sales on the primary or secondary market. The concept of reputation refers to the public merits of an artist and is related to commercial success in the long run. Lang and Lang (1988, 84–85) distinguish between two aspects of reputation: recognition and renown. *Recognition* refers to the esteem in which others in the same "art world" hold the artist. *Renown* signifies a more cosmopolitan form of recognition beyond the esoteric circles in which the artist moves. An artist's *reputation* is a key

factor in the pricing process of the works by *established artists*. The pricing for works by *emergent artists* is less stable than that of established artists, because the artist is not yet known (Zorloni 2005, 66).

The overall online information communicated about the artists and their artworks can be divided into two parts, depending on its purpose. *Promotional information* addresses mainly the merit and success elements of the artist's identity to create the beneficial "positioning" of the artist as a whole, in the mind of the potential buyer, while *transactional information* gives contact information, information on product and service offerings, distribution outlets, prices, as well as payment and delivery details to induce the immediate contact or purchase decision. The images of the picture gallery provide both promotional and transactional information as a part of an attractive product offering.

## The characteristics of the local visual art markets and the main outlets for marketing visual arts

### The structure of the local visual arts markets online

The main option especially for emerging artists has been to sell their works through traditional art galleries. A new way of selling pictorial art is presence of the artists on the Internet. It can emerge in many forums (1) A conventional art gallery can set up a new web gallery representing its artists, (2) An artist can have a personal homepage and a web gallery, (3) A national or local art association can have links to the homepages of the members or it can show some works of an artist in the association's web gallery. Examples of the web galleries are: The Web gallery of the Finnish art galleries association (www.galleriat.net), Association of Finnish Sculptors (www.artists.fi/sculptors/webgallery.htm), Kotkan Taideseura ry (www.kotkantaideseura.com) and Artists in Turku, Finland (www.saunalahti.fi/~arttur1). (4) Moreover, some art shops can set up a web gallery for the artworks for sale.

The following list (Table 2) offers an overview of the outlets through which the visual arts are marketed either in person or online in Turku-based outlets. In such cases where a particular outlet belongs to two or more outlet groups in the trade directories, it is listed only once according to the main operation.

*Table 2. Turku-based outlets of visual arts in person or online.*

| Number of outlets | Number of web galleries within the outlets |
|---|---|
| 23 art galleries | 5 web galleries |
| 7 art shops | 1 web gallery with images only |
| 21 antique shops, part of them participating at fairs | 3 web galleries |
| 3 art museums, 2 other museums | |
| 12 other art showrooms, e.g. libraries and cafés | |
| 5 small auction houses or auctioneers | |
| 14 stores selling used goods and junk art | 1 web gallery |
| 5 flea markets selling used goods and junk art | |
| A couple of homepages of Turku-based artists in addition to those within the above web galleries | 2 web galleries |

The main distribution channels for the visual arts are 23 art galleries, of which 5 are operating online. In addition, one art shop, namely Taidepörssi (www.taideporssi.fi), is presenting hundreds of visual artworks images online without any other sales information on the artworks. In addition to these channels, some Turku-based art and antique dealers or shops and second-hand shops sell visual artworks displaying it online, but only as one small part of their total stock. These dealers include Antiikki & Antikvaria Globus Felix (www.globusfelix.com), Antiikkiliike Art & Design Jari Nummi (www.artdesign.fi), Antiikkiliike Wanha Elias (www.antiikkiliikewanhaelias.fi) and Mistraali T:mi (www.mistraali.net). The number of images in these stores is quite limited, varying between 2 and 20. The images display both old and contemporary art and sculpture.

## The characteristics of Turku-based art galleries online

Out of 23 art galleries located in Turku, 5 are offering visual arts for sale online, representing images and information for the art works on the home pages. The supply and online characteristics of the 5 art galleries is compared in Table 3.

*Table 3. The characteristics of Turku-based art galleries online.*

| | **Galleria AMA** | **Galleria Arsnet** | **Galleria Inter** | **Galleria Regina** | **Taide-kabinetti S-L Vainio** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| www-address | www.amagallery.net | www.arsnet.fi | www.taidekuvasto.fi | www.galleria-regina.fi | www.taide-kabinetti.net |
| Type of the typical art works in the gallery | Contemporary Finnish photography and printmaking | All types of visual arts by living artists within the visual arts section | All types of visual arts (paintings, prints, sculptures, modern) | All types of visual arts (prints, oil paintings, aquarelles, prints, sculptures) | Oil paintings and sculptures both by merited and new artists |
| The number of images in the sale collection | Changing exhibitions: 15 images by the artist of the month; Prints available of the previous exhibitions by over 50 artists | 3909 images by 148 artists in the picture archive | 79 images by various artists: four artists are presented in more detail with 6–9 images (prints, paintings, paintings with Turku motif etc.) | 75 images by 96 artists in the sale collection (16 prints, 49 oil paintings, 15 aquarelles and pastels, 7 sculptors, 9 mixed methods and drawings) | 221 images by various artists + 21 images of the artist of the season presented in more detail |
| Information on the art works | The image + the number of graphic prints size, price, price with frames | The images + price (only in 4 cases) | The image + the number of graphic prints, type of art work, size, but no price | The image | The image + size + price |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Written description of merits of the artist | CV of the "artist of the month" | 148 short written descriptions of the artists + 108 CVs; 35 home pages by various artists | 18 CVs by various artists; Links to the Visual Artists' Internet Registry | No CVs | Short written description of one artist + his CV as a link to the Visual Artists' Internet Registry |
| Transactional information and interactivity | E-mail; The guest book; Personal reply to the message via E-mail; E-order possibility | E-mail; Only a few guest books on the homepages of the artists; Limited E-order possibilities | E-mail | E-mail; Prices on request by telephone; Invitation cards to the exhibitions can be sent by request | E-mail; Personal reply to the message via E-mail; No E-order possibility |

The largest gallery in Table 3 is the Arsnet gallery funded by the European Social Fund and the City of Turku. It is a unique support service in the field of culture. Its aim is to *improve the employment* of the cultural professionals in the Turku area and, at the same time, to make their *cultural expertise more visible and easier to find*. It functions as the `Yellow Pages` for everyone in need of cultural expertise, e.g. companies willing to buy works of art for their premises. The Arsnet Gallery Web site (www.arsnet.fi) was opened in spring 2001. The service involves about 2000 professionals of music, visual arts, dance, literature, theatre & circus, design & craft, digital media and firm & animation from Turku and its surroundings. Writing a key word in the search box will take the visitor directly to the page he is interested in. All services are free of charge.

This paper focuses on the content of the visual arts section of the Arsnet in terms of its ability to attract and persuade current and future buyers of pictorial art. The Arsnet gallery sites can be classified as commercial, because some works on display – although very few – are explicitly offered for purchase (McLaughlin 1996, 58 uses the criterion).

## The content of promotional information on all Arsnet artists and their artworks (N=148)

The Arsnet online gallery offers many types of advertising material (cf. Meyer & Even 1998, 18) for the surfers on the Internet. The homepage of the visual arts section offers the possibility of searching for the presentation site of a certain artist by choosing his or her name. The Arsnet gallery is as illustrative as possible: each professional is introduced by a short written description, added by his or her image gallery comprising a varied number of artworks, a Curriculum vitae, possibly a photograph of the artist, contact information, links to a possible personal homepage and eventually to some other pages, e.g. to critics.

Table 4 provides the summary information of the content of the 148 artists' presentation pages in the Arsnet. The frequency analysis revealed that the typical visual artist of the Arsnet was a *female* who lives in Turku. With respect to *the artist type*, half (50 %) of the Arsnet artists were traditional painters comprising of such subtypes as oil painters (18 %), acryl painters (12 %) and aquarelle or pastel painters (10 %). The group of artists who applied mixed methods is also large (10 %). The other half (50 %) consisted of assemblage artists (16%), print maker artists (11%), photographers (9 %), sculptors (7 %), illus-

trators (5 %), ceramists (1%) and light artists (1 %). Altogether, 54% of artists owned *special skills*, such as teaching (21 %) and graphic designing (10 %). About one-third of the artists had 1–20 images of their works in the picture gallery. The images were presented in color, but they did not include information on the size of the artworks or any other specific information. Altogether, 108 artists had attached a personal CV to the presentation site, but only 35 personal homepages could be found. Only 23 artists had both a CV and a personal homepage.

A very important element of the Arsnet web site is *the picture gallery* of each artist's works. Using the typology developed by Ainscough and Luckett (1996, 41) the Arsnet can be classified as a *virtual brochure and storefront* where interested visitors can browse through the picture gallery. The gallery reveals the type and style of the artist for a knowledgeable visitor. The large supply of artworks in form of a picture gallery is one of the benefits of the online marketing of the artists. The median number of pictures in the Arsnet gallery was 20 artworks.

*Table 4. Promotional information on all Arsnet artists of the Arsnet gallery (N=148).*

| **Variables** | **Number and percentage** | **Variables** | **Number and percentage** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Demographic information; gender: | | Special skills: | |
| • Female | 91 (61) | • No special skills mentioned | 68 (46) |
| • Male | 57 (39) | • Special skills mentioned | 80 (54) |
| Demographic information; place of living and working: | | Number of images in the picture gallery: | |
| • Outside Turku | 42 (28) | • 1–20 images | 49 (33) |
| • Turku | 106 (72) | • 21–41 images | 62 (42) |
| | | • 41–69 images | 37 (25) |
| Type of artist: | | Source of information related to artistic merit; presence of CV: | |
| • Painter | 74 (50) | | |
| • Other type of artist | 74 (50) | • No CV on the site | 40 (27) |
| | | • Brief CV on the site | 69 (47) |
| | | • Detailed CV on the site | 39 (26) |

## The content of promotional information on the Arsnet artists and their artworks among those with CV (N=108)

The CVs of the artists contain: (1) the demographics (gender, age) and the place of living and working of each artist, (2a) in some cases a more thorough description of the artistic type of the artist than on the description page, (2b) the description of the merits of the artists and (2c) information on the artistic success. Based on that information, the stage of the career developments can be assessed with some accuracy. Table 5 provides information on the age, artistic merits and artistic success of the Arsnet artists with CVs.

*Table 5. The artistic merits and success of the Arsnet artists based on their CVs (N=108).*

| **Variables**<br>D= Demographics<br>M= Artistic merit<br>S= Artistic success | **Number and percentage** | **Variables** | **Number and percentage** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Age (N=76) (D):<br>• 24–44 years<br>• 45–83 years | <br>40 (53)<br>36 (47) | Number of group or common exhibitions abroad (M):<br>• No group or common exhibition abroad<br>• 1–4 group or common exhibitions abroad<br>• 5–31 group or common exhibitions abroad | <br>38 (35)<br>33 (31)<br>37 (34) |
| Arts education (M):<br>• No arts education or NA<br>• Arts education in Finland<br>• Arts education in Finland and/or abroad | <br>11 (10)<br>70 (65)<br>27 (25) | Number of memberships (M):<br>• No memberships<br>• 1–2 memberships<br>• 3–31 memberships | <br>29 (27)<br>35 (32)<br>44 (41) |
| Arts experience from debut exhibition in years (M):<br>• 1–10 years of arts experience<br>• 11–20 years of arts experience<br>• 21–55 years of arts experience | <br>33 (31)<br>40 (37)<br>35 (32) | Number of grants (M):<br>• No grants<br>• 1–6 grants<br>• 7–31 grants | <br>54 (50)<br>34 (31)<br>20 (19) |
| Number of domestic solo exhibitions (M):<br>• 0–4 domestic solo exhibitions<br>• 5–13 domestic solo exhibitions<br>• 14–65 domestic solo exhibitions | <br>45 (42)<br>35 (32)<br>28 (26) | Number of prizes (M):<br>• No prizes<br>• 1–19 prizes | <br>79 (73)<br>29 (27) |
| Number of solo exhibitions abroad (M):<br>• No solo exhibitions abroad<br>• 1–13 solo exhibitions abroad | <br>70 (65)<br>38 (35) | Artworks in domestic collections (S):<br>• 0–3 works in domestic collections<br>• 4–10 works in domestic collections<br>• 11–46 works in domestic collections | <br>58 (54)<br>28 (26)<br>22 (20) |
| Number of domestic group or common exhibitions (M):<br>• 0–10 domestic group or common exhibitions<br>• 11–25 group or common exhibitions<br>• 26–190 group or common exhibitions | <br>39 (36)<br>38 (35)<br>31 (29) | Artworks in foreign collections (S):<br>• No works in foreign collections<br>• 1–29 works in foreign collections | <br>79 (73)<br>29 (27) |

(1) The age was given only in 76 cases out of 108 CVs. The typical artist was under 44-*years-old*. It seems that the Arsnet network mainly promotes young artists who have seemingly not yet created an established position in the art world. This conclusion is confirmed by the study of the artists listed in the Visual Artists' Internet Registry (www.kuvataitelijamatrikkeli.fi). It contains information about 91 visual

artists living in Southwest Finland. Of them, 26 (27 %) belong also to the Arsnet artists. The median age of the 91 Internet Registry artists is higher (52 years) than the median age (44 years) of the Arsnet artists. The mean age of the artists in the Registry is 54 years, while in the Arsnet it is 45 years.

(2) *The merits of the artist.* The CVs offer rich information for the Internet browser of the gallery. The artists have acquired *arts education* mainly in Finland (65 %), but the share of those who have acquired arts education both in Finland and abroad is quite high (25 %). According to the literature, "the exhibition" age, that is the time elapsed since the first own exhibition is very important (Landwehr 1998, 260), affecting the career and reputation of an artists. Thirty-three (31 %) of the artists had arts experience of 1–10 years, 40 (37 %) had arts experience of 11–20 years and 35 (32 %) of 21–55 years.

*The number of domestic solo exhibitions* varies considerably among those who had a CV. Twenty-eight artists (26 %) listed 14–65 solo exhibitions. The more solo exhibitions the artist had held, the longer was his/her CV and the more works he/she had in domestic collections. Altogether, 38 (35 %) "CV" artists had kept *solo arts exhibitions abroad*. The artists more actively take part in group or common exhibitions than in solo exhibitions for understandable reasons. About one-third (29 %) had taken part in 26–190 group or common exhibitions in Finland and over one-third (34 %) had taken part in 5–31 group or common exhibitions abroad. The artists were very active in belonging as *members* to various arts associations; 41 % belonged to 3–31 arts associations. An interesting detail is that the share of *grant recipients* (1–31) was larger among female artists (59 %) than among their male colleagues (33 %), which contradicts the results by Heikkinen and Karhunen (1996, 344) on the recipients of an artist grant within the plastic arts in Finland. On the other hand, the share (39 %) of male artists who had received 1–19 prizes was larger than that (20 %) of female artists among the Arsnet artists. About one-third of the Arsnet artists seem to be very merited as assessed by various measures. Unfortunately, any comparative data to the whole artist population are not available.

(3) With respect to *artistic success*, *the number of works in domestic collections* varied also according to the data of the CV. Altogether, 22 (20 %) artists had 11–46 works in domestic collections. Twenty-nine (27 %) artists had 1–27 *works in foreign collections*. Thirty-six (33 %) of the "CV" artists had their *works in domestic arts museums* and 9 (8 %) *in foreign arts museums*. If we use the same criterion as Zorloni (2005, 65) for the branded artist, namely having works in a "superstar" international museum, only a small fraction of the Arsnet artists can be named "branded artists".

## The level of Internet use for transactional information among all the Arsnet artists (N=148) and among those with CVs (N=108) and the factors related to the use

Table 6 shows the level of Internet use among all the Arsnet artists and among those with CVs. The personal homepages are added as a link to the general information on the presentation site. The majority (113) of artists (76 %) had not set up a personal homepage, because only 35 personal homepages (24 %) were found. Out of 108 artists with CVs, 23 personal homepages were found. Of the 35 personal homepages, 11 were brief (under 2 screen-pages) and 24 were more detailed. Most of the homepages contain contact information, listings of the artist's merits, the same images already displayed in the picture gallery and, in some cases, information about artworks or services for sale. Thus, the personal homepages make some use of the same features as the interactive brochure and the virtual storefront (see Ain-

scough & Luckett 1996, 41–42). However, most pages provide information only in a simple form; highly sophisticated multimedia forms are rare.

*Table 6 . The level of Internet use for transactional purposes among all the Arsnet artists (N=148) and among those with CVs (N=108).*

| **Variables** | **Number (N=148) and percentage** | **Number (N=108) and percentage** |
|---|---|---|
| Source of information related to recognition, artistic merits and transactional information; homepage Web site: | | |
| • No homepage Web site | 113 (76) | 85 (79) |
| • Homepage Web site | 35 (24) | 23 (21) |
| Mixed sources of information related to recognition, artistic merits and transactions: | | |
| • Only general information on the presentation page | 28 (19) | 0 (0) |
| • General information + CV | 85 (57) | 85 (79) |
| • General information + Web site | 12 ( 8) | 0 (0) |
| • General information + CV+ Web site | 23 (16) | 23 (21) |
| Transactional information; E-mail: | | |
| • No E-mail | 43 (29) | 33 (31) |
| • E-mail | 105 (71) | 75 (69) |

Altogether, 28 artists (19 %) relied only on general, brief information about themselves and their artworks on the presentation site, and 85 artists (57 %) relied on general, brief information added with the CV. Because the CVs do not usually provide transactional information, we can conclude that – in practice – for all the artists without a personal homepage Web site (about two-thirds of all), the possibilities to offer *transactional information* for the potential buyers are poor already at the outset.

