

CULTURAL SURVEYS AND FINNISH CULTURAL POLICY

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SUMMARY

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The following thesis revolves around the research question *what is the role of cultural surveys in Finnish cultural policy?* In order to try to answer this question, elements were taken into consideration involving the relationship between these types of surveys and trends followed in Finnish cultural policy. Among the elements analysed were: the model of cultural policy in Finland and its shifts, the main cultural surveys carry out in Finland, the cultural surveys at a local level using as an example the case of Helsinki, and the adoption of indicators as measurements for effectiveness in public policy.

The research methods used were a combination of a revision of official documents, together with six semi-structured interviews. The information found in documents such as “Effectiveness Indicators to Strengthen the Knowledge Base for Cultural Policy” elaborated by the Ministry of Education and Culture Finland (2011), or the Strategy Programme 2013-2016 of the city of Helsinki, facilitate the identification of formal discourses, while the data retrieved from the interviewees, -mostly decision makers and actors involved in the cultural field -, served as a complement.

The research data has been analysed and interpreted using theoretical inputs from Foucault and his study of statistical knowledge in governmentality (1980, 2003, 2007), the models of cultural policy proposed by Hillman & McCaughey (1989) and Mulcahy (1998), evidence-based policy and the new public management paradigm.

From the results of the thesis can be concluded that although there is a connection between cultural surveys and cultural policy, changes in the latter are not in direct causality or in a linear mode with the former. There is a significant trend in Finnish government towards using surveys and statistical data as audit and assessment tools for effectiveness, nonetheless there is not a unified system to collect data in the cultural field, neither at the national level or at the local level.

Key words: Cultural policy, Finland, cultural surveys, statistics.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This research follows the dynamic behind the use of cultural data produced by cultural surveys in Finnish cultural policies. It analyses, the importance given by decision makers, nationally and locally, to the production of such kind of knowledge, and how can this be linked to the specific cultural policy model in Finland.

For this purpose, the research will be divided in two main sections. The first one, deals with previous theoretical discussions related to the use of statistics in governing, as well as the location of Finland within cultural policy model categories.

Historical context on this Nordic country, provides a background understanding of its current situation, in the light of international phenomena such as evidence-based policy treatment to public sectors. Additionally, a short description of the main cultural surveys at the national level and their structure, as well as their periodicity and resources destined to their realization, it is included.

The second part, will start with the examination of a document elaborated by the Ministry of Education and Culture of Finland, about the creation of indicators for measuring effectiveness in the cultural field. These indicators, which make great use of statistical data collected by cultural surveys, represent the ultimate goal for several proposals regarding the institutionalization, application of cultural surveys and production of knowledge regarding culture in Finland.

Lastly, it will be presented the case of Helsinki as an example of local cultural policy, production and use of cultural surveys and statistical knowledge.

1.1 General background

Culture has not always had the importance that it has nowadays among debates concerning public policies. After World War I and II, culture as an identity builder and tool for integration, has been gaining more and more relevance in the European context.

Organizations such as UNESCO, were created with the purpose of avoiding similar catastrophes, giving special attention to the cultural aspect and strengthening the acknowledgement of cultural diversity and multiculturalism (Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization UNESCO, 1945).

According to Sassatelli (2009), discussions about this, have followed two main trends:

- After WWII-1960: “Integration”. Main motivation was to avoid another destructive event.
- 1980-...: “Identity”. Consequence of the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the threat of economical and geopolitical marginalization by United States and Japan.

However, it was not until the seventies that cultural policy took a key place among European countries' agendas and as a consequence a subsequently rapid creation of institutions, programs and other endeavours related to culture.

It is in this context of recognition of the importance of culture in political and international spheres, that subsequent national surveys in cultural consumption were first implemented in a number of European countries.

1.2 The value of culture

According to Young (2008), around 1990, social scientists begin to recognize the importance of culture in international development thinking, or what they called the “cultural turn”. Culture’s significance, was not only a matter of politics, but also of economic and social value. A process of commodification, as a result of consumerism and leisure society together with globalization processes and the widespread adoption of capitalism as economical system –and lifestyle-, in most western countries, increased the value of culture and turned it strategic in political and social terms; or as Young describes:

“I would in general define our era as a period saturated by culture, in which cultural knowledge is expanding, has assumed an increased social and economic value, and acquired a commanding strategic priority. As a clearcut example of this, I cite the European Commission’s policy to develop a European strategy for culture to contribute to the areas of economic growth, intercultural understanding and the promotion of culture in the EU’s international relations.” (2008:13)

On the other hand, the so-called "cultural industries" continue growing, experiencing a progressive addition of new disciplines and topics such as software creation, copyright, and advertising, along with more traditional practices like performing arts, film industry and music.

These industries, oriented towards large audiences, generate profits from mass consumption of, usually, standardized products; Numbers that have not been indifferent to those who are related to cultural fields, including governments and private sectors.

A rising interest in cultural consumption and cultural practices took place, and studies in the field became more common, motivated either by policy making changes or by marketing strategies in consumer-behaviour.

An example of this, is the distinction made by Frey (2007), between *arts people* and *art economists*. Art people are fond of *impact studies*, which are studies that measures the economic profits or effects of a cultural or artistic activity. Meanwhile, art economists prefer *willing-to-pay studies*, which are those who measure the external effects of an artistic project that are not captured by the market.

According to Frey (2007), arts people think that government support to the arts is one if their essential tasks and the decision makers must be activated by proving their economic benefits through this type of studies.

Art economists on the contrary, tend towards *willing-to-pay studies* as they find essential to establish the need for government support to the arts. This need relies on the positive effects not captured by the market.

According to them, if these social benefits are not there, then there is no need for government support, since it could be produced by the market (probably even more efficiently). Art economists do not think political actors should be activated, since through the *willing-to-pay studies*, it is possible to recognise society's efforts in this field, for instance in art projects, even if they are not commercially viable.

A shortcoming of the willing-to-pay studies is that it does not take into consideration the motivations of the government beyond the external effects of the artistic project. That means that sometimes the interest of politicians is in their own utility. Depending on the cultural policy model implemented in each country, the role played by the government, and the political trends in the region, the results of these studies might serve different purposes.

On the other hand, one of the shortcomings of impact studies is the assumption that those who support arts have as a main reason the economic benefits, which is not always the case, especially when there are other non-artistic projects that can generate bigger profits.

1.3 Instrumentalization of culture through measurement

According to Brook (2011), Scandinavia, Finland, and the Netherlands, have the highest rate of cultural attendance in Europe. Based on the Eurobarometer survey, carried out during February and March 2007, between 98.1% and 99% of the population in these countries, attend to public libraries, theatres, museums or galleries, ballet, dance or opera, cinema, concerts, sports events, performing arts, heritage, read a book, or consume arts and culture via TV or radio, indicating a significantly active population in terms of cultural participation.

Other studies (Bennett *et al.*, 2009; Heikkilä *et al.*, 2011, 2014; Katz-Gerro, 2002; Virtanen, 2007), have addressed the possible causes behind cultural participation, the differences between countries, and the connection with other theoretical concepts such as cultural capital, cultural consumption, social class or cultural taste. However, studies dedicated to the examination of the relation between cultural policy and cultural surveys are not as abundant.

The spreading of performance measurements in culture through statistical criteria, and the adoption of evidence-based policy systems, can also be interpreted as a way to instrumentalize culture through cultural surveys.

The analysis of the use of culture and cultural participation in politics, nonetheless is not particularly new nor recent. Belfiore (2008), points out the moralistic nature that culture has

had especially in the nineteenth century, when used for political purposes. Culture was used as a tool to shape what was considered poor social behaviour, based on the civilizing powers of arts and culture and their social benefits.

These efforts to modify social behaviours were not only motivated by moral reasons, but as a way of control, suggesting links between art and government's agenda, through the spread of "high" culture (Belfiore, 2008).

In the same line, Matarasso (1997) in his study about the social impact of participation in arts in Britain, shows a different type of instrumentalization of culture. He concludes that through artistic activities, people develop their creativity, improved their social skills, friendship networks, community involvement and confidence, resulting in greater social cohesion.

He highlights that particularly in areas of urban regeneration or great poverty, empowering communities in art projects can strengthen commitment to a place, by fighting common problems as well as social exclusion and marginalization. Cooperation towards defined goals reinforce democratic processes at local level and helps reaffirming identity and belonging. (Matarasso, 1997)

Given that policies that promote certain types of 'high' culture can be branded as elitist, or policies that highlight the social benefits, criticised for ignoring the production of art for the sake of art, the recent use of numbers and figures in the cultural field could be interpreted as a new form of instrumentalization on culture. One that justify itself in administrative changes and rise in the effectiveness.

1.4 Aim of the study and research question

As mentioned before, in spite of the abundance of information about the results cultural surveys produce, not so many studies have focused on surveys as a key element in the formulation and modification of cultural policies, or a niche for comparative analysis between countries and the use of this data in their cultural policy models.

Despite the amount of work done in the field of cultural consumption in general, including comparative analysis between countries (Katz-Gerro, 2002), the focus has not been on cultural consumption in relation to cultural policies, but rather as social class distinction or accumulation of cultural capital, among other topics.

Therefore, one of the motivations for this study is to enrich not only the academic discussion about the topic but also, assuming that governments use the results of these surveys as main data sources for their cultural policies, to have a clearer idea of what is the impact of this knowledge and if it truly makes a difference in defining the guidelines or modifications of national cultural policies.

Which bring us to the research question: what is the role of surveys on cultural consumption/practices/habits in Finnish cultural policy? Along with these other minor questions such as: how is the data from cultural surveys incorporated in the development, adjustment or practice of cultural policies? Who is the responsible for the implementation of cultural surveys in Finland and for how long have been carried out? Are there any differences at the local level, compared to nationwide? Can the application of cultural surveys and the use of its resulting data, say something about changes in the cultural policy model followed so far by Finland?

For more clarity, here is a table with the themes to study in accordance with the corresponding research questions:

Main research question: what is the role of surveys on cultural consumption/practices/habits in Finnish cultural policy?	
Secondary research questions	Themes to study
How does the data from cultural surveys is incorporated in the development, adjustment or practice of cultural policies?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main users of the information obtained by cultural surveys. • Indicators for effectiveness in Finnish cultural policy.
Who is the responsible for the implementation of cultural surveys in Finland and for how long have been carried out?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Funding of cultural surveys in Finland. • Major surveys in Finland related to culture. • Period of time the survey has been carried out. • Periodicity of the survey. • Categories that have been changed/deleted/added.
Are there any differences at local level, compared to nationwide?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main cultural surveys in the city of Helsinki. • Differences between national and local levels in the implementation of cultural surveys. • Main users of the information obtained at local level.
Can the application of cultural surveys and the use of its resulting data, say something about changes in the cultural policy model followed so far by Finland?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trends in the use of statistical information in the cultural field.

Additionally, it is also important to point out that the main focus of the study, at least on a first instance, will not be on the results of the surveys, but on their importance as tools for cultural policy making.

2. METHODOLOGY

The idea of studying cultural surveys in relation to policy making instead of their results came up after a revision of bibliography revealed that although cultural surveys seem to be a common practice around the world, their periodicity, bodies in charge and use of their results not always get the same treatment depending on the region.

The frequency and conduction, including the funding, will depend at the same time on those behind it, namely private or public actors, and their interest in the gathering of specific information in the cultural field. The level of involvement from governments or their lack of, can be linked to the cultural policy model and the type of information collected. For example, while a private actor could give more emphasis to cultural consumption, a public one could be more inclined towards a broader concept such as cultural participation.

Therefore, in order to study the relation between cultural surveys and cultural policy, the first methodological step was to avoid placing attention in surveys' results, but rather in how they are made, carried out and used. Initially, by identifying the main providers of statistics in the cultural field, nationally and locally as well as the main surveys. Next, determine existent connections between decision making bodies and the producers of data, including the financing of surveys, the elaboration of questionnaires, and finally the main user of the results obtained.

Once recognised the entities in charge of the production of cultural statistics, the objective was on one hand to identify the users of the information according to the data producers' knowledge and on the other to enquire how much policy makers rely on numbers result of surveys. As both levels, national and local are of interest for this research, interviewees and publications were chosen taking this into consideration.

The methodology used, combines the examination of policy documents together with the information collected through interviews. The policy documents reflect government's stand on vital aspects related to the use of statistics in cultural policy, nationally and locally. The interviews complement this with the perceptions of those involved, giving an inside absent in the texts.

The interviews were carried out either written, via e-mail, or in person, and they were conducted with people who were considered key informants or having a wide knowledge of the system, such as those who have been working for a long time in a certain field or whom possess a high rank or expertise about the topic.

There were semi-structured and they were adapted to the interviewee's position, as decision-maker or representative of an institution with decision power in the cultural field. Particular interest was given in collecting the opinion of those linked to entities such as the Ministry of Education and Culture of Finland, and committees or cultural agencies in the case of the city of Helsinki.

In total, five interviews were conducted, in which the topics presented in the table above, were addressed, regardless of the interviewee profile, stressing always in the connection between the information collected through cultural surveys and the use of this data.

Once gathered the information from the interviews, these were divided in thematic clusters for its analysis. For example, chapter four analyses mostly the lack of unified systems for collecting cultural information in Finland, as precedent of the current situation; chapter five and six focus on perceptions expressed by the interviewees about how statistics are being used in relation to culture, locally and nationally.

The same division was applied to the written documents, separating them in topics according to their content; on one side, there were the documents which formed the body of the first part of the research, oriented towards the theoretical inputs, description, and history of cultural policy and cultural surveys in Finland. On the other side, those corresponding to the second part of this research, useful for the analysis of the relation and mutual alteration between cultural policy and cultural surveys in Finland.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Several authors agree that, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries constitute a period where statistics started to acquire a key role in politics. Originally, counting mostly populations and resources (Hacking, 1981; Headrick, 2000; Igo, 2008; Foucault, 2003).

The inclusion of statistical practices in governance, followed by the organization of the modern state and its understanding of the population, present itself as a key instrument of the state. Governors needed extensive information on the population when tackling challenges like diseases and famine.

Since the seventeenth century, North America and Europe were already experiencing a desire to prevent and understand phenomena affecting the population, especially those related to public health. Diseases like the plague and smallpox, motivated the creation of what was called "political arithmetic", in one of the first attempts to study populations with numerical methods (Headrick, 2000).

This gave space, in the eighteenth century, for the concept of statistics, understood as data presented in the shape of numbers, and later on, throughout the nineteenth century, to what Hacking would call the "avalanche of numbers" (1981:189).

The formation and use of statistical knowledge in governing, was also influenced by the development of the technology and skills in collecting data and making statistical conclusions; advances in modern governing bodies and modern governance in general, together with the industrialization of the society, conformed what Foucault called the development of the administrative state (1981).

The novelty at that time was the idea of using numbers for other matters that were not related to trade and money, such as illness and nature. For instance, in France there were several efforts from rulers to make a census that gave a reliable account on families, professions, resources, soil, and even local culture, among others (Hacking, 1981).

This information was valuable for those in charge, as it allowed them to identify potential tax payers, political enemies or voters. Also, through the collection of this data it was possible to have a picture of the country's situation regarding infrastructure -hospitals, roads-, prices, education, and “the public mood” (Headrick, 2000:74).

It was seen as a rational way to conduct governing affairs, and despite the differences between countries - e.g. Great Britain being interested in health, while America in political and moral uses of numbers, and France in economic data -, they shared a quantifying spirit: “...statistics were the expression of the need to master large quantities of information, to patterns in those large quantities, to understand those patterns, and to use that understanding to control the world...” (Headrick, 2000:89).

Another example, is the one in the U.S. presented by Igo (2008), describing American society by 1929, as a “*culture obsessed with facts and increasingly alarmed by the social effects of rapid industrialization and urbanization*”, where social surveys were considered a common currency (2008: 24).

Although at the beginning of the twentieth century, businessmen and commercial researchers were those more interested in the use of statistic methods, applied to the research of public opinion, soon it spread to other agencies and fields:

“Professional statisticians, government bureaucrats, academic social scientists, and all manner of planners claimed that survey methods, newly “scientific,” were essential for understanding the changes sweeping the United States and for managing a complex industrial society. Carefully collected data could be used to assess economic conditions, tap efficiently into public opinion, guide national policies, and perceive social reality more clearly.” (Igo, 2008: 5).

Like Europe, the U.S. had had surveys around for centuries, as tools for collecting useful information to the rulers while governing. However, it was not until the nineteenth century that governing through numbers would become what Foucault called bio-politics of population, a particular notion in governmentality (Igo, 2008).

Also, it was in the nineteenth century that, new positive sciences such as sociology, medicine or political economy made numbers an essential part of their endeavour. Even though knowledge is not restricted to numbers, one of the main modalities for knowledge production in governing, was statistics (Rose, 1999).

3.1 Foucault's power, knowledge and Governmentality

Differing from some theories, where power is held by dominant classes or groups, to Foucault, power is not something that can be appropriated by some and deprived for others, it circulates, and it is within the relations between individuals, that it is exercised; it passes through them in networks.

The exercise of power in any society is directly linked to a truth, discourses of truth endorsed as valid that work as the base for laws and whose search is professionalized and institutionalized: "*there is a greater and greater need for a sort of arbitrating discourse, for a sort of power and knowledge that has been rendered neutral because its scientificity has become sacred*" (Foucault, 2003:39).

In his analysis of the concept of governmentality, Foucault distinguishes three stages in the form of power in the West throughout history: the state of justice, the administrative state and the governmental state (1981:104).

The first one, refers to a society of laws, of a feudal type, ruled by obligations and litigations; the second one, a regulatory and disciplinary state, guided by the notions of territoriality and national boundaries from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and third, the governmental state, focuses on the population, instead of the territory or area governed (Foucault, 1981).

This last one, although it might focus on the territory among other elements, does so in terms of the distribution of the mass of population, its density and volume.

From the sixteenth century, the art of governance was linked to the creation and development of new governmental administrative apparatuses (Foucault, 1981). Since then and throughout the seventeenth century, it was also connected to new forms of knowledge. A knowledge of the state, its different aspects, strengths and elements, which analysis was denominated "statistics" meaning "the science of the state" (Foucault, 2007:138;1981).

The knowledge of the laws was no longer enough for the ruler; he or she must know the basics that give strength to its territory and the reality in which the state was, in order to know how and when it was best to use them if needed. So valuable was this knowledge, that for a long

time statistics were kept secret, in an attempt to protect from enemies, the real amount of resources available (Foucault, 2007).

Thanks to this science, it was possible to isolate and tackle specific problems of the population, changing the role of 'statistics' from a science mainly used for mercantilist purposes, to a technical one, a new technology essential to the state (Foucault, 1981:99).

Through statistics, the notion of population replaced that of family as a model for government. Statistics showed that population involved phenomena not reducible to those of the family, such as epidemics, levels of mortality, wealth, etc. Additionally, population's own activities, peculiarities, shifts and changes, proved to also have economic repercussions (Foucault, 2007; Foucault, 1981).

The family stopped being the main model for government, and became an internal element of the population, a segment within it. Contrary to sovereignty, the main purpose of the state was not only to govern, but to improve population's life conditions. Population became the goal of government around which its techniques will revolve (Foucault, 2007; Foucault, 1981).

Foucault considers three different meanings for governmentality: the first one, "*The process, or rather the result of the process, through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages, transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gradually becomes 'governmentalized'.*" (1981: 103) which makes reference to the abovementioned distinction between the three states as forms of power.

Second, "*The tendency which, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led towards the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, etc.) of this type of power which may be termed government, resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of savoirs.*" (1981: 103).

And third, "*...the ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument*" (Foucault, 2007:144).

It is this last concept of governmentality that makes possible to determine what falls under the endeavour of the state, what can be or should be considered private and public, and what according to the tactics of government is within government's competence.

The *économistes* of the eighteenth century, brought to light the analysis of political intervention by reintroducing the problematic of the countryside and agriculture. The focus changed and the role that the government should have concerning the production, wellbeing of farmers and peasants, and the value of the product, becomes an essential part of rational governmentality (Foucault, 2007).

The question about what should be the role of government regarding private interest remained throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth and even twentieth century. The new governmentality born in the eighteenth century, was concerned about what the government should, if not control, regulate. What should be the state's concerns and what its responsibilities? And it also revealed the concept of civil society as the counterpart for the state. (Foucault, 2007)

Eighteenth century *économistes* advocated evidence and scientific knowledge as necessary for good governing, a knowledge that is external to the government and that will create a connexion between government and science, power and knowledge. In this new governmentality, taking care of the population implies intervention, including mechanisms that ensure the "security of the natural phenomena of economic processes or processes intrinsic to population" (Foucault, 2007: 451).

Especially after the second half of the eighteenth century, new technologies of power concentrated on individuals as a mass, resulting in what Foucault called "biopolitics". A type of bio-power focused on the collection of basic data such as ratio of births to deaths, the rate of reproduction, the fertility of a population, etc., to seek control over the mass through its knowledge (Foucault, 2003).

It was the birth of statistics measurement for these types of phenomena which became scientific and political at the same time as power-related. What affects the population, affects the economy and power relations, and they only acquired relevance on mass levels or as collective problems (Foucault, 2003).

It is scientific in the sense that it uses scientific knowledge to measure these happenings, political since it affects the whole population or most of them, requiring public measures to overcome it (e.g. illnesses as a matter of public hygiene), and power-related as science is considered neutral and therefore holder of truth.

3.1.1 Knowledge in modern governance

There is a relatively recent trend in the use of statistics as support for policy making among different fields. Evidence-based policies rely on this type of knowledge to validate investment of public funds in different areas, evaluate their impact and estimate rankings in comparison to other neighbour countries in the region.

It has been discussed the role of statistics and indicators in the making, adaptation and evaluation of policies in fields such as human rights, governmentality, democracy and racial discrimination, among others.

Analysis such as the one made by Sokhi-Bulley (2011), about the use of statistics in the improvement and evaluations of human rights laws in the EU, highlights the role of statistics as "solid, evidence-based foundation on which to build progress in EU human rights policy" (2011: 140) and exemplifies the role played by these in the construction of public policies.

Following Foucault's thinking, he describes statistics as a way of power or at least the means that facilitates their exercise, considering them as technological weapons that "...describe a reality – they make possible a knowledge of the population. Statistics were, as Foucault describes, in fact 'the secrets of power'" (Foucault, 2007: 275 as cited in Sokhi-Bulley 2011:141).

Statistics as technologies of power (Foucault, 2007), allow governments not only to have wider knowledge about the mass, and use it for governing purposes, but also to use statistics as discourses of truth, due to its scientific nature, sometimes even depoliticising areas of political judgement, as Rose mentioned before, thanks to its apparent neutrality and objectivity (Rose, 1999).

The importance given by governments to the maintenance of institutions dedicated to the gathering and analysis of statistics, as well as the reliance on its results, reinforced the idea of governmental state as a form of power, focused mainly on the population and what affects it collectively (1981).

Another example is Giannone (2014), who likewise Sokhi-Bulley (2011), in his paper called “From the Evaluated State to the Evaluative State: the role of measurement in the neoliberal restructuring of European states”, defends a Foucaultian view on statistics as instruments of evaluation, used in the legitimation of the neoliberal model associated with the globalization of economy.

Statistics, indicators, rankings, etc. are part of monitoring and assessment processes in governments' main public policy areas, which seek out to test their efficiency and competitiveness as economic agents. He believes there is a 'culture of evaluation' (Giannone, 2014) and makes no distinction between particular fields within it, including the cultural one.

On the other hand, authors such as Rose (1999), recognize the common use of numbers as diagnostic tool within liberal politics, and yet do not consider the motivation behind it to be driven by a surveillance and control thirst.

Regardless of this aspect, Rose (1999) identified two important features of numbers in modern modes of government. The first one, is that numbers make modern modes of government possible, as through them those who rule can have a representation of the population, economy, and society, as well as their boundaries, organization, distribution, etc. Second, numbers make modern governments judgeable, as graphs, tables, and numerical comparisons, are essential to the scrutiny and auditing of authorities in modern society.

In addition, numbers have become a common language in the vigilance of governments as well as indispensable technologies in the exercise of modern governance. Through numbers it is possible to redistribute wealth through tax system, count the population, deaths, births, and the allocation of resources and grants for governmental programmes. Social security benefits, pensions and health services, are often calculated using numerical formulae and based on the population living in a certain locality (Rose, 1999).

Furthermore, numbers, despite their apparent neutrality are also “politicized” (Rose, 1999:198), since there is an implicit choice of what is measure, the periodicity in which is measured and what interpretation is given to the results. Political decisions are made based on the reality presented by numbers, and sometimes, the opposite phenomena happen when areas of political judgement are depoliticized, by alluding to the objectivity of numbers.

Numbers are a technology of democratic government, which seeks to exercise and justify its power, and come to terms with other entities such as civil society, independent power sources, and private wills among others (Rose, 1999: 231).

According to Rose (1999), it is especially when distrust on authorities arises, that professional criteria is resorted to, as objective justification, often presented in numbers: “... *numbers are linked to evaluation of government. To count is bound up with a new critical numeracy of government; to measure the success of government is to measure quantitative changes in that which it seeks to govern.*” (1999: 221).

In the same line, Powers (1999) agrees that distrust contribute to what he calls, the ‘audit explosion’ (1999:3), characterised by gathering of evidence and examination of documents. Auditing, every time more common after 1980 and 1990’s in the UK, appeared together with a restructuring of the public sector’s organization and rationality when governing, and it is closely related to New Public Management (NPM), based on notions from the private sector and its administrative practices.