The majority of all the Arsnet visual artists (71 %) and those with CVs (69 %) had an E-mail address. Thus, at present, the main use of the Internet is an e-mail address as a communication and matching tool between the sellers and buyers. In Table 7, the most important factors associated with the e-mail address among the artists with CVs (N=108) are depicted based on the crosstabs analyses between the variables.

*Table 7. Analysis of factors associated with the e-mail address among the Arsnet artists with CVs (N=108).*

| Variables | Classified variables | No E-mail | E-mail | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Having a homepage: | No homepage (n=85) | 36% | 64% | 100% |
| | Homepage (n=23) | 9% | **91%** | 100% |
| Experience as an artist (M): | 1–14 years (n=53) | 13% | **87%** | 100% |
| | 15–55 years (n=55) | 47% | 53% | 100% |
| Age of the artist (N=76) (D): | 22–44 years old (n=40) | 17% | **83%** | 100% |
| | 45–83 years old (n=36) | 47% | 53% | 100% |
| Artist's works in domestic public collections (S): | 0–4 artworks in collections (n=60) | 20% | **80%** | 100% |
| | 5–46 artworks in collections (n=48) | 44% | 56% | 100% |
| Type of the artist (D): | Painter (n=50) | 40% | 60% | 100% |
| | Other type of artist (n=58) | 22% | **78%** | 100% |
| Artist's domestic solo, group and common exhibitions (M): | 1–24 domestic exhibitions (n=54) | 20% | **80%** | 100% |
| | 25–255 domestic exhibitions (n=54) | 41% | 59% | 100% |
| Gender (D): | Female (n=39) | 25% | **75%** | 100% |
| | Male (n=69) | 41% | 59% | 100% |

Six variables remarkably differentiated e-mail users from not-users. The larger share of E-mail users (as opposed to their colleagues) tended to have a personal homepage, to have less arts experience, to be younger, to have fewer artworks in domestic public collections, not to be a traditional painter, to have kept fewer domestic solo, group and common exhibitions and to be female. This result seems to indicate the importance of the age of the artist as the main factor in explaining the modest artistic merit and success among the e-mail users. The younger artist generation is used to e-mail, but is in the beginning phase of their career.

Table 8 shows the factors related to the set up of a personal homepage. The factors differ somewhat from the factors affecting the set up of an e-mail address.

*Table 8. Analysis of factors associated with the set up of a personal homepage among the Arsnet artists with CVs (N=108).*

| Variables | Classified variables | No home-page | Homepage | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of memberships in arts organizations (M): | No memberships (n=29) | 55% | **45%** | 100% |
| | 1–31 memberships (n=79) | 87% | 13% | 100% |
| Number of grants (M): | No grants (n=54) | 70% | **30%** | 100% |
| | 1–31 grants (n=54) | 87% | 13% | 100% |
| Artist's works in domestic public collections (S): | 0–4 art works in collections (n=60) | 72% | **28%** | 100% |
| | 5–46 art works in collections (n=48) | 88% | 12% | 100% |
| E-mail address: | No e-mail address (n=33) | 94% | 6% | 100% |
| | E-mail address (n=75) | 72% | **28%** | 100% |
| Age of the artist (N=76) (D): | 22–44 years old (n=40) | 88% | 12% | 100% |
| | 45–83 years old (n=36) | 72% | **28%** | 100% |

The table showed that about one-third of those artists with an E-mail address had also set up a homepage. Furthermore, the table shows that the owners of a homepage have a more modest artistic merit and success compared to their colleagues with more merits. The larger share of the homepage owners (as opposed to the non-owners) were not members in arts organization, had not received grants for artistic working and had either no, or only a few, artworks in domestic public collections. The owners of homepages also tended to be older than their colleagues with no homepage. It is hard to find an explanation for this result, except that maybe the older artists understand the potential value of a homepage as a marketing medium, although they have not yet succeeded in marketing themselves (grants and memberships) or their artworks (domestic collections) to the gatekeepers of the art world. Another explanation may be that many homepage owners (e.g. graphic designers) market their artistic work to companies and private persons instead of public collections.

## The content of transactional information about the artworks of all Arsnet artists (N=148) and among those having established a personal homepage

The transactional information consists of the following items based on the sequence of steps in making a sale (cf. the steps on personal selling Dwyer et al. 2000, 153). The steps are: offering artworks for sale, asking to contact the artist, asking to visit the artist's studio, giving information on prices, asking to order and giving information on delivery details.

A total of 17 out of 148 artists offered their products and services for sale solely in the context of a brief presentation of information on the presentation site and in the form of the pictures of the picture gallery. The following phrases were found, which often offered works for sale only indirectly: *I am*

*available* for making/*I am interested* in making/*I offer* the following services (4 artists); I make different works *to order* (11 artist); The starting point is *the customer's wishes*/I always put *the client first* (2 artists).

A total of 35 artists had a personal homepage website with only 18 different pages being at least somewhat transactional. The assessment was based on the following 21 phrases found on the homepages (Table 9). Usually only one phrase was found per page.

*Table 9. The transactional information on the homepages of the Arsnet artists.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Offering artworks and services for sale (+ the link to the picture gallery on the homepage ) | • Here is the short *list of the design and art services*<br>• All artworks in the picture gallery are *on sale*, unless otherwise mentioned<br>• You can *order* posters of oil paints at price xx and in sizes yy<br>• Here you find the size options of *photograph order* and the prices. Other sizes according to agreement |
| Asking to contact the artist | • *I would very much like to hear from you: E-mail me!*<br>• *You can contact me* if you need a portrait, marine painting or…<br>• Please feel *free to mail me* directly from here<br>• Do not hesitate to *contact* me<br>• If you are interested in any artwork, please, fill in *the following contact form* and put the number of the artwork in it<br>• Fill in the *contact form.* Write in it: I want you to *contact me* |
| Asking to visit the artist's studio or buy works in retailer shops | • I have a working atelier. Please, *set up the date and visit here*. You can also find my works in the following retailer shops<br>• *Our retailers* are the following |
| Giving information on prices | • If you like my art and would like to make an order of any of the paintings, do not hesitate to ask me more about the paintings and *the prices*<br>• *The price* for artwork a is x and artwork b is y<br>• *Prices* on request<br>• *Price list* on 131 images<br>• Artworks *at price xx*. It pays to order more, because it is *cheaper* |
| Asking to order | • *Mail your order* in informal form by e-mail. I'll post the works order from my virtual shop as soon as possible. Examples of prices are…<br>• *Work orders* for portraits are *accepted* |
| Giving information on payment and delivery details | • *Performing at cash on delivery (C.O.D)*<br>• Performing *at cash on delivery* |

Most of the artists do not seem to be very interested in selling their artworks, e.g. only in five cases the prices or the price level of works or services was mentioned. It is true, that the price level of contemporary art is fluid and not yet established, especially in the case of unique works. However, some range of prices would certainly encourage buyers to place orders or at least contact the artist for more information. Nowadays, the approximate price level of certain types and sizes of arts is easily available in publicity through price lists of many art galleries, art shops and art auctions operating online. Thus, the buyers are more aware of the prices of art than earlier. All in all, the homepages are not very informative in terms of their ability to prompt or enable commercial transactions between the parties.

The homepages are not very *interactive*. The pages included only *4 guest books* and only *5 e-mail comment forms* where a message to the artist could be written. The nature and level of Internet use demonstrates that the artists have accepted the Internet as a communication medium but that only a few artists are doing actual business online. Assessed by the model of Internet commerce adoption (Lawson et al. 2003, 269) most of the Arsnet artists are in the beginning phase.

## Conclusions and summary

The primary purpose of this study was to find out, (1) what are the characteristics of the local visual art markets and the main outlets for marketing visual artists and their artworks, (2) what is the amount and content of the online promotional information about the local visual artists and their artworks, (3) what is the nature and level of Internet use for transactions among the local visual artists and factors relating the use, and (4) what is the content of the online transactional information about the artworks of the local visual artists.

(1) *The main distribution channels* for the visual arts were *23 art galleries*, of which *5 were operating online* in spring 2007. The largest online gallery was the Arsnet gallery. Its aim is to improve the employment of the cultural professionals in the Turku area and to make their cultural expertise more visible and easier to find.

(2) The main part of the data were collected about the visual artists and their artworks belonging as members to the Arsnet web gallery. A content analysis of the web pages was taken. The analyses revealed that the web sites of 148 Arsnet artists were mainly of *the promotional type* of online marketing communication, highlighting *the artistic merits* of the artists.

(3) Further, the results revealed that *the level of Internet use* for transactional purposes was only *in the beginning phase*. About one-third of the total artist population did not even have an e-mail address. The younger artist generation is more used to e-mail than the older generation. Only 35 personal homepages were found, but the pages often repeated the merits of an artist already presented on the description page, in the personal CV or in the picture gallery. The factors behind the set up of the personal homepage remained unclear.

(4) Only in 17 cases of 148 web pages the description page contained *transactional information*. Moreover, only 35 personal homepages within the 148 web pages were found, and of the 35 personal homepages, only 18 were of *the transactional type* of online marketing communication. Only 4 artists were offering their artworks and services for sale directly or indirectly and only 5 artists mentioned the word “price”. The personal homepages were *not interactive either*. Only *4 guest books* were found and only *5 e-mail comment forms*, were a message to the artist can be sent. Only one artist offered a possibility to subscribe to *the free mailing list* to be given notice for important announcements, upcoming shows & expositions, special events, new updates etc.

In sum, this study shows that some local art galleries, and particularly the Arsnet artists, have chosen to adopt a new channel strategy in trying to persuade customers and sell visual arts via the Internet. As such, *the extent of visual artist involvement* in the Internet was high in terms of online presence, but in general, the 148 artists’ websites were mainly of the *promotional (or informational) type* of online marketing communication, therefore, not fully exploiting the full *transactional and interactive* potential of the Internet. One reason may be that the artists wish to protect their image as “pure” artists instead of

being associated with any influence by the market (cf. Meyer & Even 1998, 21). The main limitation of this study is that it only examined online visual arts marketing in a local context at a certain point in time. However, the online marketing conditions and methods of the industry are rapidly changing. The Arsnet gallery was launched as a local pilot project in the spring of 2001. Unfortunately, the future operation of the Arsnet gallery is in not yet secured.

Presence on the Web offers many benefits for visual artists. The merits of the artists can be thoroughly presented and the artworks displayed in a satisfactory way. However, *future research* might focus on the effectiveness of the online marketing of visual arts. To date, it has not yet been shown in published research, whether the sales of artworks have increased among the visual artists marketing their works in web galleries.

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Artists' Internet Registry (www.kuvataiteilijamatrikkeli.fi)

Galleria AMA (www.amagallery.net)

Galleria Arsnet (www.arsnet.fi)

Galleria Inter (www.taidekuvasto.fi)

Galleria Regina (www.galleriaregina.fi)

Mistraali T:mi (www.mistraali.net)

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Taidepörssi. Galleria ja Taidemyymälä (www.taideporssi.fi)

The Association of Finnish Sculptors (www.artists.fi/sculptors/webgallery.htm)

The Kotkan Taideseura ry (www.kotkantaideseura.com)

The Web gallery of the Finnish art galleries association (www.galleriat.net)

# DISCUSSION SECTION

# SOCIAL MEDIA – BROKERING FOR INNOVATIVE COMBINATIONS

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## Abstract

Social Media combines online tools and platforms that people use to share opinions, insights, experiences, and perspectives with each other. In this article, we investigate how the current SocialMedia core services utilise brokering and compounding several resources from different sources into innovative end results. We suggest these innovative combinations signify the Open Media paradigm Social Media has made possible. The paradigm change means a change in the process of producing, distributing and consuming media content.

The new mode of online media has similarities with the Open Innovation paradigm. This article indicates these similarities and explains with the help of different brokering models how brokering takes place in the Social Media services. As a research method, we use case-based reasoning.

## Introduction

The peer production and user-to-user interaction increase as more Social Media platforms and services come to markets. Online sites like Global Voices Online, OhmyNews, Wikipedia, YouTube, Facebook, Del.icio.us, and Flickr are all examples of social media platforms. The rise of the user driven content and sites for social networking can be seen as a major challenge for the traditional media industry if it can not adapt these opportunities into its own business.

Tappscott and Williams (2006) predict troubles for the companies who do not understand the new mode of production. “Some of these grassroots innovations pose dire threats to existing business models ...And in the years to come, this new mode of peer production will displace traditional corporationhierarchies as the key engine of wealth creation in the economy.” (Tappscott and Williams, 2006, 18.)

Fortunately, to better cope with the change, some media firms have begun innovating new services for crowds. They want to learn how to tap peer production to gain additional business value.

A practical example is a Finnish publisher called A-lehdet. It promotes peer-to-peer content in its site called Apureportterit in addition to its nationally well-known magazine Apu. The Apureportterit website provides a publishing channel for citizen reporters. All authors publish their online reports in Apureportterit without prior agreement of any salary, but the firm pays 20–200 euros for a well-written report. Some of these reports can be later on published also in the actual print magazine. In that case the author gets maximum 1 000 euros payment for his or her work. (Parteco, 2007)

We noticed, the change in content production has similarities to Open Innovation paradigm (Chesbrough 2003, 2006). West and Gallagher (2006) define the Open Innovation as systematically encour-

aging and exploring a wide range of internal and external sources for innovation opportunities, consciously integrating that exploration with firm capabilities and resources, and broadly exploiting those opportunities through multiple channels.

In Social Media services, the valuable content comes from external resources even more often than from the internal ones. For example, in Wikipedia its community norms guide editing and users create content for non-monetary reasons and voluntarily. At least there are no direct payments of the editing and creating content. That differs greatly from the traditional media which either employs journalists or orders stories from freelancers, having editor-in-chiefs working in-house.

Why so many of the firms then deny alternative model of production? There are reasons for it. For example, the intellectual property policies affect greatly on the way firms produce or distribute digital goods (Weber 2004, 246-248). This is not just the case with code, but with content as well.

The practice of Social Media is to aggregate and mash content from all available sources. This already causes problems with intellectual property rights (IPR). Creative Commons (CC) licensing system seems to help social media a bit with the copyright struggles that sometimes prevent totally, or, at least hinder the aggregation culture. Yet, there is a lot of work to be done before the licensing system works internationally (Hietanen, Oksanen, Välimäki 2007).

In the next chapters we describe more in detail Social Media and it's connections to Open Innovation. The practice of brokering is illustrated as ways of gathering ideas and building them to a level of innovation. As a conclusion, an Open Media paradigm is introduced. This article ends with discussion about future perspectives.

## Social Media in general

Social Media describes the online technologies and practices that people use to share opinions, insights, experiences, and perspectives with each other (Wikipedia, 2007). Terms like social software and Web 2.0 have been used synonymously with Social Media, but for us including the word 'media' means that also content signifies the features of the phenomenon more than merely technology or social networks. When you compare traditional media to Social Media, it is rather easy to notice that the production, distribution and consuming process is more hierarchical one with traditional media channels than an emergent system like in Social Media (Parteco, 2007). The old production structure gives for the media company the power to decide, not to some "self-organizing, egalitarian communities of individuals who come together voluntarily to produce a shared outcome" (Tappscott and Williams 2006, 67).

Weber (2004, 246-247) has described how things and actions have value for their own sake. People get excited of something and start doing it if they have the tools, capabilities and time for it. It does not need the interpretation of adding a measurable investment for the whole society or for the public knowledge. As one can evaluate from the user created content (UCC) distributed online, the capability to publish is not synonym for professionalism. The will is many time stronger than the skills but Social Media has no reason to prevent the creativity. Instead Social Media platforms contain evaluation and rating services for participants to help the most interesting items show better for the crowds.

According to a gallup in BusinessWeek (Nussbaum, 2007) there are 6 types of Social Media participants:

*Table 1. Types of participants in Social Media (Nussbaum, 2007).*

| Type | Description |
|---|---|
| Creator | Publishes web pages, blogs and uploads videos |
| Critic | Comments on blogs and posts reviews and comments |
| Collector | Uses RSS to tag and gather information |
| Joiner | Uses social networking sites |
| Spectator | Watches, reads and listens |
| Inactive | Is online but doesn't participate in Social Media yet |

To find and engage right customers to participate is a challenge (Clark et al. 2004). Understanding the roles described by Nussbaum (2007) may help in reaching different customer and user segments.

The peer production is an alternative model of production and companies should take it into account when designing their strategies (Tappscott and Williams 2006, 66). If participants get paid at some point of the process when they share their content or views in Social Media, it is not before the crowds, the platform owner or strategic partners of the platform owner find their input relevant and valuable enough to pay.

The participation is broader in Social Media than in the peer productions since Social Media binds companies to participate as well. In fact, Chris Hughes, the co-founder of Social Networking Service (SNS) called Facebook, promoted already in 2006 that 10 000 companies used Facebook. (Plesser and Lyon 2006) Facebook resembles MySpace, which is another popular SNS of the Web 2.0. According to the New York Times, MySpace has 90 million visitors each month. Even just one profile owner, like Ms.

Tequila, Tila Nguyen, can be a hub that links to over 1.7 million friends on her MySpace page. (Stone 2007) Facebook has 30 million active members (Nugent and Dean 2007), and, the number is growing.

In the world of Social Media, it becomes essential to be found and to be known. Social networks and services that broker new combinations out of the data flow make one visible perhaps with fewer costs, but with more effort than earlier were required. (Parteco, 2007) One of the first changes is to start treating individuals not just as passive receivers, but as active providers (Toivonen 2007).

Tappscott and Williams (2006) talk about wikinomics design principles which include making sure the service meets the needs that motivate participation. Anyhow, it seems that in the Social Media, services combine innovative results from various data sources and with the help of their customers, but this takes place without actually selecting the participants as such before they take part.

For example, the content aggregator site called Digg.com lets people to submit content from any online source they find luring enough. Anyone can register to the service and start sending links to the online content they fancy. The content can be videos, not just text. Then the bite of the content is published on the Digg.com site with a shortcut to the original source (url). The other readers vote whether the story is interesting (Digg) or not (Bury). The stories receiving the most votes are the most valued ones. These articles will show on the front page of the Digg.com.

The platforms similar to Digg.com and based on social software offer virtual space to attach the supply found and to watch if there is any demand for it. It is like a recycling center without limiting who

brings the stuff and just leaves it there, who copies the selection to another location or which one of the visitors will mix one or two things together into a new piece of art.

Peer production appears quite meritocratic (Tappscott and Williams 2006, 67) which leads sometimes to problems in Social Media sites. Since the experienced, long-term members of the community are trusted to give guidance and lead the community, random users may not always get their voice heard or their message is trifled though they had the skills and knowledge required.

Brokers, on the other hand, are one of the most important community members for successful Social Media services. They actively communicate with external communities and introduce new ideas. This keeps the services appealing and alive. Next, we will illustrate brokering in connection to OpenInnovation before taking the in depth-coverage of the Open Media Paradigm.

## Brokering within open innovation

According to Wenger (1998) brokers are able to make new connections across communities of practice, enable coordination, and – if they are good brokers – open new possibilities for meaning. Although, we all do broker, certain individuals seem to thrive on being brokers. They love to create connections, engage in the boundaries of practices than move to the core of any one practice. These brokers rely on a strategy for exploiting the networked nature of the process and building new communities around innovative re-combinations (Hargadon & Sutton 1997).

Brokering takes place in the Open Innovation cycle. The Open Innovation paradigm treats research and development (R&D) as an open system where valuable ideas come both from inside and outside the company and proceed to the market from inside or outside the company as well. (Chesbrough, 1, 2006)

The next figure illustrates internal and external ideas as well as the exchange process. Brokering mostly relates to arrows coming from outside to inside. Patents, ideas, IP and expertise can be in sourced when necessary.

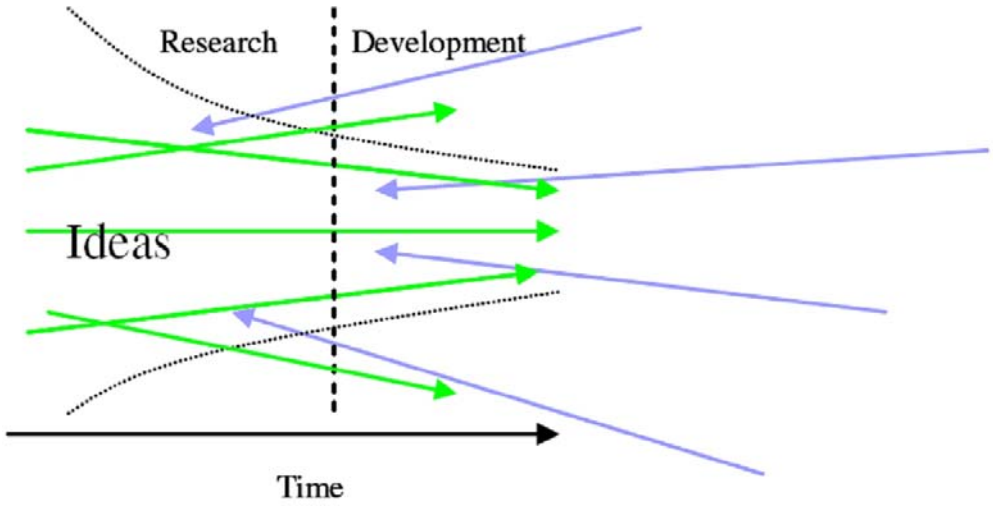


*Figure 1. Open Innovation model (Chesbrough, 2003).*

Similar to innovation brokering, in Social Media, the content transfers from one area to another and even mixes along the path into something modified, edited or totally new result.

## The paradigm change

The Open Media Paradigm is all about the change of structure. Platforms open interfaces, actor's roles transform from consumer to producer. Digital content runs in streams as feeds go from site to site, from user to another. Mash-ups and tags build up layers which make the old content sediment work in totally new environments for entirely new audiences. Only laws, norms of the community and technology limit the actions in addition to the capability, motivation and living environment affected by the time and space of the actor.

The audience has learnt self-publishing. They participate in the process of journalism, arrange conversations of the masses, and, sometime manage to get better results than the professionals (Gillmore 2004). Now question is which of its borders and processes media industry is ready to open up to survive in the changing online media ecosystem which is about to change business models in overall, also outside the virtual environments.

Social Media has exploded the content production and distribution structure like shown below, and the content publishing, distribution and consuming will be more and more about brokering one's own combinations.

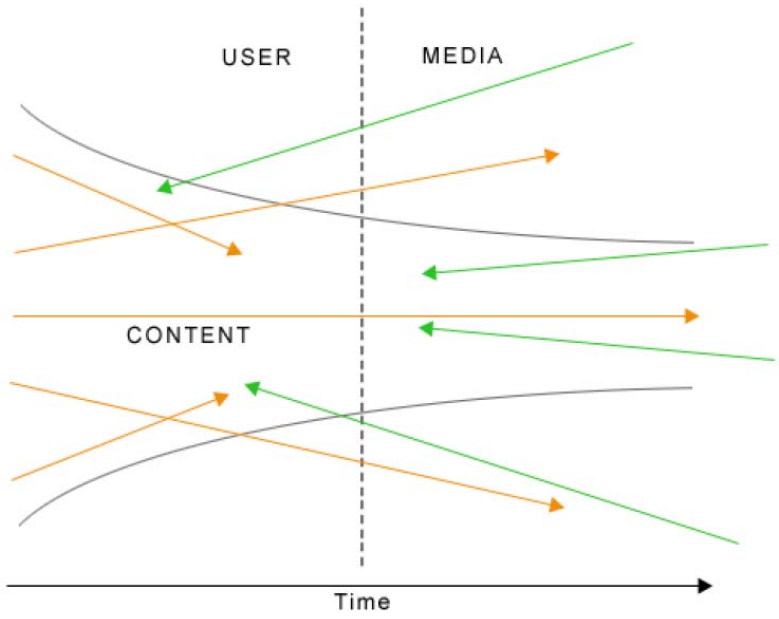


*Figure 2. Open Media model.*

The simplest thing to do in the ecosystem, that works like the Open Media Paradigm suggests, is to make sure links work and website offers feeds for readers to take with them and publish elsewhere for their own audiences.

The more advanced companies look for ways to create new value for their customers by aggregating, mashing up data in the same way as social media platforms in most cases already do.

One needs to know how to glue the message to a loop of the social networks, feeds, tags and blog rolls of actors who people use as their filters to absorb the information relevant for themselves and for

their companies. In short, the media should offer for its users both something to take from their site and also some space to bring something with them as return.

## Conclusions

Social Media made it possible for individuals to participate in online communities and content production in ways that was not possible, say, even ten years ago. Everyone with Internet access can use their communication network as a medium (Gillmore 2004). At the same time companies start to realize the change offers growing opportunities for those who know how to manage the resource streams.

All what has happened with online content resembles two areas: Open Source (OS) and Open Innovation (OI). In this article, we have shown the similarities Open Innovation paradigm has with Social Media and then presented the Open Media paradigm to be further evaluated and tested in the future research projects.

## Discussion

In most of the cases, Social Media is not so much or at all about developing content inside the firm. Instead its speciality is to help others to broker innovative combinations in-house from the materials and sources available externally. This model leaves for traditional media houses a few possibilities like the ones mentioned below:

- to struggle and stay with the model familiar
- to begin to broker similar, but own innovative combinations like Social Media does
- to publish content like earlier, but with the twist of allowing the broker services to aggregate, tag, and, modify the same content, and, take it as a feed
- to build strategic partnership with Social Media companies relevant to one's own business and through the partnership get additional value.

The Open Media Paradigm shows the sweet spots for media industry to adapt to their business strategies. The company just needs to decide how closed organization one can afford to be. However, there should be more research on the Open Media model to clarify and define what could be the specific outcomes, gains and possible risks when utilizing the sweet spots in the business.

Making direct connections between Social Media and Open Innovation may have proved here a risky exercise. Open Innovation, as described by Chesbrough (2003) has its roots in large companies and their unsuccessful, closed innovation models. Social Media is a relatively new phenomenon and companies have difficulties in integrating into it.

This article describes brokers in Social Media as sorts of filters that modify and distribute content into innovative combinations from the resources users themselves have created (user-created content) or what they have found and borrowed from others (user-driven content).

The brokers can be organizations, individuals, and groups, but the common principle for all of them is the voluntary relationship with the firm taking care of the Social Media platform and the online service they participate in. So if the motivation to take part in Social Media services is difficult to explain in monetary terms, what can the traditional media do to motivate its customers to collaborate? Like West and Gallagher (2006) state:

"*motivating individuals to generate and contribute their IP in the absence of financial returns is a significant management challenge for an Open Innovation approach*".

It would be intriguing to study further whether the same applies to content and to motivating brokers of Social Media.

Our work will continue in Parteco project (2007) by comparing Social Media communities with Open Innovation communities and their motivational factors.

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# VIABILITY OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT AROUND CULTURAL EVENTS: THE EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE

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## Abstract

Growing competition among urban areas has forced cities to give more attention to activities in which they have some comparative advantage; they are in competition with each other in attracting industrial and commercial investment, skilled labour force (new inhabitants), as well as other consumers of the 'town as a cultural product', such as visitors and tourists. Recently, culture and tourism have been regarded as key elements of regional and local regeneration all over the world.

In my study, I focus on one particular component of new urban tourism, namely the impacts and functions of the yearly mega-event, the European Capital of Culture (ECOC). By hosting such events, cities can create conditions for enhancing their competitiveness, and also can promote the development of their regions or even the countries including them. The positive impacts of the institution of ECOC are cited and studied by many analysts; however, the possible hazards are rarely discussed. Despite the fact that both are important factors in longer term viability / sustainability. Usually there are more than one perspective on what is desired and what is not as a new development and change in the urban land use. Therefore, the selection of interests and views to base decisions on, have to be as inclusive as possible to minimise potential risks. Measuring the multifaceted effects of such events requires a rather broad angle of investigation, and the cases in the ECOC history differ in this regard.

## Introduction

There is an increased attention given to the issues of culture in urban studies. Throughout history, cities have always had considerable impact upon cultural life. Furthermore, especially during the last two decades cultural policy has emerged as a significant component of economic and physical regeneration strategies in European cities. As the decline and abandonment of city centres had become a common feature in Europe by the 1980s, cities started responding by preparing different local strategies in order to attract new inward investment, diversify their economies by introducing new service sectors, reduce unemployment and develop local infrastructures. Decision-makers started to pay more attention to the expansion of sectors like leisure, tourism, the media and other 'cultural industries' in order to compensate for the jobs lost in de-industrialised regions, as well as to improving the safety and accessibility of city centres and encouraging open-air, free events. (Bianchini-Parkinson, 1993) Re-urbanising cities

change from the physical point of view: the greater attention paid to leisure and culture in post-modern societies supports a “spectacularization” of the urban landscape (van der Borg – Russo 2005, 24).

The variety of cultural consumption oriented policies has been developed, including the organisation of cultural events of different scales. This paper gives a brief introduction to the features of urban cultural tourism, and tries to find some of the factors lying behind the problem of viability of the spectacular investments in the built elements of the cultural infrastructure (museums, art galleries, concert halls, etc.) for the European Capital of Culture event.

## Tourism, culture and urban development

Tourism is one of the most significant sectors of the world economy. It is also among the most dynamically developing ones: it has reached unprecedented dimensions in the recent few years. Along with this growth, the main directions of tourist flows are expected to change worldwide (e.g. forecasted by the World Tourism Organisation), in which the attractiveness of cities and towns will play an important part. It has been observed that urban areas offer an increasingly broad spectrum of tourist attractions, while for instance, the long-established tourist magnets, the seaside resorts can present a narrower range of leisure opportunities and so are attracting fewer people (Michalkó 1999, 25-27).

For the most part, cities and towns are visited by tourists because they supply a wide range of goods and entertainment services and because they are capable to meet highly diverse demand. However, the *complexity of the urban tourism product* is not the only factor lying behind the growing importance of urban tourism. The *changes in the demand side* also need to be taken into account: there has been a distinctive increase in international mobility which predominantly involves short breaks; and these are most often city-breaks. Besides, the awareness of tourists about heritage and culture is rising, which means a growing number of travellers who value the higher spatial concentrations and easy accessibility of works of art, monuments and events in cities.

Urban centres try and make every effort to attract not only industrial and commercial investment, skilled labour force (new inhabitants), but other consumers of the "town as a product”, such as visitors and tourists. The *growing competition between urban areas* forces cities to pay more attention to activities in which they have some more unique and comparative advantage; and cultural assets have a recognised potential in this regard. Also, combining culture and tourism are regarded more and more as a key element of *urban regeneration/revitalisation*; cultural projects are launched in order to raise the profile of the city and its region, as well as to maximise the benefits and minimise the disadvantages of regeneration. In addition to its economic benefits of generating income and employment, urban tourism provides a significant support for urban facilities and services, such as theatres and museums, gives reasons and sources for historic preservation and infrastructural improvements. (Inskeep 1991, 237)

It is important to explain what *the concept culture* means in the context of this paper. Culture is often thought of as pure art (such as paintings, sculpture, drama, and classical music) exhibited in museums, performed in concert halls and theatres. However, in social sciences, culture is usually interpreted in a much broader sense. I agree with Giddens (1989) who defines culture as ‘ways of life’ that incorporate the values that people hold, the norms that they follow and the objects they use. Indeed, culture is not only about ideas, but also about material things; but those are objects that are created *by people*. In a

city, too, these objects have no meaning in themselves, but acquire meaning through their context and the use that people put them to. They also embody norms, values and ideas.

Obviously from the above, cultural policies and town regeneration are logically connected in urban development practices. Based on the classification by Griffits (1995) there are three ways of using cultural policies and projects for urban regeneration. Firstly, the "integrationist model" characterises culture as the way of life of the community, and consequently, it concentrates on how cultural projects can support public social life and help create a sense of local identity. Secondly, the "cultural industries model" focuses on the production and dissemination of cultural products. Here, the emphasis is on the so called commercial cultural industries, such as fashion design or the audiovisual industries. Thirdly, the "consumerist model" regards the different arts as a tool primarily for attracting visitors, tourists and businesses (Griffits 1995, 253-265)

There is a wide variety of different strategies for improving urban tourism industry, one of the numerous examples are the so-called mega-events. Mega-events, in general, are large-scale cultural or sporting events designed to attract tourists and media attention (Apostolopoulos – Leivadi - Yiannakis, 1996). By hosting such events, cities can create conditions for enhancing their competitiveness, and also can promote the development of their regions or even the countries including them.

## The European capital of culture

I focus on one particular component of new urban tourism, namely the impacts and functions of the yearly mega-event, the European Capital of Culture. The initial scheme of 'The European City of Culture' was launched at an intergovernmental level in 1985. During the years, the cities have developed multiple objectives, such as to raise the international profile of the city and its region, to run a programme of cultural activities and arts events, to attract visitors, to enhance pride, to expand the local audience for culture, to improve cultural infrastructure, to develop relationships with other European cities and regions, etc. (Palmer ed., 2004).