NPM ideology takes the market as its model and emphasises accountability through the creation of performance indicators. It aims to recreate the efficiency of the market and replace with it, the hierarchical bureaucracy from the public sector (Powers, 1999:43).

Supported by political discourses that defend better accountability for public services, NPM has risen in popularity, as taxpayers claim their rights to know how their money is spent according to the three Es: ‘*economically, efficiently and effectively*’ (Powers, 1999:44), monitoring and expecting certain standards of performance.

Powers even talks of ‘*a shift from the welfare state to [a] regulatory or evaluative state*’ (Powers, 1999:52), as the state as main service provider, under the NPM, withdraws, and in return, it is assigned to a more monitoring and regulatory role, through instruments such as evaluation, inspection and audit (Powers, 1999:53).

3.2 Cultural policy models

The production of knowledge, besides being essential in governing practices, under a Foucauldian view, it can also be seen from the point of view of cultural policy models. Elements such as funding, periodicity and those responsible for the application of cultural surveys, can be studied taking into consideration the cultural policy model followed by a specific country.

In these models, the emphasis is not in the gathering of information as technologies of power, but rather in clear and ideal categories that serve as guidelines for cultural policy classification. The criteria used in the categorization includes public funding, involvement of the government in the agency and execution of cultural policies, or the distribution of power among actors related to the cultural field.

The importance of these models falls on the state's stance on culture and the consequent weight given to the surveys as part of them; usually expressed in the resources destined to their realization and the use and incorporation of their results into actions. Additionally, it facilitates the identification of possible shifts in the model adopted, in this occasion in the Finnish case.

Hillman & McCaughey (1989), proposed the most traditional approach, divided into five models: the arm's length, the facilitator, patron, architect and engineer. Although they are presented in a pure form, in the practice they can be mixed and they are not always mutually exclusive.

The arm's length

The arm length's principle is a separation of powers between different branches of government, applied to public policy. In the cultural field, it works through art councils, which concern with the development of fine arts, leaving amateur or commercial art for departments in charge of recreation and culture, or local and provincial levels.

It was originally implemented in the UK as a way to distance from existing models, such as the one in Russia and Germany before 1945, where official art was imposed by Minister of Culture. It uses a peer evaluation system to make sure that the distribution of grants follow professional criteria and that artists can be judged by other artists and peers. Other countries in which the arm's length principle in art has been adopted are Canada, New Zealand and Australia.

Facilitator

In this model, the state aims at supporting creative work instead of a specific type of art; there are no standards apart from those established by donors or private contributors, and one of their main features is the variety of sources of funding which can be also a weakness.

Other drawback of this model is its dependency on private patrons and foundations, as well as the difficulty to have a strict control on taxes, taking into consideration that donations are exempt of taxes. Example: USA before the income tax.

Patron

The patron model decides the amount of support, yet not the specific institutions or artists to support. This is done through art councils that usually are advice by professional artists. The objective is to support creative processes that are considered to promote artistic excellence; nonetheless this may carry criticism from popular sectors that might consider this elitist or oriented to a restricted kind of public, usually a wealthy one. Example: UK

The architect

Contrary to the previous two models, in the architect model prevails the state funding over donations or private contributors, it works through a ministry of culture and the support of art is part of its welfare state.

Artists enjoy financial stability provided by the government, they are part of unions and experience autonomy. Nonetheless, one disadvantage of this model is that sometimes the expectations of the public and what is funded with their taxes do not match or agree. Example: France, Netherlands.

The Engineer

Engineer is the only model that does not support creative processes but artistic production with very well defined political purposes. It owns the means to produce it and therefore, who does not join the official unions for artist is not considered one.

The goal of funding, -which is of course monopoly of the State- is political education, not artistic excellence. The weakness of this model resides firstly, in the limitations impose to artists who will never be totally free to express their ideas, if these are considered a threat to the party in power; secondly, underground and alternative movement will emerge as a consequence, as part of the “counterculture”.
(<http://www.compilerpress.ca/Cultural%20Economics/Works/Arm%201%201989.htm>)

Out of the four, is the facilitator, the only one in which the funding does not come directly from the government but from corporate, private donor and foundations and in which there is no art policy. For more detail, look at table 1.

Another model is the one proposed by Mulcahy (1998), based mostly in the type of funding given by the state to the cultural field and the historically political distribution of tasks related to it. Built on the examples of 4 countries, France, Germany, Norway, and Canada, Mulcahy compared their public support to art and creates the following categories:

Royal patronage

The main example of this type is France where there is a Ministry of Culture and the emphasis is on the preservation, clearly bound to their history and key to their identity. It started in the late seventeenth century with the Bourbons and it keeps some similarities with the cultural administrations of Francois I and Frangois Mitterand.

Although most of its guidelines are dictated by the Ministry of Culture, recent studies (1993) suggest that subnational levels, such as the cities have as much importance as those from national level: "France is the exemplary “designer” state, with a strong, presidentially directed cultural policy characterized by both a strong sense of cultural mission and, particularly during the epoch of Mitterand (1981-1995), political éclat. [...] French cultural budget is about 1 percent of total spending;" (Mulcahy, 1998:7)

Princely patronage

Primarily present in central Europe in eighteenth-century as a result of provincial imitators of Versailles and Schoenbrun, Germany represents the chore example of this kind of patronage. It is characterised not by a unique Ministry of Culture, but several local governments that subsidies regional cultural entities such as museums, operas and orchestras:

"The German model of a “benefactor” state provides for formally decentralized policy and situates cultural funding within the realm of Liinder and city responsibilities [...] Since the 1980s, public funding of the arts has been regarded as a tool for economic and social modernization, justified by the impact of the arts on the economy and business climate, rather than as an instrument to promote cultural democratization or to celebrate Germany as the land of “poets and philosophers.” (Mulcahy, 1998:7)

Table 1. Models for Supporting the Arts							
ROLE	MODEL COUNTRY	POLICY OBJECTIVE	FUNDING	POLICY DYNAMIC	ARTISTIC STANDARDS	STATUS OF THE ARTIST	STRENGTHS & WEAKNESS
Facilitator	USA	Diversity	tax expenditures	random	random	box office appeal & taste; financial condition of private patrons	S: diversity of funding sources W: excellence not necessarily supported; valuation of private donations; question benefits; calculation of tax cost
Patron	United Kingdom	excellence	arm's length arts councils	evolutionary	professional	box office appeal; taste & financial condition of private patrons; grants	S: support of excellence W: elitism
Architect	France	social welfare	ministry of culture	revolutionary	community	membership in artists' union; direct public funding	S: relief from box office dependence; the affluence gap W: creative stagnation
Engineer	Soviet Union	political education	ownership of artistic means of production	revisionary	political	membership in official artists' union; Party approval	S: focus creative energy to attain official political goals W: subservience; underground; counter-intuitive outcomes

Note: Retrieved from " The Arm's Length Principle and The Arts: An International Perspective - Past, Present and Future.", by Hillman, H. & McCaughey, C. (1989). In Cummings, M. & Davidson, M. (eds.), Who's to Pay? for the Arts: The International Search for Models of Support. <http://www.compilerpress.ca/Cultural%20Economics/Works/Arm%201%201989.htm>

Liberal patronage

Originated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as part of cultural development plans, its main institutions are private or autonomous semi-public. This type of model can be found in Great Britain and Canada or in other societies with mixed economy and pluralistic cultures.

Mulcahy refers to Canada as an “enabler” state, which "maintains an arm’s-length approach to arts administration along with a commitment to cultural pluralism." (Mulcahy, 1998:9) pointing out the special case of Québec and its cultural policy, particularly oriented to the preservation and support of the French language.

Social-democratic patronage

In this model, present mostly in the Scandinavian countries and Netherlands, art is seen as one of the many responsibilities of the welfare state; a good example of this type of cultural policy is Norway, which not being as rich as Germany or France in history of cultural identity, emphasised in the development of culture.

Needless to say, in a welfare state, such as Norway, the government is the main provider for culture, making sure that goods are available, made and distributed among the population in an equal manner, giving the municipalities and counties grants that can be used discretionarily between their regional and local councils.

Now for better understanding of the categories proposed by Mulcahy (1998), please refer to the following figure 1 and 2.

		<u>Role of Central Government</u>	
		High	Low
Hegemony of National Culture	High	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • France • royalist model of patronage • Ministry of Culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Germany • princely model of patronage • ministries of culture
	Low	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Norway • social-democratic model of patronage • centralized decentralization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Canada • liberal model of patronage • arm's-length arts council

Figure 1: Government and the Arts. From "Cultural patronage in comparative perspective: Public support for the arts in France, Germany, Norway, and Canada", by Mulcahy, K., (1998), *Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 27(4), page. 250 doi:10.1080/10632929809597270

		<u>Role of National Government</u>	
		High	Low
Hegemony of National Culture	High	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • France • "designer" state • national subsidies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Germany • "benefactor" state • local subsidies
	Low	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Norway • "manager" state • entitlements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Canada • "enabler" state • grants

Figure 2. Models of Public Funding. From "Cultural patronage in comparative perspective: Public support for the arts in France, Germany, Norway, and Canada", by Mulcahy, K., (1998), *Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 27(4), pg. 252 doi:10.1080/10632929809597270

3.3 Statistical knowledge in policy making

As previously mentioned, numbers can play a double function regarding governance. The first one, to facilitate governments' representation of their population, economy and society in general. The second one, to make governments' actions and decisions, judgeable, through the use of performance indicators and effectiveness measurements (Rose, 1999).

Concerning the first function, it is possible to see how generalize the use of numbers, figures, and in general statistics, have become among regional and international bodies, national and local governments, as well as private institutions. Bodies such as the European Union, United Nations organisations, European Free Trade Association, and the Council of Europe, among others, are just a few examples of intergovernmental entities which produce and work in accordance to thematic statistics.

Also, at national level, almost every country in Europe, if not all, have a body in charge of statistical research. Just to mention some: Statistics Denmark (dst.dk), Statistics Estonia (stat.ee), Statistics Finland (stat.fi), Federal Statistical Office of Germany (destatis.de), Statistics Iceland (statice.is), National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies in France (insee.fr) and National Institute of Statistics (istat.it) in Italy.

In addition to these, there are other private sources of statistical information, as well as local and provincial producers and gatherers of information; an example of this is Urban Facts in the city of Helsinki, Finland, whose work will be analyzed in more detail in the last section.

In relation to culture, UNESCO can be named as an important reference for cultural statistics. Its 2009 Framework for Cultural Statistics, gave guidelines for policy makers and researchers about the use, interpretation and collection of this type of data.

Although the mere existence of institutions that deal with statistics, do not presuppose their use in public policies, it does show how the creation of apparatuses dedicated to the production of knowledge has spread significantly nationally and regionally.

The second function of numbers, pointed out by Rose (1999), is to serve as evaluative tool towards government's labor. This function has gained more weight as managerial models as NPM are adopted in public spheres, and specially when resources are scarce.

Likewise, Powers (1999) believes taxpayers' expectations on better accountability in public services, are focusing on criteria such as the three E's (economy, efficiency and effectiveness); key note of what he called the 'evaluative state', keen on auditing and monitoring.

On the other hand, discourses such as the one promoted by UNESCO (2009) see data as proof of the connection between culture and general wellbeing, along with other indirect benefits to the social fabric. Cultural statistics and cultural surveys besides the gathering of specific information, concern with the different parts that constitute this type of survey, and more recently, in their comparability at transnational level.

According to UNESCO (2009), as long as governments carry out cultural surveys in alignment with specific objectives, these can be of great usefulness in the shaping of public policies:

"Cultural participation surveys can provide information useful to test and to (re-)shape cultural policies, provided that they are designed in a way that allows for collecting information about issues and areas on which policymakers can actually have an impact. On the other hand, policymaking institutions which commission research should clearly state their goals, be interested in testing and planning policies, and be able to read and interpret the information retrieved by the survey." (UNESCO, 2009:71)

3.3.1 Governance and Culture

In order to study the relation between what has been so far presented and cultural policy and the cultural field, we must first start with the concept of governance and its relationship with culture.

As Bennett says:

"To speak of cultural policies, by contrast, is to speak of relations of culture and governance which take a more specific form; it is to speak of the ways in which, through a variety of means (legal, administrative, and economic), governments seek (through a range of specially constructed entities: ministries of culture, departments of heritage, arts councils) to provide, regulate and manage cultural resources and the uses to which they are put." (2001:13).

Before cultural policy and the cultural field became a distinctive area under governmental administration, with its own administrative apparatuses, knowledge, and experts, there were historical conditions in the relationship between governance and culture, mostly associated with the development of nation states, that helped the birth of cultural policy as we know it now (Bennett, 2001).

During late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the role played by culture during these historical periods such as the enlightenment, the democracy of the French and American Revolutions, and the liberal government, favoured appropriate conditions for what later will be specialised forms of cultural policy, similar to those in modern governments (Bennett, 2001).