> *"Designed to contribute to bringing the peoples of Europe together, the European City of Culture project was launched, at the initiative of Melina Mercouri, by the Council of Ministers on 13 June 1985." By 1991 the organisers of the event had created a network which enables the exchange and dissemination of information, especially to the organisers of future events. In 1999, the European City of Culture was renamed the European Capital of Culture, and it is now financed through the Culture 2000 programme. Until 2004 the Member States unanimously selected cities for the event and granted a subsidy, and the European Commission awarded a grant each year to the city selected, but from 2005 the European Capital of Culture is decided by the Council on a Commission recommendation taking into account the view of a group of experts in the culture sector. Also from this year, two cities will now share this status each year. (European Commission, http://europa.eu.int)*

There are already more than 30 cities all over Europe, which held the title for a year, and the pattern of the nomination of European Capitals of Culture appears to be unpredictable (Figure 1). Some cities are popular capitals, while others are less-known, smaller, regional centres. Although there are some objectives based on which cities are judged, but it could be argued that some cities benefit from the event more than others (Smith 2003, 71-72). Such cities as Berlin, Paris, Athens or Florence can be regarded as already established European 'Cultural Capitals' as having a wealth of cultural facilities, but there are so-called "culturally deprived" cities such as Glasgow and Bilbao, which also held the title for a year (Bianchini - Parkinson 1993).

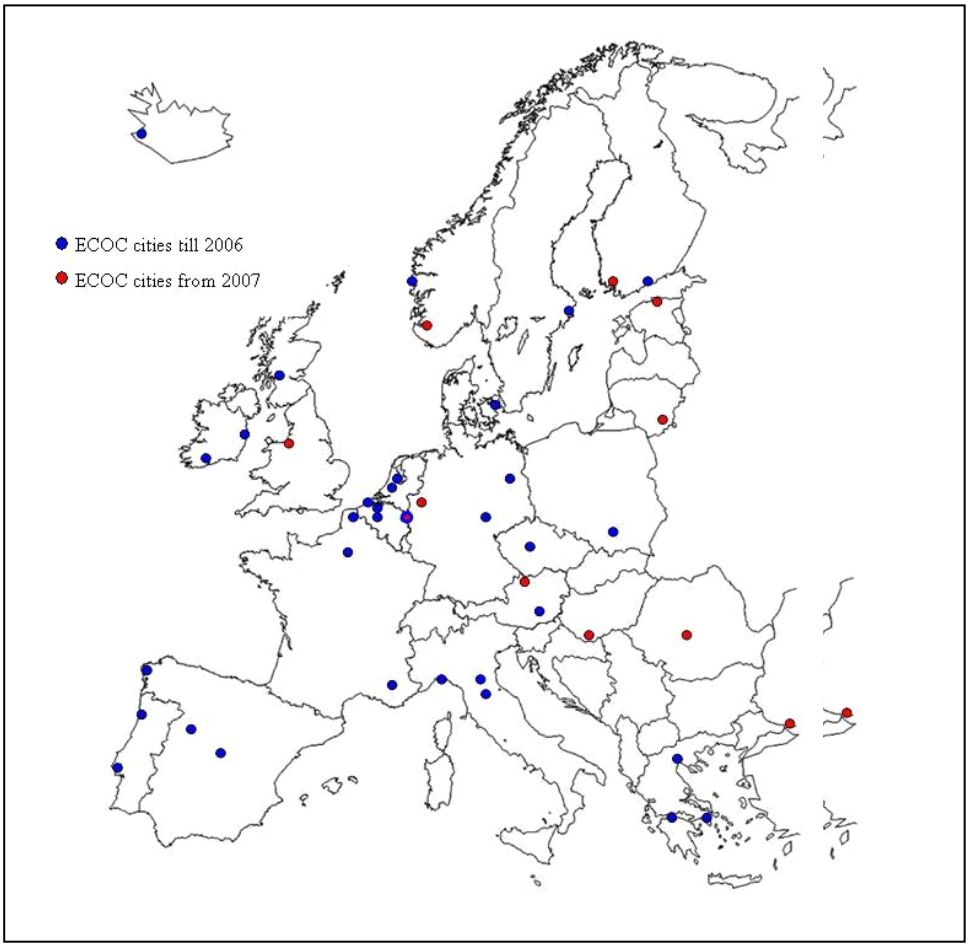


*Figure 1. Cities awarded the title European Capital of Culture (ECOC) since 1985.*

In the history of the ECOC programme Glasgow (1990) was the first city whose main objective for the bidding was a vision of *economic regeneration* with the help of massive image-building. Later on, more and more candidates saw the event as an opportunity for long-term development, which was paired with concrete infrastructural investments and a concentrated rejuvenation of entire districts. Nowadays, the programme is widely known as a significant catalyst for culture-led *comprehensive urban regeneration*.

## Changing city structures

Urban constructions are one of the most visible legacies of the ECOC programme. In some cases these are created as temporary structures, however, cities often consider the programme as an opportunity to contribute to long-term cultural and also economic development of the place and its region, and therefore try to create new permanent facilities with large capital investments. According to the EU Commission Report published in 2004 (on 21 cities, 1995-2004), several many participant cities mentioned infrastructure development as an objective of the cultural year. Also, the need for creating new infrastructure for cultural events as part of the project varies; some cities did not include the construction of new cultural buildings in their applications (Helsinki, Bergen), while in case of other participants the need for those was the main reason for bidding (Porto, Thessalonica).

Such large-scale projects often have remarkable physical footprints in the cities, changing their "cityscapes" (Frisby, 2001, Linder, 2006). New sites for the events require new locations and spaces in the urban environment, which can be realised either as the transformation of existing buildings or as greenfield investments. In any case, the emergence of these new cultural facilities change the urban texture by creating new centres of gravity, or modify the existing cultural, commercial, tourist cores of the cities, as it is showed in the case of the South-western Hungarian city, Pécs (Figure 2). Pécs will be the European Capital of Culture in 2010, where five key projects have been envisioned to accommodate the expected large number of visitors; the Zsolnay Cultural Quarter, the Grand Exhibition Space, Music and Conference Centre, Regional Library and Information Centre and the revival of public squares and parks. Three out of four new / extended cultural buildings will be located outside the existing tourist city centre, away from the traditional tourist routes and pedestrian areas.

The distance from the city centre and from the other main attractions may result in lower visitor numbers at the new locations. However, the success does not depend only on proximity. Even if the new attractions, sites are situated further from the city centre, tourists will find them, if there is a good connection to their routes in the city. This may cause difficulties in some cities, where the new sites are located in dilapidated districts or next to busy roads.

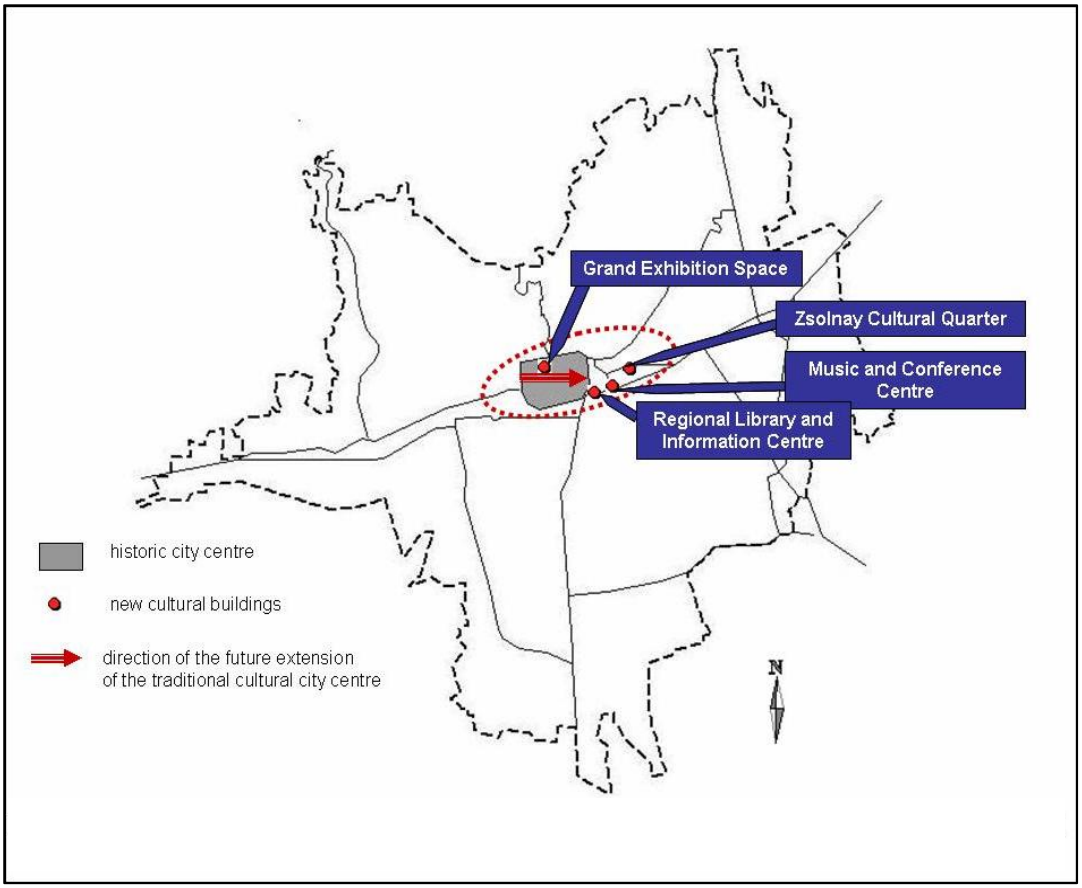


*Figure 2.* *The locations of main cultural-infrastructural investments in Pécs (Hungary) for ECOC-2010. (due to the original plans published in the tender).*

## The viability of the new cultural facilities

The positive impacts and success stories of the institution of ECOC have been publicised and studied by many (Sjøholt 1999, Herrero- Sanz- Devesa 2006). On the other hand, the possible hazards and pitfalls are rarely discussed. Usually there are more than one opinion on what is desired and what is not as a new development and change in the urban land use. The city is owned and used by many, concerns and perspectives are very diverse; short- and long-term interests often conflict. Therefore, the selection of views to base decisions on have to be as inclusive as possible to minimise potential risks. Planning, monitoring and evaluating the multifaceted effects of such events require a rather broad angle of investigation. The sustainability or viability of ECOC investments depend very much on this. The cases in the ECOC history have been rather divergent in this regard.

Although new infrastructural projects are usually very successful in attracting media and public attention - which in fact, is a central, if not the most important goal of mega-events – in some cities have to face difficulties in sustaining new infrastructure after the end of the event.

Besides inadequate planning and neglected interest-conflicts, there can be several other weaknesses in ECOC projects leading to deficits and problems with sustainability. During the event extra funds and also some sponsorship are usually available both for operational costs and for promotion; but the lack of finance following the year of ECOC can be a real shock. Aslo, even if there is no problem with funding, the cities' regular audiences sometimes simply are proved to be not large enough to support these new cultural infrastructures on the long run (e.g. in Thessalonica). Even if the general aim of the

cities is to increase tourism, long-term growth in tourist arrivals is not always for granted; the future demand for new facilities is rather unpredictable. In almost every case (and especially in smaller cities), the ECOC results in much higher visitor numbers for the year of the event than before, however, in the following years tourism statistics often show a certain decline (Figure 3).

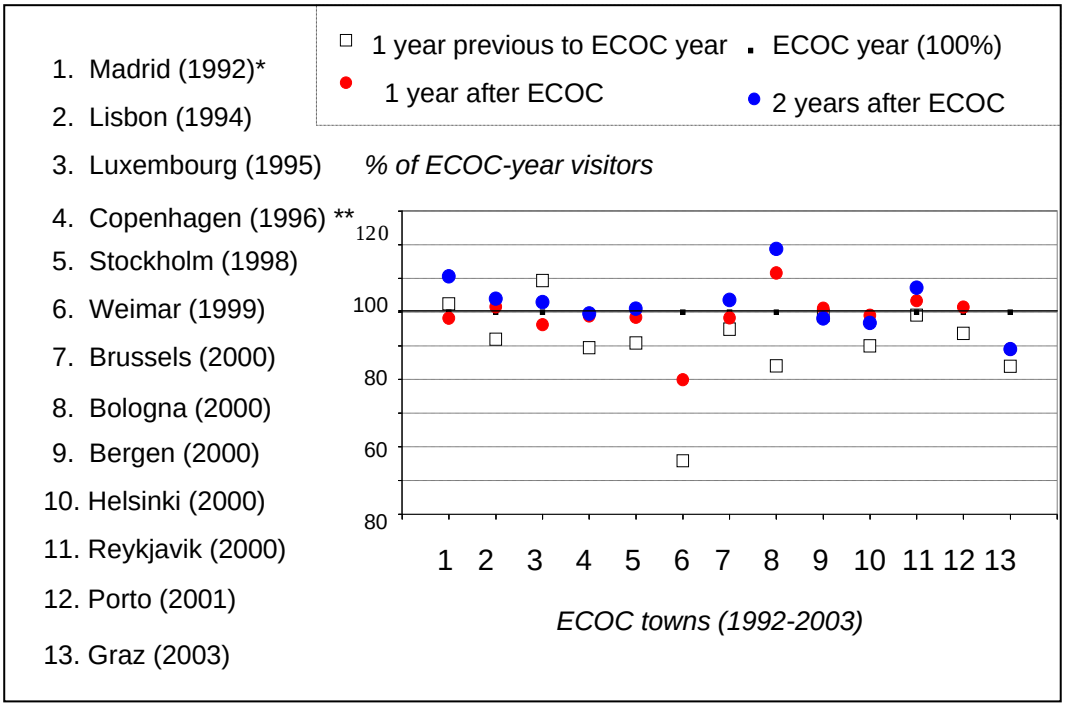


*Figure 3. Annual visitor numbers before and after the year of ECOC (ECOC year = 100%).*

## Conclusions

There are many ways to measure the success of the European Capital of Culture, and visitor numbers can not be the most important in every case. With the objective to attract visitors to the cities directly or indirectly by means of investing into the ECOC cultural constructions, planners need to be cautious of the prospects of sustainability on a longer term, and that the future trends in tourism are difficult to predict. For this reason, also, such urban development projects need to be balanced against the needs and wishes of the local population, therefore the expectations, support, and last but not least the actual demand from the part of the local community towards the new cultural institutions should be a crucial factor in planning. Most importantly, the long-term effects and goals of the development, its integration into the cities' further physical and social existence must be assessed in the evaluation of the ECOC projects.

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# AN EVENT CALLED CREATIVE WRITING BY LETTERBOXING

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## Abstract

The study deals with an event called Creative Writing by letterboxing, which was organized on May, 17 in Kirjurinluoto, Pori as the final event of Creative Writing. Literary art is by definition enrichment of language and imagination. Literary art emphasises freedom of expression and playing with words. Letterboxing is about puzzle solving, treasure hunting, orienteering, finding new places and it can also be seen as an art. The event combined creative writing with letterboxing, focusing strongly on the media educational and environmental educational perspective. I will use this research to apply letterboxing application describe comprehensively to happening called word of art by letterboxing contents and goals. There are some major questions: what is the event called Creative writing by letterboxing? And how the new hobby of treasure hunting could be applied to the hobby of Creative writing? Some secondary questions: what kind of roles do media education and environmental education play in the event?

## Introduction

The event “Creative writing by letterboxing” is a new way of developing written and oral communication with treasure hunt games and creative writing. The event was a new, small-scale outdoors happening for children, organized to celebrate the very last meeting of the spring term 2006 of Creative Writing groups (“Virkeät mutantit” and “Siivekkäät”) for children and youth which had been in operation in a couple of years’ time. The event took place on 17 of May in 2006 at the scenic Kirjurinluoto park not far from the centre of Pori. Twelve children, aged between 6 and 13 years, from the Creative writing groups were involved in the event, as were two creative writing teachers. The purpose of the event was to provide participants with media education and environmental education. Media education was best taught with exercises placed inside the caches. Environmental education, on the other hand, was focused with clue poems, which had to be compared and observed in relation to the real environment. In this paper I will discuss what the event “Creative writing by letterboxing” is and how the children who took part in the course experienced this event.

### Literary art

The event Creative writing by letterboxing is a pilot experiment group for word of art new method for to use. Clear research result happening was direct hobby of word of art, who have bottom to do media education both environment education support word of art exercises. Happening was media educational way profitable and happening gives opportunities media education develop word of art workshop,

schools both example tourism products. Environmental education bring up letterboxing poem compare through for own value of environment. Social communication of groups achieves idea example new places, which word of art by letterboxing happening can creative. Amateur of word of art experiences clear research result come out that this kind of happenings is suitability word of art workshops curriculum. Amateur of word of art age influence exercises challenges bought road length and difficulties of cache places. Children shows real interested word of art by letterboxing happening develop for happening for themselves and friends pleasant. Word of art by letterboxing happening come true and research are creative opportunities apply to continue for research. I will do different application of use treasure hunt games like geocaching and letterboxing different kind of tourism products both method of education.

Literary art is by definition enrichment of language and imagination. In literary art, the gained skills can be used as instruments of expression: one can, for instance, design cards. Writing can be complemented with other ways of expression, such speaking, drawing or showing (Larmola 2005, 135). Literary art can be understood as a certain kind of linguistic expression, which can also be considered in connection with the language system (Karkama 1979, 33.) Literary art, and its theory, is a part and a form of social practice. Practice is hereby understood to be such an action, which is directed at the nature of phenomena, controls and changes them and also develops the human being itself and his needs (Karkama 1979, 17.). Literary art reflects man's free work and his self implementation (Karkama 1979, 22.). Literary art should be seen in different eras as being part of living cultural heritage (Karkama 1979, 38.). A goal by National Board Of Education to be included in the curriculum of comprehensive education is to practise abilities of empathy, to develop pupils' vocabulary, to develop personal expression and skills of analyzing the world. Literary art puts an emphasis on freedom of expression freedom and playing with words.

Riikka Turtiainen describes her own Creative writing groups with following words: "By working together we become familiar with traditional forms of linguistic expression as well as possibilities provided by new media, with an ability to read media and to be critical towards media become part of teaching". Literary art comes from inside of a person, which also means it is about getting to know oneself (Ihamäki, Turtiainen 2006).

## Letterboxing

Letterboxing is about solving puzzles, treasure hunting, orienteering, finding new places and also an art (Niku 2005). Its adventure game-like character is also seen in the birth story of letterboxing. Legend has it, that letterboxing started in the 1850s, when a Victorian gentleman hid a letterbox in the Dartmoor National Park on the Devon moors. In the Dartmoor National Park of today, there are 20 000 letterboxes hidden, with all their clues published as a book. The first activist of organized letterboxing activist was a U.S. pioneer called David Sobel. In 1989, his environment education study programme called Valley Quest was launched, and, at the same time news of letterboxing spread over to the Upper Valley area in New Hampshire and in Vermont. There is information on the study programme in a web page. The web page focuses on various learning projects concerning environmental education and the pages consist of links to different communities (Hall 2004, 1.).

Letterboxing started to win popularity when the North American Smitsonian magazine published in April 1998 an article about letterboxing amateurs. People who read the article published also on web pages and by various communities, found each others and started to develop their community in the

United States. Magazines and newspapers started to publish articles about enthusiasts hiding letterboxes all over the United States. The Waterford Connecticut Company launched boxes and stamps for letterboxing purposes in July 1998. Letterboxing soon became a popular way of spending time together with like-minded people. This led to letterboxing groups getting together and founding a letterboxing community called LbNA (Letterboxing North America) in Northern America. Soon there were caches hidden in 50 states and in Canada. Caches were started to be published on the LbNa web page called www.letterboxing.org. This page is now the official worldwide letterboxing site (Hall 2004, 1.).

## Methodology used in the event "Creative writing by letterboxing"

This case study is a qualitative research, carried out as an enquiry for participants in Creative Writing courses, including pictures. This happening is a small pilot case, giving suggestions for using treasure hunt game like letterboxing for educational purposes in the future. The aim of the research is to study how letterboxing could be methodologically used in teaching media education and environmental education subjects in outdoor events.

Letterboxing can also be included in adventure education. In adventure education, comprehensive individual growth is supported by target-oriented and challenging group activities. According to Clarke (1994), adventure education is about individuals finding new areas both in themselves and in the environment. As a consequence, it leads to feelings of success, many experiences and surprises. According to Vainikainen (1994), adventure education is a method, which enables to be in contact with young persons. Adventure education gives an opportunity to achieve feelings of success, unforgettable experiences and safe risks. First of all, it is a method of teamwork. In adventure education, individuals and groups are challenged with concrete aims. These aims emphasize the commitment of each member of the group to the common goal. The goals are often connected with a challenge to test the mental, physical and social tolerance of risk taking. The exercises require problem solving skills, which, in turn, require skills of decision-making, evaluation, cooperation and communication and a firm confidence in one's own capability and in the involved group. (Fossi; Jokinen, 1997)

Kurt Hahn has introduced the concept of experience pedagogy, defining it as "comprehensive education, which combines nature, surrounding community and potentiality of physical education. It is also pedagogy of arts, music, cultural experiences and technical skills." The aim of experience pedagogy is to create circumstances for creative and experiential activities, whereby young people could find in themselves new resources and learn to know their own skills. In experience pedagogy, experiences are used to teach individual and group responsibility. Experience pedagogy emphasizes strategies, with which skills and knowledge are increased by doing concrete things and learning from those experiences. In adventure education and experience pedagogy, different kinds of experiences, taking chances, working in groups and learning to recognize the limits of one's own resources are emphasised. (Fossi; Jokinen, 1997) Like experience pedagogy, the educational ideas of "Learning by doing" by John Dewey (1963) are also based on recognition of children's experiences of life as a resource for individual growth. (Fossi; Jokinen, 1997) Our "Creative writing by letterboxing" event used the learning by doing method to study media education and enviroment education.

## The goals of "creative writing by letterboxing"

The goal of the "Creative Writing by letterboxing" was to combine creative writing with media education and environmental education by introducing treasure hunting or letterboxing. The event was also a good experience for the participants. The event in itself trained participants to learn creative writing by using different methods. Creative writing can also be used to build up the aestethic aspects of the human mental systems. During the event, letterboxing or treasure hunt was a way for the children to get interested in traditional Creative Writing classes in a whole new way. The scenic Kirjurinluoto park was a perfect place for letterboxing with the exercises. First, we gathered together and the children formed three groups. They would have a clue poem to help them look for four letterboxes, with each of them including an exercise connected with media education. The clue poem was as follows:

*Departure at Kirjurinluoto cafeteria*

*1. Letterbox*
*Sillan yli poiketaan*
*jatketaan matkaa vasempaan.*
*Jatka vielä matkaa tovi,*
*liikaa kiirehtiä ei kuitenkaan sovi.*

*Edessäsi lavan näät ja*
*lodjua etsimään siis jäät.*

*2. Letterbox*
*Askella reippahasti seuraavalle*
*lodjulle asti.*

*Juovan reunaa kulje,*
*älä silmiäsi sulje.*
*Ylitä tie varovasti,*
*jotta pääset karttataululle asti.*

*3. Letterbox*
*Suuntaa kohti siltaa puista,*
*kääntyä vasemmalle muista.*

*Kolmannesta koivusta oikeaan*
*yli nyppylän jatkat vaan.*
*Pysähdy jälkeen 50 askeleen*
*pieneen muistometsikköiseen.*

*4. Letterbox*
*Palaa polku kohti,*
*joka tännekin johti.*
*Tienviitalle sä jatka,*
*siihen ei ole pitkäkään matka.*
*Leikkipuistoon suunta ota*
*etsi sieltä Viksun kota.*
*Nyt saat palkan vaivaan suunnista*
*merirosvolaivaan.*

For the exercises, children were allowed to use 15 minutes. In the end we would return to our point of departure after which the children was asked to fill a questionnaire. There were three teachers and

twelve children. After the first group had started, others were asked to write a poem titled "Don't litter nature". For instance, 8-year-old Enni Nevala came up with the following:

*Maassa on roska, keräsin sen koska,*
*ruma on roskainen maa, roskat ihmisiä haittaa.*
*Roskat kuuluu taittaa*
*ja roskat koriin laittaa.*

## The media educational part of the event

Media education was our starting point as we planned the "Creative writing by letterboxing" event, because creative writing is about constructing stories. Media is strongly present in the everyday life of today's children and we wanted that the children participating in the course would learn to view media texts as narratives. It is important for them to be aware of narrative structures, which could be transferred to numerous media types and any kinds of media texts. On the other hand, differences between many media forms can largely be explained with their different narrative forms, that's why persons participating in Creative Writing groups have to deal with problems of narratives in order to realize the important basic differences between different kinds of media. What is most important is to focus on a basic fact in media education: natural representation of experience. In other words, one pays attention to texts as narratives, emphasizes storytellers, the techniques used, values and the target group of the narrative (Masterman 1989, 134-135.).

For our first letterbox exercise we had a comic strip, which can be seen to belong to the basic techniques of narratives. The exercise is based on dividing narration into periods. Children were now asked to write a story based on the comic strip. While reconstructing the right order, children came closer to the surface level often only not until subconscious data and feeling for medium managing narrative structures.??? (Masterman 1989, 135.) They learnt to complete the already written comic strip with their own expression. Our idea was to study how the children were able to create a story based on an already existing comic strip. It was possible for the children to display a capacity, of which they weren't even aware. Through concrete examples they went further into an insight of many general principles of narratives. Children were forced to have a discussion with the comic strip, considering how their thoughts and texts would be like in the comic strip. As a result, we indeed had many kinds of stories about the comic strip. Our second letterbox exercise was about coming up with a piece of news connected with any of any places on the map of Kirjurinluoto (the second letterbox was situated next to the Kirjurinluoto information map).

12-year-old Ilmo Setälä's news "Lokki-Stage collapsed"

"*Yesterday afternoon a boy kicked the deep rotten Lokki-stage and it collapsed. The boy was not hurt at all nor was he accused, because the stage was already deep rotten. In the nearest future there will be a new stage*."

Our topic of news was defined to include place names on the map, which was also a restriction for choosing the subject. Ilmo's story, for instance, could be analyzed from the media educational perspective with having a narrative structure on two levels. Firstly, news stories can be considered through con-

spicuous, dramatic or confusing initiatives. It is important to pay attention to their development or consequences and their solutions. It is obvious from Ilmo's story that he has read news. He obviously knows how to report news. Also, news stories can be analyzed as parts of the total structure of newspapers or news broadcasts. Matters brought up in news belong to predictable categories. In newspapers, news should not be considered as if they were traditional stories. They are not linear, but fragmentary. News stories don't help us interpret the world as a whole, in this respect they are opposite of many narrative types (Masterman 1989, 139-140). In Ilmo's story, a piece of news is something that is concerned with an accident taking place at leisure time. The person chosen for the subject of the news is in my opinion an interesting one as the writer clearly had a target group (such as young people, mothers and fathers) in mind.

Our third letterbox exercise consisted of telling what kind of a fantasy person would be living in the woods. Children were supposed to describe its appearance, characteristics or features. Also they were asked to come up why it is living in the woods and what it usually does. Karoliina Iivonen had come up with "*there is a fairy living in this forest, wondering if she is good or bad and coming to the conclusion that she is good. She has long eyelashes and she is all smiles. I live in the forest, because I love Finnish nature.*" This exercise was all about free imagination.

In media education, it is essential to point out the connection between ideas and non-ideas and how they penetrate each other (Masterman 1989, 149.). In the above-mentioned exercise, coming up with own ideas and own imagination were aimed to demonstrate how media has influenced the children. Our purpose was to use media education to observe the ideological analysis of texts. We wanted the students to see through their own texts and how ideologies are present even in certain everyday expressions (Masterman 1989, 147). Karoliina Iivonen's text, for instance, reveals how the fantasy person is a girl-like fairy, with such fairy-like features as long eyelashes.

Media influence can be seen as very gender-related especially in advertising and programs aimed for children. This exercise is in my opinion an example of how the process of choosing a fantasy person is influenced by the gender-related media. Media play their part in providing us with observations and ideas. They provide us with information on the world, but also ways of looking at and understanding it (Masterman 1989, 3-4.).

Our final exercise was designed for the letterbox. Children were asked to write a letter to a crow called Viksu (there is a mailbox for Viksu in Kirjurinluoto), exaggerating largely about the adventure. It was a group work, with each group carrying out the exercise in slightly different ways. In my group it was decided that one child started to tell a story, another would continue etc. It worked very well, setting up a dialogue in the whole group and thus emphasising the meaning of group work in our letterboxing exercise. It also emphasised sense of community and the social character of learning. The exercise taught our group cooperation skills and dialogue between texts and the group. The event Creative Writing by Letterboxing was media educationally useful, with prospects of teaching media education in workshops, schools and, for instance, in tourism productions.

## Environmental educational perspective

While reading treasure hunt poems and looking at pictures, children were supposed to observe places in the environment. The letterbox poem was informative of nature and cache places. The poem was some kind of an introduction to an adventure in the environment. Letterboxing or treasure hunting gave an

opportunity for the children to make personal observations and analyse own experiences associated with thinking and, thereby, with constructing one's own ideas and knowledge (Aho, Havu-Nuutinen, Järvinen 2003, 22).

By observing the environment, the children described what the caches were like and how they worked, and, tried to find similarities with the contents of the poem (Aho, Havu-Nuutinen, Järvinen 2003, 46).

The first letterbox or cache was placed quite near the Lokki stage. The stage symbolized the built landscape in a scenic park. The children enjoyed the environmental experience in the familiar park of Kirjurinluoto. They had to make observations and look for the letterbox, with the environmental experience bringing a new perspective to their everyday experiences in Kirjurinluoto.

The children's environmental experiences support an investigative problem-oriented approach, with the issues associated with the participant's environment and personalities, phenomena and events, and their earlier knowledge, skills and experiences as our starting point (Aho, Havu-Nuutinen, Järvinen 2003, 30.). Good examples of this were the "Don't litter" poems, in which the children discussed their own relationship to the environment.

One letterbox was placed near a big map board, with the letterbox being hidden close to a small bridge. The rather naive map board was an essential part of the letterbox exercise, as the children learnt actively to describe and explain the world in a way, which is based on natural scientific knowledge (Aho, Havu-Nuutinen, Järvinen 2003, 32.).

In the memory woods, children were asked to come up with a fantasy person living in the woods and to describe that person. As the children were writing their stories, they also had to think why there was such a memory stone in the park. Also, most trees had been cut down. We came to think about the change of scenery, especially from our own human point of view. The children were discussing in groups and were given an opportunity to voice and explain own opinions and ideas. At the same time they also had to consider and value the subject from several perspectives, based on what they had just been told, to compare different views and to consider how relevant such views were as related to their own comprehension. Thus, their stories of fantasy persons were met by evaluation of the environment. On the other hand, social interaction helped the children see their own opinions in a new light (Aho, Havu-Nuutinen, Järvinen 2003, 41-42).

The last letterbox was about writing a letter together to the Viksu crow. The explanations given by the children regarding their adventure reflect their understanding of the matters. Their thinking and action was based on concrete sensations of their treasure hunting adventure. Classification is in conceptual learning a strategy which develops inductive thinking, aiding to conceptualize concrete observations of something that has occurred and making ground for abstractive thinking (Aho, Havu-Nuutinen, Järvinen 2003, 48). During the event, children were able to turn a concrete adventure into an exaggerated one by using their very real observations.

Environmental education was seen in comparing the letterboxing poem to the actual environment by using own observations. During the exercises they also questioned their own environmental values to some extent. Social interaction in groups gave us an idea of new places for organizing Creative writing by letterboxing events.

## What the children thought of the event

### "Fairy tale orienteering"

The children told that the Creative writing by letterboxing is "a kind of orienteering competition" (Henrik Kurittu). "We were given letterboxing instructions to look for exercises connected with literary art" (Ilmo Setälä). Eva Marin suggested that the event could be called "fairy tale orienteering". Eva Marin's new idea was to have an explanation for each letterbox to be solved and penned in a crossword puzzle. The word to come out of a crossword puzzle could allow participants to get to the final letterbox.

The children felt that our route was long enough, because the youngest of them could not even have walked a longer stretch. The children participating in the event were aged 6-13 years. What was most interesting to them was looking for letterboxes, which was experienced as great fun. The letterbox poem was said to a clear and fine one. The older children would have wanted a little bit more challenging places in nature to look for the letterboxes. The children felt that the exercises found inside the letterboxes were good and that there was enough time to carry out them. The exercises reminded them of those carried out in Creative writing classes. The children were really enthusiastic about the event and would be ready to do it again; as Eva Marin put it: "there is no point asking me twice". Nea Kulola suggested that this kind of an event could also be organized as part of Physical education in school.

The children suggested that such an event could also be organized in a forest or in another park. It would be a challenge to organize the event in the middle of a city (Neea Kulola). Sonja Helppolainen suggested that this could also be organized in the school building. These comments are valuable in developing the event further and in paying attention to new aspects when developing new kinds of outdoors events for children and tourism products.

### Some new ideas

After the event, I also started to think in what different ways it would be possible to apply all this. Events such as ours could be included in Finnish classes in primary schools, with 1st and 2nd graders participating to follow a route based on a poem. There would be exercises in different classrooms. There could be an exercise in which children are asked to cut an advertisement they like from a magazine and tell why they think it is meaningful. Also, upon arriving in the classroom pupils should watch some TV commercials and, after that, answer some questions regarding those commercials. Or they were asked to draw and write a short story of what kinds of technological instruments there are in their own rooms. At the final letterbox of such an event we could all gather together for some media technological exercises. It would give teachers valuable material regarding the pupils' views of media technology. Also, this material could be used for group work exercises for instance in Finnish classes, because media education is necessarily very important to pupils of today. We should provide our schoolchildren with the kind of information that is required of them in information society both today and tomorrow.