For Bennet (2001), the relationship between culture and governance can be divided in three categories, according to their historical formation: symbolic, social and economic. The first one, symbolic, has to do with patronage and how classifying some forms of art and culture can be. Certain cultural and artistic practices, can be used by groups as a way to separate themselves from others, causing conflicting when, supported by the state, these are linked to a small section of society or elite, breaking the principle of cultural equality, often promoted by cultural policies (Bennett, 2001).

Secondly, the social and the culture, result in investments governments do, to encourage what are considered positive behaviours and discourage those perceived as negative, through cultural means. For instance, try to decrease the rates of alcoholism through the encouragement of sport and healthier lifestyles, while boosting other kinds of leisure activities related to culture and arts (Bennett, 2001).

The third category, the economic relationship between governance and culture, is the one that since the end of the twentieth century has been acquiring particular significance; some of the factors involved in it have been the rapid development of cultural industries, the increase in the demand for leisure activities, -partly due to new ways of balancing work and free time-, and the new placement of culture at the center of tourist and urban strategies (Bennett, 2001).

Above all, Bennett (2001) considers that, it has been the advances in technology, which revolutionized communications, the driving force for the past two decades. Internet and

computing have profoundly affected culture, media, and telecommunications in general, strengthening the tie between cultural policies and economic policies (Bennett, 2001).

The abovementioned categories are not exclusive and there is overlap between them. The involvement showed by the government in the cultural sphere, has raised discussions of what should be the extent of intervention and by which means. There are those who advocate for a merely regulative and facilitating government, and those who favour a government having direct responsibility on cultural matters (Bennett, 2001).

Although with variations, the liberalism adopted in most parts of Europe during the nineteenth century, defend that “*the greatest social and economic progress would occur if these domains were allowed, as far as possible, to regulate themselves and were not restricted by arbitrary interference from government or interest groups*” (Bennett, 2007: 529).

The ‘domains’, referred above, did not exclude culture, and conceived the social and the economy, to have their own rules and internal coherence, separate from the political sphere. The main task of government under liberal conception, was to appoint and administer those who will oversee their own area (culture, economy, society), so they can supervise and regulate these areas, according to their knowledge and operation principles (Bennett, 2007).

Mostly a regulatory function, the government will make sure that the interactions between these fields proceed in a manner that promote the public good in general, without interfering with each other. Culture held a small but important task as ‘civilizer’ of individuals, as well as provider of means so that individuals can civilise themselves (Bennett, 2007).

Although Foucault did not repair much time in the analysis of cultural knowledges per se, there is a considerable amount of work that have used Foucault’s analysis of the regimes of truth and their importance for governmental power, to the case of cultural knowledges in cultural apparatuses (Bennett, 2010).

3.3.2 The production of knowledge in Cultural Policy

There is a constant vigilance on government's actions and investments, that do not exempt culture; on the contrary, as resources are cut down, culture has had to resort more to cultural surveys and other mechanism that can serve as hard evidence for their policies:

"As public budgets tightened in Europe in the years following the economic recession, there has been an increased emphasis on evidence-based policy-making in the cultural domain (see Ministry of Education and Cultural Policy, Finland [2011](#), European Commission [2012](#), Arts Council of England [2013](#)). As a result, arts policy-makers seek indicators of participation in the arts, and the determinants of variation in participation rates, as a matter of some priority. Policy-makers wish to know not just the overall level and socio-economic composition of participation rates, but also indicators of what causes variation in these rates. In particular, it is important to know what indicators of variation in participation are susceptible to policy action." (O'Hagan, 2014: 1)

Although the use of statistics and indicators as tools for governmentality in the cultural field, is not the most studied, the pressure on governments for further auditing and evidence-based policy, continuously increase (O'Hagan, 2014).

Considering that public spheres are funded by taxpayers and that the use of those resources are subjected to scrutiny, surveys appeared as an effective tool to produce data that supports the investment done and provide information on who consumes culture, along with their social-economic characteristics:

"This is understandable as governments should be concerned about how taxpayers' monies are being spent, and whether or not objectives are being reached in some broadly verifiable way. For this, reliable data are needed relating to the measurement of progress in the meeting of objectives. One key objective in most countries relates to a desirable socio-economic composition of participation and, with this in mind, many countries (e.g. England, Italy and Spain in Europe) carry out large national surveys to provide evidence in this regard." (O'Hagan J, 2014: 1)

One example is Belfiore (2004), and her analysis of instrumentalization processes that cultural policy has been subjected to after 1980, in the UK. According to her study, there is a growing trend for more evidence-based policies in the public sector, with entities such as the Cabinet office, claiming that policies based on 'hard' evidence and constant monitoring, bring a more rational government, and the rise in the effectiveness of public investments (2004:189).

This way of constructing policies based on data, does not restrict itself to cultural policy; nonetheless, its effects in the cultural field have been significant, since data collection, -

particularly in the shape of statistics -, monitoring, audit, and performance indicators, among others, have become, instruments of official validation (Belfiore, 2004).

Since the 1990s, data collection became a common practice among publicly funded entities, sometimes carried out by the same art and cultural organizations, as means to seek legitimation among evidence-based policy system (Belfiore, 2004).

These organizations and cultural policy in general, have seen themselves forced to justify their endeavours and existence, through the adoption of ‘rituals of inspection’ (Belfiore, 2004: 195), as part of managerial models adopted by the public sphere, such as the abovementioned NPM. Also, Bennett (2001) describes a market-like competition between cultural institutions, when talking about the liberal conception of government: “*where government funding remains a significant factor, new relations of competition have been fostered to make the institutions of public culture more responsive to the effects of market forces.*” (2001:25).

Belfiore believes that there is an increasing pressure on the subsidized art sector in the UK, to collect evidence about their impacts in the society and economy to demonstrate with hard evidence their purpose in relation to government’s expectations (Belfiore, 2004).

Regardless of the processes of instrumentalization that cultural policy might be going through in the UK, Belfiore’s analysis shows how important the collection of data and the use of statistics in the cultural sector can be as mechanisms of justification, validation and legitimation in the context of policy making and governance.

Especially when money is tight and public funds have to be spent effectively, culture, like any other public sphere, has to be justified rigorously, sometimes narrowing the boundaries or overlapping, with other policy areas such as social or economic, in what Belfiore called the “attachment” phenomenon (2004:188).

By “attaching” to other areas of public policy perceived as more influential or stronger, culture, blends into policies like urban regeneration, cultural tourism, social inclusion and economic development, among others (Belfiore, 2004:200).

4. FINNISH POLITICS, HISTORY AND CULTURAL POLICY

Situated between Sweden and Norway to the west, and Russia to the east, Finland is a Nordic nation with around 5,523,904 inhabitants. The majority of its population concentrates in the southern area, with 83.8 % of the population being urban (4,642,492 people in 2017) (<http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/finland-population/>).

First ruled by Sweden and then by Russia, Finland became independent in 1917, followed by a civil war between left and right-wing parties, for the control of the new nation. Similar to other recently independent countries, Finland had to deal with matters of national identity, economic stability and political order (Lavery, 2006).

Supporting Bennett's (2001) consideration that, the formation of nation-states is one of several pre-conditions to the formation of cultural policy as an independent field in public administration, Kangas (2001), also believes the evolution of Finnish cultural policy, is linked to the independence and formation of the new state.

Civic movements, well before the independence (1809-1917), were already the main actors in the developing of a national identity (Kangas, 2001; Lavery, 2006), and later on, until the decade of 1960, Finnish cultural policy would be mostly focused on its strengthening.

The main art and educational institutions, were created in that period, with a patronage system of funding. Local governments and municipalities had a significant role, taking over civic groups' tasks, supporting cultural institutions such as public libraries and education for adults, as early as 1920 (Kangas, 2001).

In 1960's and 1970's legislation was confirmed, and ideals such as promotion of creativity and democracy of culture came into the picture (Council of Europe, 2014). The role of the state in Finland had been central after the independence, while art, an instrument in the shaping of citizenry. In 1965, the position adopted towards arts changed from supporting them to promote them, as a way to decrease the paternalistic approach and the divisions between highbrow and lowbrow culture (Kangas, 2001).

Later on, Finland would shift from patron to welfare type of role, creating laws such as the 'Financing Law', and the 'Laws on Museums, Theatres and Orchestras' in 1992 for subsidies in the cultural field.

According to Kangas, these were the main principles of the welfare state in Finland, regarding cultural policy:

- “1. to secure the artists’ right to economic security everywhere in the country,
2. to ensure that all members of society have equal access to cultural services and the opportunity to engage in amateur art activities, and
3. to promote international cultural cooperation” (2001:62)

The first principle, the economic security of artists, was included in the creation of arts councils and the distribution of grants. Also, some other objectives pursued by the welfare state were equalization between social groups through culture, decentralization of decision making by giving more agency to local governments and municipalities, and broad access to cultural activities as well as amateur practice (Kangas, 2001).

Culture was included in social policies and it was conceptualized in an instrumental manner, as a generator of benefits for the society. After the second half of 1990’s, the state started a withdrawal from the cultural sector, although the market never succeeded in taking a prominent role in its place (Kangas, 2001).

After the creation of the EU and a rise in the neo-liberal logic, the principles of the welfare state started to change. The withdrawal of the state in relation to cultural policy was introduced by reforms in several universities and art academies; these were reorganized, a foundation was named as main responsible for their finances and a board designated as its manager (Council of Europe, 2014).

Contrastingly, during the 1990's and in the subsequent years, the investment in infrastructure and professional education in art was significant, in spite of the fact that the state and municipalities stopped working as key financiers for cultural organizations and institutions; unfortunately, this tendency reverted when cutbacks of at least 45 million EUR were announced for the period 2014-2018 (Council of Europe, 2014).

One characteristic of the administration in Finnish cultural policy is that despite the fact that the government facilitates the basis for cultural activities, it does not interfere with its content. The Ministry of Culture is not an independent ministry but one with the Education, under a Department for Cultural, Sport and Youth Policy, whose major decision maker is the Minister of Culture (Kangas, 2001).

Finnish cultural policy model is described as "[a model of] horizontal and vertical decentralisation and arm's length implementation" (Council of Europe, 2014: FI-5). Horizontal, in the sense that artists, organizations, cultural workers and expert agencies among others, can influence cultural policies and work along with the Ministry of Education and Culture as advisers or executers of specific projects.

Vertical, since the budget is distributed between municipalities, with a certain margin of autonomy; in addition, the so-called 'third sector' contributes decentralization and balance between public and private sectors involved.

Following the categorization proposed by Mulcahy (1998), Finland could be located into the category of social-democratic patronage as it is still primarily driven by the welfare principles and lacks "autonomous regional level governance" (Council of Europe, 2014: FI-6), characteristic of princely patronage like for example, Germany.

4.1 Cultural data and Surveys in Finland

The collection of cultural statistics in Finland is not a unified process. Depending on the level that concerns, national or local, the sources of information can be various. At the national level the main body in charge of collecting this type of information is Statistics Finland, official public institution for statistics in general. Within them, there is a unit dedicated to cultural matters, mainly summarized in the realization of two surveys, "Leisure survey" and "Time Use Survey". The former is conducted every 10 years -although the last one was done in 2002- and the latter in between.

The first "Leisure Survey" in Finland was done in 1978, when cultural policies were very strong; it was thought as a very comprehensive and wide survey, which includes everything that people do in their spare time, that is not working, and whose main goal was to see how the different parts of society participate in cultural productions (interviewee 1, personal communication, 2015, December 18).

At that time, in the 70's and 80's, characterised by the democratization of culture, the use of statistical information in culture was based on "planning ideology", "*when cultural policy was largened by many ways*" (interviewee 2, personal communication, February 4, 2016).

Finland as well as other Nordic countries was building up this Nordic welfare state system, where cultural policy was connected to the welfare state policy and it was seen in a way as part of these basic services (interviewee 1, personal communication, 2015, December 18).

In addition to cultural participation, it contemplates other aspects such as lifestyle, personal networks and level of trust. Other topics included in this survey are: sports, sport participation, all kinds of hobbies, media, TV, radio, books, newspapers, holidays, travelling, restaurants, etc. In 2002, special interest was given to the concept of social capital, in which social connections set of questions was essential, how often they meet their family members, living in another home, relatives, friends, and neighbours.

Other surveys are the "ICT survey", interested in internet and new technologies use, and the "Household budget survey", which contemplates money consumed on culture. The last one is used in Finland's profile within the Compendium in Cultural policy from the Council of Europe (2014), and divides cultural spending into two subsections: 'culture and leisure-time consumption' and 'culture and media consumption', measuring cultural participation through five criteria: expenditure, level of participation, pursuit of amateur activity, domestic leisure time use, and box office (Council of Europe, 2014).

As in other countries, Finland has also been subject to irregular intervals in the implementation of surveys used to measure culture consumption and cultural participation. For instance, the participation data presented in the abovementioned compendium (Council of Europe, 2014) regarding visits to several cultural events was collected using surveys from 1981, 1991, 1999

and 2009; in addition to the fact that due to economic circumstances the "leisure survey" which should have been carried out by 2012 is still undone.