Adventure sports is one of the fastest growing segments of the travel business witness brochures, advertisements, specialist magazines, equipment manufacturers, and suppliers throughout the world. Based in natural, outdoor locations, these trips let participants interact with their environment in a variety of adventure activities and single sports activities such as hiking, hang gliding and letterboxing (Standeven, De Knop, 1998). Letterboxing is a great, low-impact way of increasing your fitness. It gives you reason to get off the couch and get out in the fresh air to do some walking or hiking. Because letter-

boxes are rated as to how difficult the terrain is and how far you'll need to walk to get to a cache, you can select outings that are based on your current level of fitness. Modern culture emphasizes an individual consumer ideal, in which consumers always include communal factors, even at global level. Adapt this thinking for tourists, consumers of tourism represent processes in which participate for tourist in tourism communities and subcultures. Letterboxing enthusiasts have created a tourism subculture, in which the hobby of letterboxing has a central meaning to travelling.

Active Sport like letterboxing on holidays in this category is two types of involvement can be identified, namely 1) the sport activity holiday where sport is the main intention of the trip for example skiing holidays, adventure travels, letterboxing and 2) the holiday sport activity where sport is incidental and not the main intention (letterboxing). (Standeven, De Knop, 1998, 88.)

One of my ideas was to apply our event to tourism. People have always been attracted to adventures, young people in particular have now again found adventuring in the woods very appealing, which, in turn, has made them more aware of environmental education. Tourism, outdoors life and hobbies have come closer to each other, which has led to a more versatile product range. To name one tourism product, letterboxing could be applied to presenting our past, for instance, in archaeological excavations. There could also be historical information about excavations and discoveries included in letterboxes. Also, letterboxes could include some kinds of exercises. Young people could practice archaeology as a hobby, thereby becoming more interested in archaeology and becoming aware of its significance.

Letterboxing could also be very well applied to introducing local cultural heritage to families as there could be letterboxing routes at the cultural historic sites. Adventure games have always been an interesting field to apply new games. In my other applications, knowledge of environment education and local history has been significant. The applications are tailor-made for different target groups. The aim is to present how forests and nature could be used in tourism with the aid of treasure hunt games (letterboxing). My central argument is that letterboxing would offer new kinds of opportunities to make good use of forests and park landscapes in tourism production. People have always been interested in adventures and especially young people have again found their way back to the woods, which, in turn, has made them more aware of environmental education.

For instance, our event "Creative writing by letterboxing" took advantage of the Kirjurinluoto park to teach the children media education and environmental education by using letterboxing.

## Conclusions

Ideally, literary art can activate the reader to change reality according to one's own conditions. It is only then that literary art really takes part creatively in social practice (Karkama 1979, 148). The event Creative writing by letterboxing can be said to have made socially a stand on focusing on creative writing for children. It was an outdoors event for children which combined creative writing with a treasure hunt game called letterboxing. It gave an opportunity to practice creative writing aided by letterboxing, with an emphasis on media education and environmental education. The event was a pilot experiment, which gave many developable ideas for further events, emphasising different aspects, both for children and adults. The children who participated in the event referred to it as a kind of "orienteering competition". Eva Marin suggested a new name: "Fairy tale orienteering". Our fairy tale orienteering was a unique event, with the full advantage taken of the local park Kirjurinluoto and its attractions for children. We

can indeed note that Kirjurinluoto and the letterboxing places played their part in our event, especially as far as the location and the media educationally and environmental educationally interesting places were concerned. The participants were all happy with the event. They felt it was a refreshing, motivating and extremely worthy final event after the Creative writing workshops. In general, they found the route to be long enough, although some of the older children would have wanted to have a more challenging letterboxing route. Exercises in the letterboxes were experienced to be good and there was enough time to do the exercises. It was a successfully organized event, or as Eeva Marin put it, having been asked if she would like to do it again: "there is no point asking me twice!"

As one of the central research results could be mentioned the desire honestly expressed by children to develop the event further for the best of themselves and their friends. They had some excellent suggestions for carrying out a Creative writing by letterboxing event. This indeed gave me an idea for further studies of developing such events. In my doctoral dissertation, I shall discuss possibilities of having treasure hunt games like geocaching and letterboxing as a teaching method for courses in, among other things, in environmental education and media technology. I will also discuss how geocaching and letterboxing could be used in tourism and tourism production. I will build different kinds of demo models and test them in practice.

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# PUBLIC CATERING – INNOVATIONS FOR SUSTAINABILITY OR DIVING INTO LOW-COST SERVICES?

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## Abstract and introduction: the quality issue of Finnish school meal

”Is it really true that pupils are served hot meals for free in Finnish schools?” asks a South African conference delegate at a food system research conference in the Netherlands in August 2007. The everyday meal practise at a conventional Finnish school, as ordinary as it is for Finns, may present a spectacular lateral support for pupils’ wellbeing for representatives from countries without this practise.

The following short description of the school lunch explicates how it may look like when observed by foreigner’s eyes. ’The lunch time at a conventional Finnish school seems to start within the classrooms to the minute. Some of the pupils jump up and rush out the classroom, as if competing with one another or just hurrying to lunch for some other reason; are they so hungry? Again some others stroll more slowly through the corridors, in loose groups, sharing some comments about in-school or out-of school activities. While still some proceed chatting and some silently, the pupils enter the large, light and colourful lunchroom. They pass a little table with the model meal of the day, showing an example of the recommended meal composition. The pupils reach in a queue-like formation the line for today’s lunch, to be taken freely by themselves from the buffet service. First there are the trays, napkins, knives, forks and spoons, as well as glasses to be collected for the meal compilation. The pupils start with milk, which some avoid and take just water. However, most pupils fill their glass with milk, and then choose the whole meal bread or crispbread and the spread. They continue on the line to the salads, and each of the four sorts are served separately to allow the choice. Some boys seem to avoid fresh vegetables, but the main course, for instance meat balls, brown sauce and potatoes are obviously liked by nearly all pupils. The dinner ladies, when bringing new food to the line, see to how the pupils compile their meals; some are encouraged to take some more. The pupils are reminded to avoid biowaste and are told in a poster to ”take what you eat and eat what you take”; they hardly look at the poster when weaving their way through the other pupils and heading toward their ’own’ table of eight pupils. Again some pupils eat ’orderly’, nodding at and whispering with friends while some eat silently and others discuss lively, sometimes waving their hands or exclaiming to other pupils.

The whole process of getting to the dinig hall, compiling and eating one’s lunch, putting the dishes and trays on the dishwasher line, and leaving the dining hall seems to make an everyday ’regulated’ pattern of eating together with other pupils and some teachers the publicly served hot lunch. And all this for free for the pupils. If only all the children of the world would have a school meal like this!’

This is also often the view by Finns as well; many parents, caterers, and part of the young people think that the lunch service is good or very good and that one could not reasonably ask for any better; therefore, no particular developmental efforts are needed. Or actually the costs could be decreased when effective centralising in procurement and managing would be taken on the agenda. However, there are also those who think that the quality of school meal is currently already too low and more should be done to increase its quality. The young people could be more appealed to the school meal, which could also more pronouncedly represent environmental and sustainability aspects; the school meals is provided to be an educational event as well. When seen like this, the costs could be even higher than currently; this view presents a revolutionary idea that public food would be not only healthy and 'tasty' but both particularly tasty and sustainable in terms of agri-food practices. The aim of this paper is to reflect the social organization and preconditions of school lunches, and the extent to which they could exhibit environmentally friendly and sustainable features in terms of the use of local and organic food. The paper discusses about the dialogic approach in introducing local and organic food into public catering in larger extent than is the case today. The paper draws from recent international scientific literature as well as the author's decade-long experience with public and commercial caterers.

## History and societal organization behind present public catering

The rather smoothly running school lunch event makes no obvious reference to the developmental history and heavy societal regulation at work behind the organized scene. In Finland, the struggle for societal economic and legislative support for public food service started already in the 19th century, with the basic idea that healthy, nutritious and economical food is needed in factories, schools and construction sites to secure the effectiveness of the work to be done. In the early phases of publicly organized catering, the meals were free only for the poorest pupils; in principle the customers needed to pay for their meals. (Tarasti 1988). Since those days, a long and incremental development has taken place, introducing free meals for all pupils whereby new regulations were added about groups entitled to free lunches within the developing educational system. There were also regulations about how the meals were to be compiled to correspond about one third of the daily nutrition. Additionally, there have been regulations about how much time the lunch should be allowed to take and that pupils should be guided to appropriate behaviour by teachers. (Lintukangas et al. 2007). Even though many of the previous strictures are not followed any more to the letter, the aim, implementation and 'spirit' of the school lunch remains the same; it has proved to be an appreciated and durable practice.

Today the free lunch is a statutory part of pupil support, to be paid by the municipality and to be prepared and served by a municipal or commercial, contracted catering organization. The food is purchased by municipal procurement or by the commercial service provider. The municipal catering organizations are either net budget, banded or business units, which aim at profitable service production. The services align with an extensive body of regulations, starting with public procurement directive (only for public organizations) and recommendations for nutrition content of public meals, hygiene directive and regulations for occupational safety and collective agreements about labour conditions. (Sivonen and Työppönen 2006, Lintukangas et al. 2007, Mikkola 2008). The professional kitchens with their equipment and lunch rooms for eating represent the 'hard ware' for public catering, and the personnel preparing the meals the 'soft ware' of cultural and cooking skills needed for mass scale meal preparation for

hundreds and thousands of eaters. All these preconditions of public catering present rather large investments into wellbeing of youth as well as other persons benefiting from public meal service, and also suggest an even more developed use of such material and cultural resources.

## Criticism, encouragement and trials for innovative orientations of public catering

The economical, free and equal, laterally supporting, healthy and culturally 'conventional' food offered by public catering has not been spared from criticism, which concerns most often the sensory aspects of the food served and the environmental and sustainability qualities of food. First, as public catering services are funded by 'tax payers' expensive money', they aim at efficient use of resources and food quality acceptable for the large majority of eaters. These preconditions have often led to food quality perceived as low in terms of taste (or rather lack of it), temperature, consistence, colour and ingredients used (Hartwell et al. 2006). The Finnish caterers have particularly made efforts to avoid excessive fat or salt content in the meal, which may contribute to the perception of lack of taste by some customers. Second, the food is understood to represent staple, originating in intensive rather than extensive agriculture, and additionally to be manufactured in large quantities. From the customers' point of view eating publicly catered meals is often perceived as "captive catering", whereby customers' access is limited to services other than the ones operating on particular premises (Mikkelsen 2004). Because the customers in for instance schools and hospitals are prevented from choosing optional services, they are more or less 'forced' to eat the food served; this may 'amplify' the unsatisfaction felt by some customers.

The feedback by the eaters to food service organization is moderated and possibly limited by some to the negative statement given by eating only a part of or not eating anything of the meal served. Tarasti (1988) refers to the same historical problem; although healthy and nutritious meals were offered by public catering, some workers were more interested to eat 'yummy' food of that day like pancakes and jam. However, in Finnish schools in the upper primary level most pupils eat the lunch served, with some variance concerning milk, bread and salads according to Urho and Hasunen (2004). This finding supports the view expressed by caterers, that in spite of the limited resources in their use they have been successful in preparing good food, which is satisfactory in terms of nutrition and sensory evaluation.

The 'bulk food experience' has led to the questioning about the environmental and sustainability features of this food, which originates from intensive agriculture and possibly from global sources. As an option to food defined in these terms, locally sourced food and food produced by organic agriculture are often understood to represent more environmentally friendly and sustainable food. The newly emerged trend, "catering for sustainability", is represented in several European countries like UK and Italy (Morgan and Sonnino 2005), Scandinavian countries (Mikkelsen et al. 2007), Canada (Friedmann 2007) and the US (Kloppenburg et al. 2007, Block et al. 2008) as well as in Finland (Mikkola 2008). The trend emphasises the use of local and organic food to avoid harmful environmental impacts by excessive transport and use of agri-chemicals as well as to support local employment.

Finnish public catering uses to some extent local food, particularly in rural areas, but also in urban contexts (Taskinen and Tuikkanen 2004, Isoniemi et al. 2006). Organic food is used in less quantities as only about 250 professional kitchens are committed to use and increase their use of organic food according to a semi-official introductory scheme for organic food (Communicated August 2008 by Päivi Valta,

EkoCentria). The Finnish National Food Agency only has a few professional kitchens in their list of registered users of organic food. Against the image of catering for sustainability, the use of 'sustainable food' in Finnish catering is not particularly pronounced. Partly the use of local food has been just a convention, whereby caterers have just continued 'business as usual', needing no further visibility or wider recognition. Recently, some caterers are making use of the positive public image of the use of local food. The increased use of organic food is still waiting to be realised. The public catering as a user of local and organic food can be suggested to hide a tremendous challenge concerning the whole society in terms of food system: how to develop the current food supply chains more sustainable from the upstream production to downstream consumption. Public catering, as a representative of public policies, is encouraged to cater sustainable food by the national programs for sustainable consumption and production in Finland (2005), in Sweden (Think twice! 2006), and environmental labelling like Swan Labelling scheme in the Nordic countries (Criteria for restaurants 2006) as well as American professional nutritionists and caterers (ADA 2007).

In the US and Canada several partnership trials are reported with farmers, processors, caterers and researchers, with more or less success in increasing the use of local and organic food (Hinrichs 2003, Kloppenburg et al. 2007, Friedmann 2007, Block et al. 2008). In Sweden a project works to increase the use of organic food until 100% level is achieved in Gothenburg city catering services (Mikkelsen et al. 2007). However, the change takes time and effort with the stakeholders. The difficulties refer to several obstacles in converting public catering towards sustainability. According to Bergström (2005), the Swedish procureres and caterers do not consider environmental information when awarding contracts; rather, they focus on price, follow legal requirements like public procurement directive, align with customer demand and finally, they need to be in control of everyday flow of food. These results indicate, that development of sensory quality of food lies within the range of procurers and caterers in principle. However, the 'environment' and 'sustainability' are not expressed in procurers' and caterers' perceptions about food and their role in dealing with it. Considering the total number of professional kitchens - in Finland about 22 000 (ACNielsen 2007) – the number of kitchens using local and organic food may not represent the trend for sustainable catering but rather the orientations described by Bergström (2005) like financial, legal and process facilitating 'conventional' catering. This impression is further strengthened by the vocational and higher education programmes and reports stressing customer satisfaction and economic profit as the most central developmental aspects of future catering. Sivonen and Työppönen (2006) in their handbook highlight thoroughly the management aspects of the catering process without any emphasis on local or organic food, or environmental and sustainability aspects in general. This perception and developmental orientation for public catering represents quite another view about the role of public catering: it keeps to the modern cost efficient, often hierarchic and fragmented way of working, without any poignant connection with and role in the structural change towards sustainability. To express the situation even more poignantly, in some cases public catering approaches the "Wal-Mart effect", which expanded the low cost market and ultimately was connected with societal and environmental problems in the US and third world countries (Fishman 2007).

## Features of theory of social systems and ecological communication

In what way could catering for sustainability be adopted as a reorientation of the current mode of public catering? This question may seem like an insignificant matter concerning the whole national and particularly municipal economy and public services, of which public catering represents a minimal fraction. However, the practice of public catering concerns a large number of young people as well as other groups in society - for instance public servants, patients and persons in elderly homes, and through everyday meals eaters can be connected with sustainability aspects of food in a positive way. The question of sustainable municipal food services can also be regarded as symptomatic of the current societal and municipal – or public – difficulties in reorientation towards sustainability. To understand the difficulties in a more profound way, and to create a path for reorientation, the phenomenon of public catering is analysed against the background of theory of social systems and ecological communication within modern societies by Niklas Luhmann (1989).

For Luhmann, social systems have four foundational characteristics, as distilled from diverse intellectual traditions of western thought (Bednarz Jr 1989). First, Luhmann presents complexity and contingency as societally constitutive phenomena, which run from interaction of plurality of actors and their particular, more or less socially agreed expectations. Second, complexity of system environments is understood to be greater than the system's own complexity, which renders the system as constantly confronted with new and unknown environmental developments. The system should bring its own complexity to correspond the one of its environment, in order to act on equal basis, and for the system this means the need to increase its complexity in relation with its environments. Third, the social system sets itself into interchange with its environment by language as system of meanings. The relation between social system and its environments is inherent in the language, again emphasising the simultaneously 'closed' and 'open' nature of social systems with their environments. The limitation to intelligible language used by the system means simultaneously the social systems' 'closure' from and 'openness' to its two environments, 'the environment' and 'the individuals'. This does not mean that the system is not affected by its environments, but the contrary; it as effected and dependent on its environments, which offer the material and energetic basis for social systems (the environment) and the individual actors for social processes (individuals). The social system is constantly in need to 'probe into' and understand its environments. Fourth, social systems are autopoetic in the way that they refer to the system's understanding of itself by which the system aims at reproducing its structures and processes. In broad lines, the social system can be seen as responsible of its own sustainability based on the sustenance of its two environments.

In addition to the generic features of social systems, Luhmann offers a profound understanding of the modern society by identifying its constitutive subsystems. For Luhmann, the social subsystems 'running' the society are economy, law, science, politics, religion and education. Luhmann also presents convincingly, how the subsystems work internally by their expectations, how difficult it is for them to understand the complex external environments (other subsystems, environment and individuals), how restricted to the 'internal' conventional language the subsystems are and how strongly the subsystems tend to reproduce their own position within society. In this environment, it is increasingly difficult to communicate about 'the environment' in environmental science terms or by other, more conceptually adapted terms with a large number of societal actors. However, although Luhmann thinks ecological

communication is difficult in the differentiated social system, he maintains that it is absulutely crucial that the social system aligns with its environments and protects itself against ecological threats. Communication is here understood in the broad meaning, also concerning activities for the environment and sustainability.

## Rethinking ecological communication potential within public catering

Luhmann uses just any particular activity within society as an example of the workings of the subsystems; this 'free and pervasive' movement among various societal organizations, be they public or commercial, offers the option to analyse public catering as a case of ecological communication. Particularly interesting here is the ecological communication between the subsystems - or their contextual representatives, the municipal administrative sectors - and their mutual alignment. When the anatomy of public catering is analysed by applying Luhmann's social systems theory with theory of ecological communication, the results of several years of experience of Finnish public catering suggest that there is developmental potential within and between subsystemic operations.

### Economy

First, economy of public catering is normally claimed to be very tight, but however, there seems to be variations in this respect. For some catering units, the economic resources have been diminishing during the last decade, which offers evidence of caterers as not needing or being able to use the economic resources they have had in use. In some cases, centralisation of catering has decreased the costs, which have not been used for increasing sustainability quality of the meals. There are also catering organizations with rather loose use of money and less than well functioning relations with suppliers, putting them into the position of a less appreciated customer who also pays higher prices. Again there are catering organizations, which allocate money for organic products, both in situations of economic prosperity and gloom, even tightness. Finally, the prices of local and organic food are not always higher, but sometimes they may even be cheaper or similar than the prices of conventional food. The question of economy in terms of financial resources and prices and their relation to the use of local and organic food does not seem to be straightforward and would deserve a more thorough examination.

### Law

The aspect of law in public catering seems to be overwhelming, and therefore the activities are claimed to be resistant to change. The most criticism has faced not the hygiene, occupational safety, collective wage and social security agreements or the extensive area of various food laws, but the public procurement directive. The present directive offers the options for public procurers to award contracts on the basis of "lowest price" or "economically most advantageous tender" (CEC 2004). However, the basic approach taken by public procurers is often the cheapest price, which eventually may be local or organic food, but in practice often conventional food procured in large volumes. The very question concerns the quality criteria of the economically most advantageous products, which can be defined as environmentally friendly by using the product category of organic or by defining them in other ways as enviromentally friendly. This latter option is used particularly in technical equipment, but is more seldomly used for food. The area of technical quality of food and collaboration for new products seem to be promising

fields for reorientation for sustainability by public procurement, so far used in limited extent. One obstacle in the use of more advanced technical specifications is that they should be shared by the tenderers, who would need to be able to specify their products in the terms given. There seems to be, however, plenty of development potential in this area, for instance in the use of simplified methods to describe the environmental and sustainability quality of food other than the tedious LCA. One way to support the environmental and sustainability quality of food to be procured is to use freshness of food as criteria, which in most cases leads to the use of local food like root crops, vegetables, fruits and berries. However there may also be creative and novel products to be developed by producers and purchasers in co-configuration, and this often takes place between caterers and local producers. This development of new products is particularly mentioned by Commission handbook on environmental public procurement (CEC 2004). The public procurement directive thus seems to allow for room for manoeuvre if used by caterers to promote orientation towards sustainability.

## Science

Science seems to be represented directly in processes of public catering mostly as nutrition, food safety and sensory evaluation. Implicitly food and agricultural sciences, guiding the primary production and processing of food, are effecting the present quality of food. The science aspects most visible to caterers present themselves in the nutrition recommendations and in-house control. The eaters as individuals and their personal preferences have been not much considered by caterers decades ago, but today the number of different meals to choose from has also often increased and there may be one meal prepared from plant based ingredients to be served in addition to the 'normal' meal. Additionally the salads are offered on a salad bar, and together with self-portioning practices the individual determination about the amount and composition of the meal has been increased. Recently the allergies and convictionally based food choices are increasingly taken into account. Even anorectic eating practices or overweight problems are approached by catering personnel, sometimes in co-operation with health care personnel based at schools. The vegan or vegetarian meal presents simultaneously convictional as well as environmental and sustainability approach, since the environmental impacts of animal based food stuffs tends to be larger than the ones of plant based food stuffs. However, environmental sciences are mainly present only as general views or understandings concerning local and organic food and their environmental and sustainability quality. Sometimes the understandings are rather vague and sometimes, if advanced, very ambiguous. Clearly, the 'science effect' in mediating the two environments of the social system of public catering - the individuals and the environment - is more pronounced on the side of 'indivual consumer preferences and metabolic disorders' than on the side of 'environmental metabolism' and sustainability of the food system. The ecological communication could be strengthened from the current level, in order to reorientate public catering towards sustainability.

## Politics

Basically, the public catering as a whole is cemented in regulations by political power, making the responsibility for municipalities very clear but leaving also lots of room for maneuvre on the local level. The political scene may present some problems for developing public catering, because caterers do not have a prominent position in municipal infrastructure, comparable with for instance high level economic, medical, technical or administrational personnel. The caterers report about cost cutting demands

and decreasing budgets dictated by political decision makers, and not only in Finland, but in other European countries as well. The relative lack of prestige is clearly pronounced in public caterers' wishes about their need for visibility and more general recognition for the importance of their work. However, like several other lateral services, public catering is hardly the core political issue on any particular sector of administration. Additionally, municipal offices include a host of rather low paid jobs, expected to produce services according to 'business as usual', with limited employer paid education and developmental efforts . The municipal environmental and sustainability strategies are also often 'silent' about the applications within catering, indicating a relative lack of connection between policies and development of catering sector. The policy area offers, however, a support mechanism for the structural changes to be made within public catering and further within the food system. Evidence for this is documented by the many projects succeeding in conversion to the use of organic and local food as part of the meal ingredients.

## Religion

Religion is rarely connected with public catering, being seemingly an independent area of such societally constitutive public activity. However, religion is an implicit regulating power also behind the human relation to food and behind that, the natural resources and the nature. Basically all religions have a say about what is edible and what is not, participating in this way to the structuring of food supply chains and further the transformation of food from ingredients to particular meals. In the Christian heritage nature is to be cultivated and protected; however, in western secular societies this may be strongly criticized. The scientific revolution and consequent development within the food system were perceived as liberating from the restrictions in food production and drudgery in agriculture, and the current issues of environmental damage and sustainability problems, including GM developments, have become to the fore in Christian religious thinking. The previous issue of adequate food and its sharing for the needy has changed in the western countries into concern for natural environment and ultimately to the sustainability of current western life styles. Some churches even include the integrity of creation visibly in their relations with their members and exchange partners in food trade. The new practices include for instance the use of local and organic food as well as fair trade products. This religiously based economic approach has been cemented in environmental programs and environmental diplomas, which, however, include broadly environmental and sustainability issues leaving the food service only as one option for reorientation towards environmental upgrading and sustainability. However, the Christian heritage in allowing all plants and animals to be eaten as human nutrition gives great freedom in eating and adapting to current ecological conditions.

## Education

Education as a societal subsystem includes as one topic education about food system, nutrition and health both in general education and sector specific vocational and higher education. The educational material concerning food, environment and health is visibly included in text books in the primary and secondary education. Additionally home economics is a subject offering the opportunity for preparing meals and learning about the food supply chains' operations and food prices. The catering services are also increasingly participating in meal education in schools both by talking to pupils in classrooms, supervising the taking of food on the line and the disposal of biowaste as well as presenting the standard model meal for all the pupils to be examined. For vocational catering education there is seemingly little

educational material available about the food supply chains, organic farming, environmental impacts or sustainability of the food system. Within education there seems to be a need to integrate increasingly the material practices of school meals with the constructive efforts about sustainable food system and its operations taking place from primary production to meal preparation.

## Participatory approach for catering for sustainability

### The representation of subsystemic actors in developing public catering

The subsystemic reflection of the public catering in terms of catering for sustainability yields a profound view about the extended social system and its actors effecting on changes in public catering. This societal 'microcosm' on the municipal level shows how complex a challenge it is to change the track of public catering understood as rudimentary basic service to catering for sustainability (Mikkola and Mikkelsen 2008). The analysis inspired by Luhmann shows the areas of knowledge and action generically in broad lines, but these actors need to be identified on the local level and their understanding increased as a prerequisite for action. The ideal change process would have all the actors to work for the same objective, the increased use of local and organic food in terms of more environmental and sustainable practices. The actors - the caterers, procurers, supply chain actors, municipal boards, representatives of research and religion, political actors, teachers, parents of the pupils and nurses and doctors are hardly ever joined by an everyday meeting in order to promote environmentally friendly and sustainable public catering. Therefore, it cannot be expected that the "perspective taking and perspective making" will appear spontaneously by these actors, who are already occupied by their job and private duties. The chances for structural changes are even more difficult since the current situation and meals produced by public catering are rather good in Finnish perspective, and even excellent in global perspective. Why then would they be mobilized towards sustainability if the situation is satisfactory?

The caterers and other municipal actors as well as researchers express several reasons for the expectations to move towards more environmental and sustainable practices in catering. First, the caterers would like to follow the national and municipal strategies for sustainability in concrete ways in their everyday practices. Second, many caterers, parents, young people and researchers have concern about the residues and other chemicals in the food chain, hoping to serve youth with high quality pure food. Additionally, they would be happy to avoid environmental degradation due to intensive agriculture. Thirdly, even though there are very developed IT systems for nutrition and ordering food on the basis of detailed knowledge about its price and constituents, there is no information system about environmental or sustainability qualities of food. Consequently, within catering no effective knowledge use for environment or sustainability takes place; the need to increase knowledge intensity would be welcome for caterers who are concerned about these issues. Fourth, the caterers would like to experience a more profound connection with other food supply chain actors, instead of being restricted literally within the 'kitchen walls'. Caterers also feel satisfaction in their work for the additional dimension of catering for sustainability. Finally, the appreciation and esteem of the catering services and professional kitchen work would deserve an upgrading, and catering for sustainability is seen as an opportunity into that direction. The development towards catering for sustainability has lots of potential, with the precondition, that caterers

with other stakeholders are supported by learning about how their activities link with efforts towards sustainability.

## Solution as participatory research approaches

These expectations in mind, one possible approach for developing catering for sustainability would be as a participatory project, introducing sustainable practices to breed within the local context. Indeed, there have been in many catering organizations in Finland efforts to increase the use of local and organic food, to increase the environmental knowledge intensity of the food by procurement and rather thorough follow-ups of eating behaviour in upper primary schools in Finland. However, these projects have been rather short in duration or to some extent partial in their approach, in that there has rarely been a 'dive into' the qualitative experience of groups of stakeholders or the more remote environment and stakeholders 'beyond kitchen and lunch room'. The experience so far shows that the approach needed would be both broad and profound, a task hardly likely to be funded and implemented by a single municipality or local level actors. Therefore, a higher-level funding is needed although the site of the research needs to be local. Collaboration of researchers and representatives of subsystems needs particular organizing efforts. In the Finnish part of an European research project, called innovative Public food Procurement for Youth (iPOPY, 2007-2010, funded by CORE Organic Funding Body Network and national ministries, www.ipopy.coreportal.org/), this integration of actors' subsystemic views is aimed at on the level of catering organizations and the stakeholders attached to them contextually. The research includes procurers, catering and kitchen managers, teachers, parents, nurses, pupils and students as well as congregational representatives, who have the possibility to orientate to catering for sustainability in their own contexts.

## Evaluation of participatory research approaches

Participatory research approaches have been used by governments to develop practical solutions to gear for instance primary production to more sustainable ground (Bruges and Smith 2008) or to develop GM production proactively with stakeholders (Russel et al. 2007). This way of introducing political goals - in themselves appropriate in principle to most or at least part of the actors - reflects the understanding that the development takes place by grass root actors, embedded in their contexts, and not simply by issuing directives, regulations, guidelines or strategies for actors. Additionally on the grass root level there may several indiosyncratic factors contributing to differential conditions of the implementation of the political goals. When offering the actors room for creative manoeuvre, the results may be more productive than by transmitting loose political goals or hierarchic regulations to guide activities. Bruges and Smith (2008) discern between 'collaborative' and 'participatory' approaches; of these, collaborative projects have a pre-determined outcome and the methods to be used are negotiated with participants, whereas participatory approaches allow the participants themselves to determine and negotiate both outcomes and methods used in the projects. As a policy tool, the participatory approach may be more uncertain in terms of aims agreed about, but the commitment of the participants may be stronger. However, here also the aims may induce disputes and even goals may change during the project. In this way the participatory approach comes closer to local spontaneous development, sometimes successful, sometimes not. The collaborative approach risks not the alignment with the aims of the government, and thus may attract perhaps a minor or more selective group of actors, but may end up in difficulties about the methods

used to attain the given goal. The participatory or collaborative research of policy implementation and policy development frames the researcher as an ”involved advocate for communities” (Bruges and Smith 2008). They also claim that traditional impartiality associated with scientists may be rejected; indeed, the researcher may have a stand and commitments not only to different epistemologies but also to the aim of sustainability itself as a political goal. Röling and Wagemakers (1998) insist, that improving agricultural sustainability - and sustainability of any system, principally - requires holistic and integrated strategies that are relevant and legitimate on the local level. The 'sustainability strand' may prove to be a connecting and driving factor between the actors and the researcher, offering a shared interest and meaning for the social research effort of this policy implementation.

## Dialogic trust as progress towards catering for sustainability

However, the participatory approaches may not be in themselves enough when introducing new practices for sustainability. Even though there are those among the representatives who have as their own aim to move on towards sustainability, it rarely may be the case that all the representatives of the subgroups should feel the same aims as their own; this increases the difficulty of the project, since it is likely, that some have more immediate concerns to handle, particularly when long-term policies are not followed but activities tend to focus on 'quick-fixes' of acute problems. Even if there are no such issues at hand, the aims of the actors are rarely fully complementary or totally compatible. In spite of these less promising views, the value of participants is crucial for the projects (Bruges and Smith 2008) and may leave 'seeds of change' which may outgrow in a later phase of the life of the organization. Friedmann (2008) describes how it took about 20 years to develop a trustful approach between farmers and university large scale catering services in order to 'drag' the local food system closer towards sustainability by co-operation in terms of flexible labelling scheme. Block et al. (2008) testify of work done in large and partly loose, open participatory approach to develop a more sustainable supply system for local deprived citizens. Kloppenburg et al. (2007) offer evidence of not being able to make changes in heavily industrialised and effective supply system serving cheap food for schools. The effort raised a competing local food system to the site, offering cheap vegetables for pupils. The processing stage of the produce was not advanced enough for the caterers and the limited volume did not make enough turnovers for the farmers. However, even in this project connections were made between out-of classroom producers and in classroom eaters; connections, which may turn out to be productive also in other ways than educational experience. What can be learned about these experiences of more or less participatory and collaborative research in catering for sustainability? The core differentiating feature between these three sustainable 'micro'food system efforts was the extent to which trustful human relations with shared work and experiences, enduring also mistakes and failures, had time to develop. Sustainability as a long term goal, with degrees of uncertainty, seems to need rather long term relations, which also include juggling in different occupational positions by the participants (Friedmann 2008). Here the path toward sustainability seemed to progress by dialogic trust towards catering for sustainability, which is offered in this paper as a 'method' aligning partly with both participatory and collaborative research approaches.

## Public catering as an everyday 'Centre for Sustainability'

Catering for sustainability is on the basis of this discussion paper a very ambitious goal to be achieved in co-operation with several stakeholders, each of them needing at least some if not all of their individual goals attained. Additionally all the stakeholders are embedded in societal subsystemic – economic, law, science, politics, religion and education - languages and operations governing their work. Therefore the 'roots' of public catering run deep and cannot be simplistically replanted in a new soil. The progress of catering for sustainability may not be fast, but it is a goal worth of efforts, and needs to be persistent, strategic and flexible in order to proceed. The goal, a knowledge intensive, societally integrated and equal public catering, supporting as a 'microsocial' system the sustainability of the social system between 'the environment' and 'the individuals', is an advanced innovation for sustainability. The present 'heavy-duty' and 'penny-pinching' public catering working hard within the kitchen walls can be converted into a 'Centre for Sustainability' (Mikkola and Mikkelsen 2008), to be experienced in everyday life of ordinary citizens as a cultural epitome for sustainability.