Other sources of information concerning culture are those retrieved by specific bodies in relation to their field, e.g. The National Board of Antiquities (museums), Theatre Info Finland (theatre), Music Finland (music), Finland Festivals (festivals). These, are used not only by the Ministry (interviewee 2, personal communication, February 4, 2016), but also by Statistics Finland as internal sources in their culture statistics:

"The internal data sources of Statistics Finland include the Leisure Survey, Time Use Survey, National Accounts, statistics on education, the Household Budget Survey, statistics on the finances of municipalities and joint municipal boards, employment statistics, the Labour Force Survey, statistics on the population structure and the Business Register. External sources of data and statistics include the Ministry of Education, Arts Council of Finland, Finnish Theatre Information Centre, National Board of Antiquities, Finnish Book Publishers Association, National Library of Finland, Finnish Film Foundation, Association of Finnish Symphony Orchestras, IFPI Finland and Finland Festivals. A small proportion of the data, such as those on art and cultural fairs, film and photographic centres, cultural centres and cultural periodicals, are obtained with own collection." (Description of statistics, Culture, in http://www.stat.fi/meta/til/kl_t_en.html)

These statistics describe different aspects of Finnish artistic and cultural life such as public support, consumption and financing of culture, labour force and production; from this information, compilation publications such as Cultural Statistics (2013) are done every two years, together with other thematic reports, using a combination of different sources as well as new data collected by Statistics Finland, through surveys like 'leisure survey' and 'time use survey'.

These bodies combine both, the national and the local level, yet, there is not a joined system to collect all data at a local level, therefore the statistics of Statistics Finland contain some local statistics, and the Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities collect and publish also some statistics, but as mentioned in one of the interviews: "...*there is no system to collect all the data collected on local level (it would be impossible)*" (interviewee 2, personal communication, February 4, 2016)

Creating a clear map of the sources of information regarding culture in Finland, either at national or local level, is not as simple as it looks, and although it is stated that "*The Ministry use all statistics in a way or another*" (interviewee 2, personal communication, February 4,

2016) the intertwine levels in the collection of these data suggests that tracking the connection between statistics and policy making is not a lineal process.

Also, the statistical data regarding finances related to cultural expenditure and its distribution is scarce, making difficult to establish a mapping of the situation neither at a specific moment nor throughout time (Council of Europe, 2014).

The central government and municipalities do not represent a unity, which makes the collection of cultural numbers difficult. For example, in the case of finance and expenditure, there is information available, but this must be retrieved from different sources (e.g. different surveys), or extracted from studies which main objective was not intent on culture.*

At international level, there is a framework proposed by EUROSTAT in terms of cultural statistics and accepted by Finnish cultural policy makers, but this is rarely used (interviewee 1, personal communication, 2015, December 18). A lack of agreement regarding what information should be collected and how, is also present:

"In Finland there is officially one and the same ministry for education and culture, but this does not always solve such statistical issues as how the statistics on education and training in the arts and culture should be collected and classified.

Covering the financial transactions concerning these units usually demands survey-type data collecting, if not in the field, at least in the archives of various basic statistical systems." (Council of Europe, 2014: FI-63)

Therefore, -and as we could get easily lost in the abundance of sources- the present research will focus mainly in the two main surveys carried out by statistics Finland at national level related to culture, "Leisure survey" and "Time Use Survey", and at local level, in the case of the city of Helsinki, which obtained their data from the Urban Facts office.

* In figure 15 named "Public cultural expenditure, by level of government, in thousand EUR, 2001 and 2009" the sources used were a combination of 2001 information from the EUROSTAT 2004 pilot survey data and statistics from the 2001 closed balance sheet of the state budget for 2001 statistics; while 2009 central government statistics were based on the closed balance sheet of the state budget and municipal statistics on statistics by the Association of Local and Regional Authorities. (Council of Europe, 2014).

4.2 Academia and policy making

When talking about the production of knowledge and its effects on policy making, especially in the rise of an evidence-based policy trend, the role of universities, research organizations and statistical bodies acquires great importance. However, this does not mean that insights, product of academic research are included in policy reforms or even reach policy makers (Almeida & Báscolo, 2006; Stone, 2001).

An example of this in Finland, is a recent study carried-out by the University of Helsinki whose main objective was to elucidate how cultural capital is socially stratified in Finland, according to Bourdieu's theory and following the example of a similar study in the UK (interviewee 3, personal communication, 2015, December 18). It was based on a nationally representative household survey of around 1300 respondents, and approximately 50 focus groups interviews, mainly funded by independent bodies such as Suomen Akatemia and the Helsinki University Funds.

Despite the fact that its results could be of potential usefulness to the Ministry of Education and Culture, especially since the last 'Leisure survey' from statistics Finland was done in 2002, one of the researchers in charge of the study recognizes that it is very likely that those who will be more attracted to the study will be other academics rather than policy makers (interviewee 3, personal communication, 2015, December 18).

Likewise, a representative from the Ministry of Education and Culture, also admits that there is a constant need for more updated information about cultural consumption/participation, and the ideal would be to get statistics more often, e.g. in periods 3-5 years, although it is understandably difficult to do so given the recent situation with budget cuts in Statistics Finland (interviewee 2, personal communication, February 4, 2016).

One hypothesis proposed by Almeida & Báscolo (2006) is that there is an "excessive formalization of instruments and pragmatic simplification" (para 20) on how to bring research and policy-making fields closer. They believe the use of scientific knowledge in policy making has to do with several conjunctural factors, ideological, political, and ultimately with the attitude of the researcher and the receptiveness of those making the political decisions.

Similarly, Stone (2001) coincides on the fact that knowledge utilisation depends on the context; not only the results of a research can be used by different actors in distinctive ways, but also it could be that the original intention of the research was not to make an impact on policy, or that it fails to do so due to external circumstances.

In this particular research done by the University of Helsinki, policy makers could have been greatly benefited by independent research and their results, whereas scholars could have seen a bigger resonance of their work in a more practical sphere that goes beyond the academic circle.

Contrastingly, there are also examples of cooperation between these two fields in the Finnish case such as the formulation and reviewing of the leisure survey questionnaire. In this occasion, a group of experts from different Universities (Turku, Helsinki, Jyväskylä), professionals in various disciplines (music scientists, sociologists, gender studies, sport studies) and a person from the culture section of the Ministry of Education and Culture of Finland, gather to work together (interviewee 1, personal communication, 2015, December 18).

Also, the abovementioned Ministry relies on the Center for Cultural Policy Research (CUPORE) for the production of knowledge pertinent to decision making in cultural policy. Its foundation, the Foundation for Cultural Policy Research, is mainly financed by the Ministry of Education and Culture, but includes in its advisory board, members of institutions such as the University of Jyväskylä, the Arts Promotion Centre Finland, Statistics Finland, the Finnish Education Evaluation Centre and the National Audiovisual Institute (<http://www.cupore.fi>).

In Stone (2001) words, “*Contract researchers*”, which is when “*Governments, businesses, and international organisations contract out research work. This allows external researchers in universities or think tanks to have some policy impact. These researchers may be brought within official domains as consultants, expert advisors, members of a government committee or inquiry, or be attached to policy units or non-departmental public bodies (quangos).*” (2001: 13)

This coincides with CUPORE’s purpose of monitoring developments, promoting, producing, and disseminating important research and expert opinion in Finnish and international cultural

policy (<http://www.cupore.fi>), suggesting a connection between policy making and academia, as well as to “*In-house’ researchers*” (Stone, 2001:14) such as Statistics Finland.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning that, in spite of University of Helsinki’s research being focused primarily on academic results rather than policy impacts, the distribution of the 3000 surveys used in the study, was done in partnership with Statistics Finland, indicating a favorable communication between institutions.

5. CULTURAL SURVEYS AND CULTURAL PARTICIPATION

The terms cultural consumption and cultural participation could be seen as exchangeable when referring to cultural surveys, but the use of one or the other, can make a significant difference in what is measured. Depending on the survey, the definition of cultural participation might change, including some aspects or omitting others. There are surveys in which sports are not included among cultural practices, though advertisement and new media are (see Ogrodnik, 2000), while in some others cultural participation is emphasized as vital for the social health, and economic development (see Miringoff *et al.*, 2005; Fecomércio-RJ, 2010).

Cultural consumption can be considered part of cultural participation, but not all cultural participation includes consumption, as for example free events, or community activities. In the Leisure Survey for instance, not only are included cultural goods that can be purchased, but also cultural practices related to sports, technologies, community, family life, and in general terms, everything else that is not work (interviewee 1, personal communication, 2015, December 18).

At the international level, the distinction between these two concepts, also has particular importance when efforts to standardize the collection and comparison of cultural statistics, in different countries or regionally are made, e.g. the 2009 UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (FCS). According to this document (as cited by the Council of Europe, 2014), the concept of cultural participation is defined as follows:

"Cultural practices that may involve consumption as well as activities that are undertaken within the community, reflecting quality of life, traditions and beliefs. It includes attendance at formal and fore fee events, such as going to a movie or to a concert, as well as informal cultural action, such as participating in community cultural activities and amateur artistic productions or everyday activities like reading a book" (Council of Europe, 2014).

Similarly, in its Final report, the European Statistical System Network on Culture, makes a distinction between market and non-market oriented cultural activities, being cultural activities understood as "all types of activities based on cultural values and/or artistic expressions" produced by different type of organizations, businesses, individuals and groups, among others (2012:20).

Cultural participation can be experienced actively and passively, which means that the same person could be a performer (active) in some occasions while in others, a member of an audience (passive) and both will be part of cultural life (Council of Europe, 2014).

In this sense, the "Leisure survey" carried out by Statistics Finland, follows this conception when formulating what they understand by cultural participation, adopting the division as well between what they called "active creative participation" and "passive participation" (interviewee 1, personal communication, 2015, December 18).

The recommendation, "The purpose of cultural participation surveys should be to assess overall participation levels" made by the FCS (Council of Europe, 2014), is put into practice in this survey by including all activities outside working life and placing particular emphasis -at least in the beginning- in how the participation was distributed among different groups in the society (interviewee 1, personal communication, 2015, December 18).

Another important concept as regards cultural surveys is cultural activities, since the delimitation of it can determine the level of cultural participation measured. According to Morrone's concept (Council of Europe, 2014) cultural activities can be divided into three categories:

1. *Home-based* (culture d'appartement) refers to the amount of time spent on watching TV, listening to the radio, watching and listening to recorded sound and images, reading and using computer and the Internet.
2. *Going out* (culture de sortie) includes visits to cultural venues such as cinema, theatre, concerts, museums, monuments and heritage sites.
3. *Identity building* (culture identitaire) covers amateur cultural practices, membership of cultural associations, popular culture, ethnic culture, community practices and youth culture.

The relevance of this classification relies as well in the connection between how the approach used by surveys to measure these types of cultural activities can provide base knowledge for changes or actions in the cultural policy field as a whole.

For example, the "identity building" type of activities and their follow up can be considered, - at least in the case of Finland-, as a strong component of their cultural policy; starting from 1860-1960 when the emphasis fell upon the construction and unity of the nation, after their independence (Saukkonen et al, 2012; Duelund, 2009), to more recent context, when cultural policy must deal with issues such as multiculturalism, racism, and migration, among others (Saukkonen & Pyykkönen, 2008).

The "going out" category has more to do with what in chapter one was called the *impact studies*, concerned with the measurement of the economic benefits or profit of particular cultural activities such as concerts, festivals, venues, and in its majority, events outside the house. The attention given to these types of activities is also closely related to how to justify in the eyes of decision makers, the investment, significance and continuity of these happenings.

One mechanism used to measure not only the last category mentioned, but all three, are indicators, adopted as part of the so-called evidence-based policies and present in Foucault's previously mentioned argumentation about power through knowledge.

This particular approach, rather complex when applied to the study of culture, has been put into practice in Finland following the example of other countries and has been summarized in a single official document. The text, aiming at establishing the indicators that reflect the effectiveness of the cultural policy in Finland, will be analyzed in the following section, along with Foucault's inputs on the role of statistics in governmentality.

5.1 Cultural policy and the indicators

In 2011, the Ministry of Education and Culture of Finland elaborated a document called "Effectiveness Indicators to Strengthen the Knowledge Base for Cultural Policy", in collaboration with Statistics Finland and CUPORE. As its name suggests, it is an effort to keep track on certain goals, the actions implemented in order to achieve them, and how valid these goals have turned out to be politically and socially speaking.

The document, identifies elements that might be crucial to determine the effectiveness of cultural policy, and from which there is no systematic information, or the one available is little (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011).

Its complementarity with the "Strategy for Cultural Policy" (2009) and the "Report on the Future of Culture" (2010), both previously elaborated by the Ministry of Education and Culture and analyzed here later on, makes it relevant as it underlines the relation between the development of indicators and the strategy followed by the central government, highlighting the evaluating role of knowledge for such instances: *"Knowledge is not only needed for steering operations, making decisions and implementing measures, but also for evaluating the impacts of policies, decisions and measures"* (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011: 8).

As the Ministry of Finance is the one responsible for the supervision of other ministries' budgets and their financial planning, the indicators, work as a way to set and monitor the achievement of goals in different policy areas. In the cultural field, it came as part of the central government reform project which recommended to "make performance guidance more effective and enhance accountability and performance responsibility" (Ministry of Education and Culture 2002 *cited in* Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011:6).

This intention of measuring effectiveness through indicators it has not only being openly acknowledged in formal documents, but also supported by interviewees' impressions. According to one of the them, the creation of indicators shows that Finland might be part of a wider trend in which cultural fields are subjected to, and follow, a path originally derived from an economic logic, favouring a more evidence-based type of policy: *"...there is a tendency at least in western countries, they talk about this evidence-based policy and also in Finland, they talked about this evidence-based policy and in Ministries often mean that they want to get this kind of indicators..."* (interviewee 1, personal communication, 2015, December 18).

In the case of the Ministry of Education and Culture in Finland, it has led to an increase in the importance of the role of '*management by knowledge*', which similar to other ministries examples, puts an emphasis on the strategic development of their administrative branch, (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011:10).

The principle of strategic knowledge management promotes actions based on knowledge while encouraging the production of new information for strategic purposes:

"...the Ministry should develop duties supporting strategic decision-making in its administrative branch, as well as assume more responsibility for planning, organising, developing and utilising knowledge production in its sector. Strategic action and management by knowledge play a key role in the Ministry of Education and Culture's development programme for 2007–2011." (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011:10).

Cultural policy, like any other administrative branch, must adapt and report its functioning to this evidence-based policy making framework, which can be problematic due to the vague nature of the field; concepts such as art, creativity and culture become hard to define and even harder when they must be object of quantitative methods and international comparability standards (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011).

The peculiar nature of the cultural field, might not be the easiest or most suitable for measurement, compared to other areas under Ministry supervision, and yet, has not escaped from such scrutiny demands, especially, in times of austerity. As one of the interviewee expressed, when resources are scarce, the requirement for evidence justifying the importance of the cultural sector through the production of data, it becomes crucial: *"...because it has been a long economic depression in Finland, and there isn't that much money like it used to be [...] we have to have more evidence base, or more facts and more data so we can prove that this is important and this is what we need to have, for example this theatre or this festival here..."* (Interviewee 4, personal communication, 2015, December 18).

Despite the fact that cultural policy is treated equally within this context, there is still a sense of marginalization expressed not only in budgetary cutbacks but also when it comes to political and social decisions. Even now that culture is considered an industry and an important part of the economy, those involved in the administrative branches, feel that the role given to cultural policy is less meaningful than it is in reality, and proving its effectiveness through these indicators might help getting out of the marginalization (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011).

Another challenge faced by the cultural policy in which the knowledge management seems to be just the tip of the iceberg, is the direction that the cultural policy model in general is taking, as part of a spread trend towards neoliberalism. Finland, originally placed under the category

"architect", thanks to its welfare state as main provider for artists and cultural organisations, might be changing its course on the way to a more kind of "patron" or "facilitator" type of model.

Not all artist can be funded by the government, which means that artists must look for new sources of funding in the private sector or in donations (facilitator); at the same time, policy makers must decide with the resources available what should and can be funded and what cannot be based on the quality and potential of the investment (patron). Regarding this matter, two of the interviewees, from different fields, survey making as well as policy making, agreed:

"Culture has always been somehow marginal as policy, [...] when you look at the big picture, economic and social policy, Finland it is nowadays more and more neoliberal, [...] the structure of cultural policy created during the welfare state [70's] they are gradually and little by little ruined, [...]this neoliberal development can be seen for example in the positioning of young artists that even in the cultural policy discussion they have stressing that it must be more entrepreneurship in the culture and it sound fine but it's of course impossible, there's no money and it's a small country. In the private sector only a few can be successful, most of the young artists that are not connected with steady institutions are living on a very low income and they are so-called not free-lancers but they try to find the money somewhere and that has been more common in the field." (interviewee 1, personal communication, 2015, December 18).

Interviewee 5 seconds it by referring to the concept of Klein's theory and the key role played by statistics and knowledge:

"...my overall impression is that the new public management strategy which were pretty much from neoliberal thinking, started spreading in Finland maybe most effectively as a sort of solution, a suggested solution to the deep economic crisis we had in the 90's. So Naomi Klein in 'The shock doctrine' book says, that neoliberals have been using this social crisis in each one of these societies to establish a new set of liberal tools, which means that everything is measured with money and there's more use of statistics and less focus in the quality of what's going on..." (personal communication, 2016, January 28)

It is highlighted that this focus on figures and numbers affects mostly the administrative part rather than the content of cultural expressions, which means, their funding and mechanisms of evaluation. The accomplishment of goals is expressed through indicators and contrary to statistics, the former indicates a change and help to direct efforts towards a target by processing statistical information and make it easier to understand in relation to goals (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011).

While statistics aim at being presented as neutral, indicators describe the state of achievement; it can even use statistics as input for their purposes, as long as the information is interpreted and contextualised from the perspective of goals (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011).

The reason behind the attempts to measure effectiveness in the cultural policy field does not only restrict to the need of a more 'objective' evaluation within a neoliberalist logic, but also to the apparent easiness of using statistical information, which can be generalise and without difficulty compared, in contrast to qualitative research (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011).

Mainly the problem relies, as expressed previously, in the fact that by creating indicators as official tools for the government to assess cultural policy performance, there is a risk to fall in an instrumentalist view of culture or as something that can be numerically measurable (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011).

Policy makers as well as cultural institutions feel every time more the pressure to support their existence and decisions by accompanying their statements with figures that serve as 'objective' evidence of their position. When asked how important surveys are to defend budgets in the cultural sector, one of the interviewee said:

“They are absolutely necessary, we need them to exist and of course we need to be able to show the money we are spending is used in an intelligible way, that makes sense, that it's of some use, people gained from it, and it makes a better city. The only way to show it, it is showing the numbers. And that's why each individual cultural institution is doing so, the theatres when apply for funding they are given the number of people are coming, how many premieres, how many people are working there and so forth.” (Interviewee 5, personal communication, 2016, January 28)

The implementation of these indicators aims at a rise in the transparency in decisions and actions taken by the administration, by connecting the cultural policy goals with their respective indicator in the clearest way possible. It seems to respond to a "*worldwide indicator boom*", created by countries as well as international organization in the cultural field and which effects seem to expand to social and political spheres (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011: 21).

In the case of Finland, as some of the interviewees manifested, these changes in public administration, were implemented as a response to the 1990's recession in which there was a

call for higher productivity rates and deeper corroboration of achievements obtained (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011).

Although cultural statistics firstly started being collected internationally in the 1960's and 1970's by the Council of Europe and UNESCO, the use of indicators developed around 1980's-1990's. Back then, the focus of these indicators, was different than the one they have nowadays; their target was related to the identification of cultural needs and obstacles, the services provided, institutions networks, heritage, cultural participation and cultural budgets, while decision making was not the main concern. The methods were used to obtain descriptive information of the field rather than an evaluative picture, and it served as general background, instead of in relation to the cultural policy goals.

It will be until then that the interest on cultural policy as an economic actor due to its creative industries, source for social cohesion, identity builder, and subject of measurability, among others, will developed significantly. Some examples of these are the world report on culture proposed by the World Commission on Culture and Development in 1995, the UNESCO first report on culture in 1998, and in the same year, the beginning of what will later become the Compendium project, initiated by the Council of Europe (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011).

Likewise, studies about the social uses of art and culture for well-being such as Matarasso (1997), and Ministry of Education and Culture (2010), or on the economic repercussions of culture (Throsby, 2000, 2006, 2008) can be considered relatively recent, recognizing in some cases, the 'unexplored' nature of this topic (Matarasso, 1997:4).

By 2011, when these indicators were attempted to be created in Finland, an identification of needs had to be done first, along with several proposals for improvement. Out of 17 proposals, 6 have been chosen for further analysis as they deal with changes either in the tasks assigned to Statistics Finland, the production of statistical knowledge or the relation between cultural policy measurement and this type of knowledge (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011).

5.2 The proposals

The document “Effectiveness Indicators to Strengthen the Knowledge Base for Cultural Policy” (2011) by the Department for Cultural, Sport and Youth Policy of the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, present the proposals as part of what they refer to as “the cultural policy indicator project”. As part of the project, a diagnosis of the available data required for such cultural indicators was carried out, and based on its results, cultural statistics and data production systems must be developed, or at least proposals for their development. Hence, one of the goals of this project was to collect the data necessary for the indicators, or “*initiating the measures needed to acquire missing data*” (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011: 41).

The proposals are important here since they represent a concrete action suggested by the Ministry of Education and Culture in response to central government’s reforms and austerity measures. Additionally, they serve to exemplify the stress given by the government, to the set up and boost of an institutional framework that supports statistics production in the cultural field.

In total, there are 17 proposals, from which number 3, 5, 7, 8,15, and 16, have been separated from the rest as they were considered good samples of the connection between cultural policy goals and statistics. The rest will be briefly presented below, in order to have a general idea of them as a group:

“PROPOSAL 1: The Ministry of Education and Culture and its departments... [will] use the indicators proposed in their own effectiveness monitoring practices... [and] when launching new cultural policy processes or projects...”

“PROPOSAL 2: The Ministry of Education and Culture provides its officials with training in the use and utilisation of indicator data... [...] A cooperation group shall be established in the Department for Cultural, Sport and Youth Policy, and a coordinator shall be appointed to be responsible for the needs of management by knowledge...”

“PROPOSAL 3: To follow up on this work, the Ministry of Education and Culture and Statistics Finland will create a cultural policy indicator portal on the Ministry’s website, which will serve cultural policy strategy work and performance guidance processes. The portal will be linked to the Government’s Findikaattori portal.”

“PROPOSAL 4: [...] The Ministry of Education and Culture will evaluate the promotion of information and indicator needs related to the well-being benefits of culture in relation to the policies of the Art and Culture for Well-being action programme to be completed in 2010.”

“PROPOSAL 6: The Ministry of Education and Culture will develop methods and practices for monitoring the impacts of the use of cultural policy tools and measures related to the availability and accessibility of cultural services...”

“PROPOSAL 9: [...] the Ministry’s Department for Education and Science Policy and the Department for Cultural, Sport and Youth Policy will increase cooperation in matters related to art and cultural education, which will also enable the related effectiveness indicators to be jointly developed...”

“PROPOSAL 10: The Ministry of Education and Culture will include an analysis of evaluation needs in the legislation and funding surveys or development measures set out in its cultural policy strategy.”

“PROPOSAL 11: The qualitative assessment of the culture sector will be developed by such means as utilising sectoral research and using expert barometers. Good international quality assessment models in the field of art and cultural policy will be analysed to create a foundation for operations.”

“PROPOSAL 12: The Ministry of Education and Culture and Statistics Finland will continue to develop satellite accounts. In connection with the development of regional satellite accounts, the goal is to better identify the sectors that constitute the core of cultural policy.”

“PROPOSAL 13: Other statistics, monitoring and assessment needs related to cultural exports (including the development of basic information and statistics about the sectors’ own cultural exports) will be considered in the Cultural Export Promotion Programme.”

“PROPOSAL 14: As a part of its management by knowledge policy and strategy, the Ministry of Education and Culture will participate in the efforts to develop composite indicators or indexes for the culture sector or, more broadly, for monitoring the social impact of culture...”

“PROPOSAL 17: The Ministry of Education and Culture will regularly evaluate its research needs related to the development of effectiveness assessment as part of the survey of sectoral research needs. The Ministry of Education and Culture will express its wish to the Arts Council of Finland that more information be available on the internationalisation of artists in future surveys on the status of artists.” (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011: 43-54)

Although the abovementioned proposals will not be reviewed in depth, there are some points that are worthy of further discussion.

Firstly, the evaluative principle; whether there is in fact a ‘culture of evaluation’ as Giannone (2014) suggested, or a shift from the welfare state to an evaluative state (Powers, 1999), there is certainly a strong emphasis in evaluation, as well as an indication towards that direction for Finnish cultural policy. Some examples are proposal 4, 1 and 17, with the evaluation of the action programme Culture for Well-being, the assessment of the new cultural policy processes and projects, and the evaluation of the Ministry of Education and Culture’s “*research needs related to the development of effectiveness assessment*” (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011: 43-54)

Following Powers' (1999) view, this could be a result of the state exchanging some of its old functions as main provider of cultural services, for a more regulatory role, following NPM scheme through inspection, audit and evaluation.