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# NO MORE COMPETITIVENESS REGIMES BUT CULTURAL DIVERSITY!

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## Abstract

Seven of the FFRC's 2006 conference presentations were chosen for a positioning theory analysis (Kyyrönen 2006): presentations by Minister of Regional and Municipal Affairs of Finland, Board Member of the Bank of Finland, an American CEO, professors from the USA, Ireland and the Netherlands – and I. The study showed that one concept emerging from these presentations was 'competitiveness'. Five of the seven presentations talked about competitiveness. You guessed right: I was not among them. The other presenter, who didn't mention competitiveness, was the only company representative, Stuart Rose, CEO of Garden Atriums. Political, economic and scientific competitiveness regimes do not make individuals or organizations competitive. Such regimes do not enhance creativity, which is an innate characteristic of individuals, and flourishes in organizations that truly value diversity. Cultural diversity is a key. It relates to one of the cultural know-how forms: how to read both our own culture and other cultures, and use this know-how to further valued causes (Wilenius 2004). The cause I wish to further is qualitative sustainable development that improves the wellbeing of people and nature all over the world. While competitiveness goals are harmful to this cooperative cause, practical innovations could be achieved through cultural diversity.

## Introduction

During summer 2006, shortly after the Finland's Future Research Centre's (FFRC) 8th International Conference: Changing Foresight Practices in Regional Development – Global Pressures and Regional Possibilities, Turku, 7-9-June 2006, a researcher, Meri-Maaria Kyyrönen, contacted me through the conference organisers and asked if she could get my conference paper and analyse it in her study. She had chosen seven of the FFRC's 2006 conference presentations for her positioning theory analysis (Kyyrönen 2006). The chosen presentations were by:

- Hannes Manninen (2006), Minister of Regional and Municipal Affairs of Finland;
- Sinikka Salo (2006), Board Member of the Bank of Finland;
- Stuart Rose (2006), CEO of Garden Atriums, the U.S.A;
- William E. Halal (2006), Professor of Science, Technology & Innovation, George Washington University, U.S.A;
- Elzbieta Krawczyk and John Ratcliffe (2006), Professor, The Futures Academy at Dublin Institute of Technology, Ireland;

- Patrick A. van der Duin (2006), Research Fellow at Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands;
- My presentation (Ketola 2006).

Kyyrönen's (2006) study showed that one of the main concepts emerging from these presentations was 'competitiveness'. Five of the seven presentations talked about competitiveness. You guessed right: I was not among them. The other presenter, who did not mention competitiveness, was Stuart Rose, CEO of Garden Atriums, who designs truly sustainable homes.

It is noteworthy that the only business representative among the seven presenters did not mention competitiveness at all in his presentation. There are signs of an emerging trend in which business separates from competitiveness altogether. Those who think that they are pushing business aims, such as government ministers, central bank directors, professors, and other academics, have fallen behind the forward-looking business development.

One sign of this new trend is the *Blue Ocean Strategy* (Kim & Mauborgne 2005) developed – amazingly – at Harvard Business School, the cradle of conservatism. This strategy claims that tomorrow's leading companies will succeed *not* by battling competitors, but by creating "blue oceans" of uncontested market space ripe for growth. It encourages companies to do something different from everyone else, to produce something that no one has yet seen. The Blue Ocean Strategy is a systematic approach to making competition irrelevant.

Hence the *argument* of this paper is that political, economic and scientific competitiveness regimes do not make individuals or organizations competitive. Such regimes do not enhance *creativity*, which is an innate characteristic of individuals, and flourishes in organizations that truly value *diversity*.

## How to enhance creativity?

One way of improving one's creativity is to develop one's ego functions more holistically. The famous analytical psychologist, Carl Gustav Jung (1958, 1971), distinguished four ego functions: thinking (T), feeling (F), sensing (S) and intuiting (I). For Jung thinking involves the use of logic to comprehend the nature of the world. By feeling he meant a tendency to rationalize in value scales such as pleasant–unpleasant or good–bad. Both thinking and feeling are rational, organizing activities. On the other hand, sensing and intuiting are irrational, perceptive actions. In sensing our brain receives and recognizes sensory inputs. Jung believed that if we look deep within ourselves, we are intuiting and gain information about our unconscious processes. Jung placed these ego functions as polarities onto orthogonal axes where vertical ends are thinking–feeling and horizontal ends are sensing–intuiting, as figure 1 illustrates.

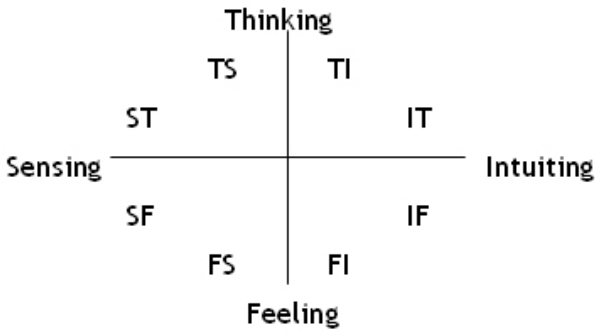


*Figure 1. Jungian ego functions (Ketola 2007d).*

We all have an innate ability for thinking, feeling, sensing and intuiting, but because of our varied developmental circumstances, each of us learns one of these ego functions best and specializes in it (see Ketola 1999). Some people are mainly rational thinkers or feelers, others irrational sensors or intuitors.

Usually one of the functions is a person's dominant function and another one a supportive function. This allows us four psychological types for the dominant rational activities: thinker-sensor (TS), thinker-intuitor (TI), feeler-sensor (FS), feeler-intuitor (FI). Another four psychological types appear, if the dominant functions are the irrational activities: sensor-thinker (ST), sensor-feeler (SF), intuitor-thinker (IT) and intuitor-feeler (IF).

To develop our ego for creativity, we should

- identify and study our *dominant* ego function;
- examine our *supportive* ego function and its role in relation to the dominant function;
- map out *what is missing* from the point view of creative and responsible action;
- correct these defections by bringing the *weaker, unconscious functions into the conscious mind* and start developing them;
- *integrate all ego functions* – thinking, feeling, sensing and intuiting – into our consciousness.
- This will allow us to become a harmonious psychical whole, the *self*.

Isabel Myers-Briggs (1991) has developed Jung's ego functions further. Her Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) is used widely in leadership research, training and consultation. The problem is that the MBTI is often applied to classify people so that their current strengths could be exploited maximally in organizations, which is the opposite of Jung's self-developmental intention. For broadening and deepening our personality Jung's original idea of a harmonious self is the best. The MBTI has also been used to make comparisons between leaders in different cultures (see e.g. Ginn 2001, Routamaa & Pollari 1997).

## How to enhance cultural diversity?

Particularly in multicultural contexts *cultural diversity* is the key to creativity. Cultural diversity relates to one of the cultural know-how forms Wilenius (2004) has introduced: *how to read* both *our own culture and other cultures*, and use this know-how *to further valued causes*. The cause I wish to further is such qualitative sustainable development that *improves the wellbeing of people and nature all over the*

*world*. While competitiveness goals are harmful to this cooperative cause, practical innovations, like those introduced by Stuart Rose (2006), could be achieved through cultural diversity.

The UNESCO (2001) Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity says:

> *"Cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature". It is "one of the roots of development understood not simply in terms of economic growth, but also as a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence."... "Creativity draws on the roots of cultural tradition, but flourishes in contact with other cultures."*

I will give here two examples of the power of cultural diversity. The first example **(**Ketola 2007bc) deals with *tree plantations* in South America and Asia planted by multinational forest companies. Such tree plantations are monocultural, destroy biodiversity and need huge amounts of chemical fertilizers and toxics. Hence establishing tree plantations in developing countries mean corporate patronage of poor areas similar to colonialism. This kind of widespread activity is supported by the Nordic Investment Bank (NIB), the European Investment Bank (EIB) and the World Bank (WB). It is a question of *global free-riding on the poor and the nature*.

Unlike tree plantations, *forest gardens* would improve the livelihood of villagers who can use their traditional know-how, the restoration of the polycultural forests and the biodiversity of the forests (Marjokorpi 2006). Forest garden development partnership between local people and multinationals could be supported by the Grameen Bank, the Microcredit Summit Campaign, the NIB, the EIB and the WB. This enhancement of cultural diversity would mean taking *global responsibility for the poor and the nature.*

The second example (Ketola 2007bc) of cultural diversity also deals with forest industry. Multinationals are nowadays closing down pulp mills in Europe and North America, leaving thousands unemployed, At the same time, they are establishing *large, fully computerized pulp mills* in South America and Asia. These mills do not employ many local people, and the few jobs available would require expertise, thereby attracting large numbers of immigrants in the vain hope of employment. Moreover, they use poorer environmental technologies than in the first world, e.g. the ECF (elemental chlorine) bleaching method instead of the environmentally better option, TCF (totally chlorine free) bleaching method. Hence establishing fully computerized pulp mills in developing countries means corporate patronage of poor areas. This activity, too, is supported by the NIB, the EIB and the WB. Again, it is about *global free-riding on the poor and the nature*.

Instead, local people in South America and Asia should be establishing *small pulp and paper mills and carpentry shops* in cooperation with multinationals that could offer expertise on financially sound, healthy, safe and environmentally benign solutions. This kind of activity would create local entrepreneurship, employ large numbers of local people directly and indirectly, secure the health and safety of these entrepreneurs and employees, and look after the local environment as well as allow mills in Europe and North America to continue operating and support employment there. Such partnerships between local people and multinationals could be supported by the Grameen Bank, the Microcredit Summit Campaign, the NIB, the EIB and the WB. This enhancement of cultural diversity would also mean taking *global responsibility for the poor and the nature*.

The magic recipe for cultural diversity is *finding the best of each culture*. We must ask: What is sustainable? What is best for people & nature? – Wouldn't it be: happiness, enthusiasm and creativity? At the same time we should be *avoiding the worst of each culture* by asking: What is unsustainable? What is worst for people & nature? – Wouldn't that be physical and mental violence, apathy and exploitation?

The reason why cultures tend to fall into offering the worst for people & nature is that humans have a shadowy side. According to Jung (1958, 1963), the mainly conscious *ego* of individuals has different kinds of subconscious counterparts, which compete and cooperate with it. The ego follows the reality principle, sticking to facts without trying to imagine, pretend or lie – or distort the reality in any other way. The ego has to deal with a partially conscious *persona* (the mask worn by actors in ancient Greek drama!), which is the face that individuals wear to meet the social world around them. The persona wants to show only the best sides of the individual to the external world, as if a human being was only what s/he would like to look like. The persona is the public person. On the other hand, the ego casts a *shadow*. The ego is confronted with its unconscious shadow of which it is not aware. The shadow is the backside of the ego (Stein 1998). The shadow is everything that the ego is not, good and evil. The shadow is not necessarily a hidden evil because it incorporates also the characteristics that contrast the less likeable features of the ego. If, for example, the ego of an individual is fair but unkind, his/her shadow is unfair but kind. Since humans generally strive for developing their conscious ego towards a good self-ideal, their shadows store a great number of subconscious aggressive counter-reactions.

## How to develop our cultural unconscious?

Developing the unconscious of individuals, cultures and the whole humankind further is the way to combat the destructive powers of our personal, cultural and collective shadow (Ketola 2007d).

Jung studied closely only the concepts of personal and collective unconscious although he included the cultural level in his schema of the psyche (Singer & Kimbles 2004a). Jung's successors have recently started to investigate the cultural unconscious further (see e.g. Morgan 2000, Singer & Kimbles 2004b). While the contents of the personal unconscious are different for each individual, the collective unconscious is identical for all humans. When individuals act in social settings they are influenced not only by these two but also by the cultural unconscious, which is shared by a group of people but varies from one culture to another. Cultures have an ego, persona and shadow, and they can develop them into a cultural self. Cultures can also broaden their ego functions to integrate thinking, feeling, sensing and intuiting. Cultural unconscious is influenced by the personal unconscious of the individual members; by the network these form; and by the history of society with its traumas stored in the stories and shadow of society. The stories telling about cultural traumas are healing because they bring the traumas into the cultural consciousness to be dealt with. It is the unspoken traumas repressed into the cultural unconscious that cause wars, torture and genocide. These traumas are stored in the cultural shadow.

The way to enhance cultural diversity is to make conscious and learn to understand one's own and others' personal unconscious, one's own and others' cultural unconscious and our shared collective unconscious. Furthermore, living whole-heartedly in foreign cultures helps to improve cultural diversity. In addition, we can approach cultural unconscious through the others' personal unconscious to enhance cultural diversity. We can also approach cultural unconscious through collective unconscious (what we

share), which allows us to find common elements in foreign cultures. However, note that cultural diversity is present everywhere, also in domestic circumstances:

> *"My younger sister is a qualified gardener and has a degree in marketing – a good combination now that she has started organic farming in Central Finland. It was obvious from her very early childhood that she would be working with plants and vegetables. Her room always looked like a jungle, and everything in her small vegetable garden grew so fast that our family could not eat it all. Now, twenty, thirty years on, her two daughters love to help mummy in the garden. Last autumn Maria, then three-and-a-half years, sent me her drawing of a row of orange-coloured carrots with green stems and leaves popping up from the soil where their roots were nourished by the groundwater and their upper parts were basking in the sun. Quite a good illustration of the ecosystem cycles from a three-year-old! The attached letter from my sister explained that they had just picked the last carrots of the season. Maria's younger sister, Saara, who was then eighteen months old, had found an earthworm when pulling the carrots up and had decided to have a new culinary experience. My sister, who is cool as a cucumber, as a gardener should be, did not think it was a big deal – birds eat worms all the time – and a day later the remains of the ill-fated culinary experiment reappeared from the other end of my chick-niece."* (Ketola 1997, 17)

Cultural diversity is a vital part of biodiversity as table 1 illustrates.

*Table 1. Cultural diversity as a part of biodiversity.*

| **BIODIVERSITY** | **Humans** | **Other animals** | **Plants** |
|---|---|---|---|
| PERSONAL DIVERSITY | E.g. little sisters: one likes to pull carrots from the ground; the other likes to eat earthworms. | E.g. airedale terriers in the same family: one is lively and excitable, the other is calm and quiet. | E.g. birches in the same forest: one is tall and straight; the other is small and crooked. |
| CULTURAL DIVERSITY | E.g. Arabs read the Koran; Jews read the Talmud. | E.g. sparrows in London open milk bottles; sparrows in Joensuu, Finland, steal Karelian pies. | E.g. spruce trees vary in different countries. |

## Cultural diversity, collective unconscious and collective memory

Jung's (1964, 1969) greatest discovery was undoubtedly the *collective unconscious*. It connects people of different cultures at a deeper level of dreams, ritual, religion and myths, which are called archetypes (Jung 1968). Collective unconscious is like a virtual worldwide web: www.collectiveunconscious.net **(**Ketola 2007d). Our psyche is a spectrum where the archetypes are ultraviolet and the instincts infrared, and their blue and red are mixed (Jung 1969). Archetypes give a form and meaning to our instincts, which give the brute physical energy to fulfil the purpose of the archetypal images: reaching our human potential. Collective unconscious opens a gate to an *enormous unused human mental resource poten-*

*tial*, which can have a decisive impact on the *intellectual and spiritual development of the humankind* – and on saving the Earth from destruction.

According to the hypothesis of *morphic resonance* by the famous biologist, Rupert Sheldrake (1985, 1987ab, 1988, 1995), there is a cumulative memory inherent in nature. Rather than being governed by eternal laws of nature, the universe is shaped by evolving habits of nature.

Morphic resonance enlarges Jung's idea of collective unconscious: the same principle of *collective memory operates throughout the entire universe*, not just in human beings. Hence Sheldrake's idea of collective memory amplifies the idea of collective unconscious discovered by Jung (1958, 1964) already half a century ago. Jung's collective unconscious makes good sense in the context of collective memory.

> *"Jung's idea was applied primarily to human experience and human collective memory. What I am suggesting is that a very similar principle operates throughout the entire universe, not just in human beings. If the kind of radical paradigm shift I am talking about goes on within biology, if the hypothesis of morphic resonance is even approximately correct, then Jung's idea of the collective unconscious would become a mainstream idea. Morphogenic fields and the concept of the collective unconscious would completely change the context of modern psychology."*
> (Sheldrake 1987b, 320).

It seems that a new paradigm – premorpheanism (= morphic resonance + metamorphosis + morphean mind) – is emerging to replace modernism and postmodernism (see more in Ketola 2007a). The title of this paper has now been refined by the issues discussed above: "No more competitiveness regimes, but cultural diversity and collective memory among humans and nature in order to enhance creativity and sustainable development!"

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