Secondly, the creation of new apparatuses that guarantee appropriate production of knowledge. Some examples of this is the formation of a cooperation group mentioned in proposal 2, the cultural policy indicator portal in proposal 3, and the operations based on international quality assessment models from proposal 11. In addition to the creation of new bodies, proposal 14 and 6, contemplate the development of composite indicators or indexes for the culture sector and the expansion of methods and practices for monitoring the impacts, respectively.

Thirdly, normative changes, alliances and creation of legislation related to management of knowledge in the cultural field can be seen in proposals 9, 10 and 13. In 9, it is suggested a rise in the cooperation between Science Policy and the Department for Cultural, Sport and Youth Policy; in proposal 13, changes in what should be included in the Cultural Export Promotion Programme, and 10 the recommendation that evaluative needs of the Ministry of Education and Culture should be considered in legislation and funding, as well as in the cultural policy strategy.

Another point that can be extracted from the way these proposals are expressed, is the assumed instrumentality of cultural policy for governmental purposes, as stated in proposal 14 when mentions that "*As a part of its management by knowledge policy and strategy*", the Ministry of Education and Culture will monitor the social impacts of culture. Likewise, proposal 4 also highlights the evaluation of culture's benefits for the well-being of the population (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011: 43-54).

If analysed from Belfiore's point of view (2004), the emphasis on the social benefits of culture, and the need to keep a record of it, supports two ideas. First, that cultural policy is under the pressure to use numbers, indicators and statistics to justify its existence; and second, that the 'attachment' phenomenon, - in this case to social policy -, in order to validate itself, is also present.

The proposals make reference to those aspects that the Ministry of Education and Culture judge to be underdeveloped, or that represent a potential obstacle in the translation of cultural policy work into effectiveness indicators. One of these aspects, subject to improvement, is that associated with the evaluation and monitoring of cultural life of the population in general. For instance, proposal 8 tackles quite straightforwardly the issue of monitoring: "*Statistics Finland will develop ways to monitor citizens' cultural participation in information networks.*" (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011)

From a Foucauldian view, these monitoring processes could be interpreted alluding to the third meaning of governmentality and the '*calculations and tactics*' that allow the exercise of power on the population. A close supervision of the population, can make a strategically political difference while governing. Additionally, Foucault recognised that from the sixteenth century onwards, governing is not only linked to the creation of new administrative apparatuses, but also to the creation of new knowledge; albeit the ruler at that time was more of a single imposing figure, if the monarch aspired to succeed in its governance, it must possess, in addition to the command of laws, the knowledge of its mass and what affects them (Foucault, 1981; 2007).

An example of this, that similar to proposal No. 3, recommend the link between different governmental institutions or even the creation of new ones, with the sole purpose of guarding information collection processes, is Proposal 16:

"PROPOSAL 16: *The compilation of statistics in the culture sector will be reviewed and developed so that the information, statistics and production of indicators by different actors form an entity. The cultural statistics cooperation group set up by Statistics Finland, with members from the Ministry of Education and Culture and Statistics Finland, regularly monitors the development of effectiveness assessment as a whole, as well as related development needs, and makes proposals for the implementation of practical measures. It is important for the working group to regularly invite relevant parties working on the compilation of cultural statistics and users of statistical information to its meetings.* [emphasis added]" (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011: 53)

In the case of Finland this would be more a formalization rather than a creation from zero, since this type of cooperation between institutions has been taking place already when a new Leisure survey is about to be executed. One of the interviewees see this as a contradictory stand by the state on the role of culture, since on one hand, the state favours more and more the indicator format, while on the other hand, it has a good disposition to understand what's happening in

the cultural field and work together with other representatives of institutions such as CUPORE, Universities, local cultural organizations and of course Statistics Finland (interviewee 1, personal communication, 2015, December 18).

Contrastingly, in Foucault's view, this makes sense as it's all part of the continuum where power flows in the shape of networks (Foucault, 2007). Being the Leisure survey the main source of information for the State regarding culture, this source must be firstly ensured before indicators can be established, especially, when due to shortcuts, it has been delayed for 4 years already. Regarding this, proposal 15 states:

"PROPOSAL 15: Statistics Finland will safeguard the future of the leisure survey as the main survey assessing cultural participation, inclusion and civic activities in Finland. The usefulness of its content must be further developed. A sufficient sample size must be ensured for the survey so that it can also be used to study new and small population groups, activities selected by fewer people, participation in cultural and other similar organisations etc. While some forms of participation do not require as frequent monitoring, the working group believes that Statistics Finland should develop a monitoring system that produces information on the most important forms of cultural participation more frequently and in a form that can be compared with previous information." (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011: 53)

While some proposals focus on the gathering of statistical information, others concern with their presentation once gathered. For instance, proposal number 7 has to do more with visualization of access to culture. Similarly, to what it has been implemented in the city of Helsinki under the so called "Helsinki model", is what this proposal recommends but on a national level. To set up a map in which the distribution of grants, cultural houses and organizations in areas outside the main cities can give a picture of the reach cultural policies have: "*PROPOSAL 7: The indicator for the regional availability of culture will be expanded and clarified by including availability data in a map format. Statistics Finland will play a key role in the development of the atlas.*" (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011: 45).

Similar to Foucault's analysis of war (2003; 2007), the knowledge of the distribution of resources, in this case in a graphic description (maps), could be strategic, as provide to those who govern, an easier or friendlier presentation of the information about the allocation of assets regionally. The presentation of information in map format could be an intermediate stage between the collection of figures about culture and the establishment of indicators for its evaluation.

Lastly, proposal 5 includes a crucial element and one that recently has been gaining more weight in European societies, the one regarding immigrants, minorities and cultural diversification. As Simon (2005) describes in his analysis about indirect discrimination and statistics, it is more likely that countries who have had institutionalized discrimination in the past (e.g. USA, UK, Netherlands, etc.), are nowadays more proactive in institutionalizing counter measures against it.

According to his reasoning, there is an alleged "neutral discrimination" that it's only visible through statistical methods. This neutral discrimination, appears when neutral mechanisms are provided and yet people from minority groups or particular ethnic origin are disadvantaged compared to others (Simon, 2005).

Neutral procedures are only discriminatory in its effects, and when presented not as individual or reducible to chance phenomena. Despite existing a resistance and a denial of racial categories and their statistical recording, the collection of these types of statistics could facilitates the identification of discrimination, the recognition of these minorities and the comparability with other groups and territories.

In this sense, culture and cultural policy must take a stand extending its monitoring towards vulnerable or potentially vulnerable groups:

"PROPOSAL 5: The Ministry of Education and Culture will pay special attention to the need to monitor cultural diversification and multiculturalism in the field of cultural policy. Statistics Finland will look into the opportunities to increase sample sizes in the leisure survey to obtain useful and reliable information on immigrants and other small special groups." (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011: 44).

To sum up, the abovementioned proposals illustrate several trends in Finnish cultural policy; First of all, the fact that these proposals are expressed in a document from the Ministry of Education and Culture, indicates an interest from the government in the establishment of a framework for information gathering.

With the inclusion of topics that ranged from cultural diversity, to alliances with the technology departments and the creation of group of experts, the proposals aim at covering significant

portions of the administrative aspects that surround the evaluation of effectiveness in cultural policy under this system.

Not only does this part of the document, reflects an interest in numbers from the government's part, but also a strong relation between the production of knowledge and the governing style adopted by the Finnish state.

The implementation of new systems in public administration based on market models that advocates for more accountability, efficiency, economy, and a rational government through numbers, can be seen reaching the cultural sphere through the creation of effectiveness indicators and their potential adoption as valid instruments for performance evaluation.

Nonetheless, not everything is dictated or determined by the numbers. There is a political will that cannot be overlooked and that plays an important role when it comes to decision making. As one interviewee indicated when asked how much does the Ministry relies on indicators to modify their policies in the cultural field or in the elaboration of documents:

"We have to be aware that indicators to be available are often imperfect. This is in principle the case in all policies but especially in cultural policy. Cultural policy deals with – e.g. and basically [sic] on actual cultural life level – experiences, emotions and feelings. It's almost impossible to have reliable indicators to measure them. Another problem is that the impacts of culture and cultural policy arise gradually, in most cases after years and even decades. Of course, there are some plain "indicators" – f.g. attendance in concerts, theatres, museums and so on –but in strict sense these are not indicators but information." (interviewee 2, personal communication, February 4, 2016)

From the previous quote, some ideas can be extracted about other forces than act in the cultural policy field and that seemed to be struggling when a purely numerical logic tried to be imposed. Firstly, despite the fact that evidence-based policy use primarily quantitative methods in the production of knowledge, there is also a sort of qualitative approach among policy makers that derives from their knowledge and understanding of the nature and particularities of the cultural field. To acknowledge that cultural expressions create an emotional and intimate effect on those who experienced it, - that is not subject to quantitative measurement -, can counteract, or at least balance, the attempts to try to fit in culture into numerical categories.

Secondly, even when admitting that cultural policy has peculiarities that are not subject to restrict statistical analysis, this is not enough to produce a change of direction; it must exist a

political will that serves collective interests when needed, and that regardless of the numbers, have the freedom of choice to pursue what it's on the best interest of the population.

As one of the interviewees mentioned, politician's work is to be above the numbers, while illustrating the point with an example:

"...for example the case of moving a library from one place to another one; we get a lot of pressure from people who are very much imposing it, on the other hand we get a lot of messages from people who are living in the new place that are very glad to have the library there, so it's basically a political decision and if the political pressure will be too high, then maybe leave it to the old place it's ok, statistically will be better there but we also have to obey to the general will of the society." (interviewee 5, personal communication, 2016, January 28)

Given that usually political bodies for decision making are not always homogeneously composed, negotiation and flexibility became essential as well as the liberty to neglect the data if the situation calls to do so.

Thirdly and lastly, statistical knowledge is not a synonym of objectivity; the way statistics are presented can induce different conclusions, depending on the interpretation given to the data. As interviewee 2 expressed, attendance to events, number of tickets sold, etc., is just information that cannot be taken without considering that culture has a subjective character and its effects go far beyond the immediate reality, e.g. general wellbeing, cognitive, etc. (interviewee 2, personal communication, February 4, 2016)

Furthermore, these "indicators" as interviewee 2 has called them, cannot be considered as such if followed the concept previously presented of indicators as an evaluative method to use statistical information in relation to certain goals. Statistics, on the other hand, can also be subjected to manipulation, especially when political interests are in play:

"...statistical information is most important when we are talking about funding[...]There are political parties who want to increase the funding and political parties who want to decrease it and there are political parties that want to use the existing funding more effectively so using statistical could be good to compare but you can always use statistics selectively..." (interviewee 5, personal communication, 2016, January 28)

In times when statistics and indicators have a predominant role in decision making processes, negotiation between political actors, civil society and central government could work as

counterpart; particularly, in cultural policy, where subjective criteria and notions such as art, creativity and culture remained still undefined grounds.

5.3 Some conclusions

In the prior sections an attempt to give a more concrete answer to the main research question, about the relation between cultural surveys and Finnish cultural policy was made. The way in one affects the other and vice versa, starts from the notion of cultural participation and how it is measured in surveys.

Although briefly, the different categories of cultural activities also gave a hint of where the government's interests regarding data collection are; as Rose (1999) mentioned, there is also a political decision in what to measure and what not, and numbers are not exempt from being 'politicized'.

The use of the results and statistics obtained via cultural surveys, as expressed before, do not conform evaluative tools per se, but rather when used in relation to a determined goal, which in this case are the indicators for effectiveness proposed by the Ministry of Education and Culture of Finland.

Here is where a major connection between cultural policy and cultural surveys can be established. As the state embrace more an evaluating style of governing, knowledge in the shape of statistics, indicators, etc. becomes crucial, and surveys, one of its basic forms in the cultural field.

However, it would be one-sided to think that all political decisions are blindly dictated based on numbers and figures, omitting decision makers' skills to manoeuvre discussions with other political actors and civil society. This contrasting side counteracts the statistical wave in politics and culture.

6. HELSINKI CITY AND THE LOCAL LEVEL

This last chapter will be dedicated to the study of a local case, namely Helsinki, and its contrast with the national level in terms of cultural surveys and cultural policy. In order to answer the question of the differences between these two levels, local and national, it is necessary firstly to consider the role that municipalities have in the cultural life of their citizens in general, and secondly, the characteristics of Helsinki as urban centre, economic engine of the country and capital of Finland.

Although cultural activities are defined by national legal frameworks, the municipalities are those responsible for their execution. Local governments are in charge of providing cultural services to their population such as libraries, museums and art education, on top of other basic facilities like health centers, primary schools, and adult education centres (Kangas, 2001).

Helsinki encompasses a plurality of elements that distinguish it from other urban centres or medium size cities. Concentrating approximately ten per cent of the country's population, Helsinki has a rather complex distribution in its administrative and political apparatuses, being frequently compared to other cities in Europe, rather than to its neighbour cities within national borders. Often seen as the economic engine of the country, it concentrates 16 per cent of the country's jobs; most of the state authorities' central offices and company headquarters are located there, plus a high-income level and great accumulation of corporate tax revenue, (Helin, 2003).

Helsinki stands out from others Finnish cities in its lifestyle, urban nature, and cultural scene, albeit expensive compared to other big cities in Finland; the municipal public services in Helsinki are the most expensive, while salaries in some sectors such as health care and child day care are higher than the national average. Similarly, housing could be at best one-quarter higher than in Finland as a whole, and a tenant can reach additional 5 to 10 per cent extra tax on a rented flat than other Finns on average (Helin, 2003).

Culturally speaking, Helsinki is not only complex as urban centre in its economic and social aspects; as a result of its big population and constant influx of migrants, international and

national, culture and cultural policy acquires a particular significance in their inhabitant's daily life and in relation to the national economy as a whole.

According to the 2010 Annual Report from the Ministry of Education and Culture, it is especially in main cities, where culture is key element for development. In 2008, cultural consumption was nearly 7% of private consumption, while the value added generated by culture, was around 5.1 billion euro, 3.2% of the GNP (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2010: 14).

The cultural scene seems to be a very dynamic one, not only in terms of cultural participation, passive and active, but also in concentration of resources; for example, in 2014, more than half of the applicants and recipients to culture and art grants, were from the Helsinki Metropolitan Area, according to the Arts Promotion Centre Finland (TAIKE) (Karhunen, 2015). Festivals with high number of attendance such as the "Helsingin Juhlaviikot", with around 200 000 visitors between 2010 and 2013, as well as other cultural activities subsidised by the Ministry of Education and Culture, are located in Helsinki (Statistics Finland, 2014). Additionally, a substantial amount of funds is destined to the national art institutions located in the Helsinki area such as the Finnish National Opera and Ballet, the Finnish National Gallery and Finnish National Theatre, among others (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017; interviewee 5, personal communication, 2016, January 28).

The hierarchies and different levels within the capital, not only in the cultural field but in general, create an interesting contrast in the decision-making processes, characterized by negotiations, political discussions and a 'friendly struggle' between the old manners and the relatively new public managerial viewpoint, especially after the economic crisis in the 90's.

In the following sections, the main features that characterise Helsinki in the cultural field will be presented. The cultural surveys carried out in the city, as well as the bodies in charge of its execution, will be introduced in order to identify the particularities in the gathering of cultural statistics, its similarities, or lack of, with national levels, and the use given by policy makers and other actors in the cultural field.

6.1 General background

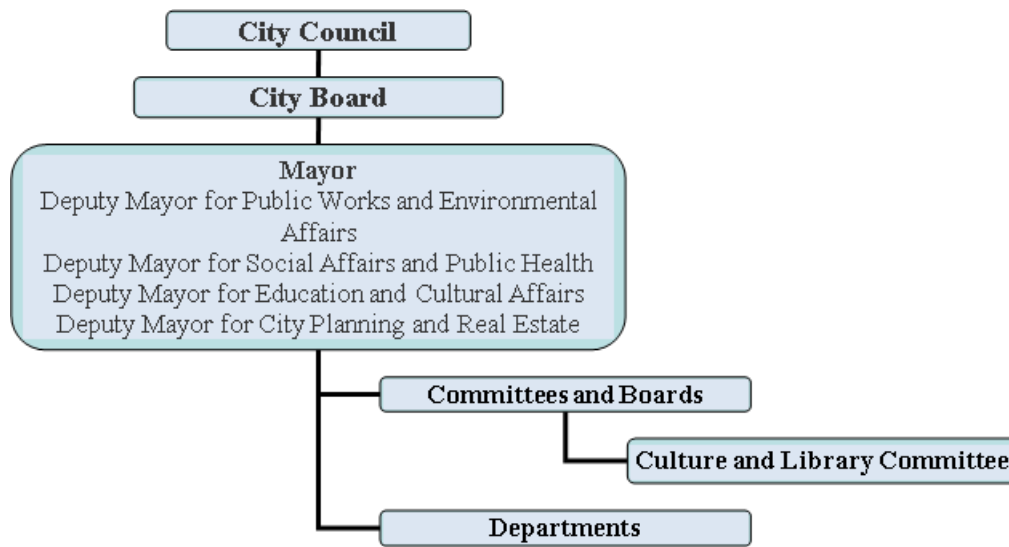
Depending on the classification, what is commonly called Helsinki, can be divided into Helsinki Metropolitan Area and Helsinki Region; the former, include the cities of Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen with a total population of 1,075,014. The latter, comprises these four cities and those of Hyvinkää, Järvenpää, Kerava, Kirkkonummi, Nurmijärvi, Sipoo, Tuusula, Vihti and, since January 2005, Mäntsälä and Pornainen (City of Helsinki, 2015). The Helsinki region, has a population of 1,383,993, eight times the size of Helsinki whose population is just above 600,000, and it is expected to grow to 1,600,000 over the next 20 years (Landry, 2014).

In terms of culture, the city is organized in several bodies within a hierarchy that determines matters such as grants, cultural events and political decisions concerning local cultural policies. In the highest stage, there is the City Council, followed by the City Board and under that several boards, as for instance the Culture and Library Committee or Youth Committee.

At national level, Councils are elected in municipal elections, and the City Board or Executive Board, is form by selected members of the Council. The outlines and definition of objectives for the municipal cultural policy are responsibility of these two decision-making bodies (Kangas, 2001).

Every sector has its own board which makes the decisions, and act as mediating agents between the highest decision-making authorities and the local artist and cultural institutions such as museums, art schools, libraries and adult education centres (Kangas, 2001). In the case of Helsinki, decisions on subsidies for the cultural field, fall on the Culture and Library Committee as the main body, accompanied in a lesser extent by the City Council which decides about the city budget and some other major decisions (interviewee 5, personal communication, 2016, January 28).

Organization chart city of Helsinki



Source: <http://www.hel.fi/www/Helsinki/en/administration/administration/organization/>

One of the main cultural arms under the Cultural and Library Committee is the Cultural Office, which does not only deal directly with the needs of the residents of Helsinki regarding art, culture and leisure activities in general, but also with the artists.

The Cultural Office is in charge of distributing grants and subsidies of more than EUR 17 million each year, to artists and cultural and arts organisations and societies. Besides the grants, the Cultural Office supports, offers and promotes cultural activities, organizing approximately 1,500 shows, 1,300 courses and 120 exhibitions annually, as well as taking initiative in cultural matters. (<http://www.hel.fi/www/kulke/en/services/>).

Its inner organization includes a division in three departments: The Cultural Services department, the Cultural Policies department and the Shared Services department.

The Cultural Services department focuses on the regional part and offers complementary content to the main cultural offering, sometimes carried out in cooperation with artists or operators in the art sector. The Cultural Policies department deals with EU projects, research and development, grants and allocation of facilities for artists.

The Shared Services department takes care of more administrative tasks such as human resources services, information technology services, attendance and ticket sales services, financial administration services and in general, the services that allow a proper management of the Cultural Office. It also works as a communication channel with the central administration and other sections of the administration.

Organization chart Cultural Office, city of Helsinki



Source: <http://www.hel.fi/www/kulke/en/introduction-of-cultural-office/organisation/>

6.2 In and out the recession

Before moving on to the analysis of the use of statistics in the cultural field, local cultural policy, the sources and bodies in charge of its production, first it will be discussed a period when key changes started to occur in which the role of numbers and figures took a visible turn that would remained until today.

In the decade of 1990, Finland witnessed one of their biggest economic crisis, four times bigger than the collapse in 1930's due to the Great Depression. The unemployment rose from 3.5% in 1990 to 18.4% in 1994, while the GDP growth, changed from high in the late 1980's to zero in 1990 and then negative within the next 3 years after that (Uusitalo, 1996; Kalela, 2001).

Standards of living at a household level decreased, output fell by more than 10%, firms started to bankrupt, there was a banking crisis, deficit, and a lot of tension on public funds. One of the ways for central and local government to deal with this deficit, was reducing expenditures and raising taxes, leading to question the sustainability of the welfare system (Kalela, 2001).

As the rest of the country, Helsinki did not escape from this economic crisis, and new ways of dealing with it surfaced. At that time, -early 90's-, the situation in Helsinki was not promising, high levels of unemployment and a nationwide economic crisis, the deficit rose from 10% in 1990, to 50% in 1993 and finally up to 70% in 1995, making the whole welfare system and its ideology the centre of political discussions (Kalela, 2001; Uusitalo, 1996).

Compared to other European countries, economic recession arrived relatively late to Finland (Kalela, 2001; Heikkinen, 2000), and it was not until the 1990's that urban policies, including Helsinki's were challenge:

“Finland experienced an exceptional economic boom with hardly any unemployment until the year 1991. The Finnish capital, Helsinki, enjoyed an economic boom 15 years longer than any other European city and thus there was no economic necessity to change its development policies. The Fordist-Keynesian welfare state remained the unchallenged model of society and the task of urban government in Helsinki was to provide welfare services for the citizens.” (Heikkinen, 2000: 202).

Nonetheless, everything changed after the recession and new development strategies were adopted, following the example of other decision-makers in western Europe. While ahead of Finland in terms of economic crisis, it was already in the 1980's that city managers in those countries realized the need for new ways to cope with economic changes at global level.

Urban economies were no longer driven by manufacturing, and culture and entrepreneurship became the core of urban development strategies, combining culture as welfare together with a business perspective (Heikkinen, 2000; Mustonen 2015).

Some studies (Saukkonen & Ruusuvirta, 2012; Silvanto *et al.* 2008) even consider this period to be the beginning of a new shift for cultural policy; a shift incline to neoliberalist ways of doing and thinking, fed by economic ideas and an instrumental rationale in which culture becomes something the state 'invest' in, expecting a positive impact in return.

Funding culture and arts was no longer an exclusive task of governments, but it was extended to private sponsorship, while cultural industries and exportation of culture gained more importance in political discussions. Cultural actions started to be pressured and shaped by an economic logic and values, and the quality of it, measured according to international standards (Saukkonen & Ruusuvirta, 2012; Silvanto *et al.*, 2008).

There was an instrumentalization of culture when coping with problems like social exclusion, in addition to rising concern on the economic impact of the creative sector and the value of entertainment in city contexts. This trend continued up to the turn of the millennium, leaving the humanistic reasoning and replacing the ideals of cultural democracy and spreading of high arts, behind (Silvanto *et al.*, 2008).

This change was accompanied by a trend present in European cities during late 1990's and early 2000, in which economic activity based on culture were at the front of urban policy, its strategies and plans, using the idea of a creative city as a way to promote and marketing themselves with concepts such as cultural tourism, urban planning, urban design, etc. (Kulonpalo, 2010).

In Helsinki specifically, the role of cultural policies changed from being mainly a tool for improving equality, to be part of the creation of a new urban image for the city, attract tourism and strengthening the cultural industries (Heikkinen, 2000)

According to Kulonpalo (2010), Helsinki has had a significant urban cultural change since the 1980's becoming by late 1990 and early 2000, the second fastest-growing EU metropolitan area. New cultural institutions, new local media, as well as new sites for cultural consumption and leisure, placed cultural economy as one of the main sectors for growth. No wonder around 1994 a cultural strategy for Helsinki started to take place after a commissioned research was done to the British firm Comedia (Heikkinen, 2000).

Helsinki was not only affected by a national phenomenon such as the economic recession in the 1990's, but also by international trends present in that period of time such as the strengthening of the economic logic, the notion of culture as a growing sector and essential part of the economy, and the construction of an urban imaginary, among others. These processes represented a turning point in Helsinki's cultural policy that similar to the national level, has followed a neoliberalist tone, bringing with it its tendency for an instrumentalist vision of culture and the application of economic categories to culture such as international comparisons as quality measurability criteria.

Although the recession was certainly a catalyst, it does not give account entirely for the neoliberalist turn that will follow it later on, even when used as reason to question the welfare system as a whole. It marked a period in Finnish political, economic, social and cultural life, which repercussions evidently reached the local level as well.

It is particularly relevant for the main topic here as facilitates to trace back the origin of some notions introduced at the time in cultural policy, at the same time that widens the understanding of how these changes were justified and later on adopted by the public sector.

An example of this instrumentalization of culture that remains until today, is visible in the emphasis given to aspects such as wellbeing and social inclusion as key endeavour of Helsinki cultural policies: *"The cultural policy of the City of Helsinki [...] aims to improve the quality of life of Helsinki residents, promote community spirit and well-being, prevent social exclusion and develop a diverse city."* (Cultural Office website, <http://www.hel.fi/www/kulke/en/Cultural+policies/>).

Also at national level, documents such as "Art and Culture for Well-being" published by the Ministry of Education and Culture in their action programme 2010–2014, make a call to stress the importance of promoting *"well-being and health by means of art and culture and to enhance inclusion at the individual, community and societal levels."* (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2010:4).

6.3 Instrumentalization of cultural policy and the managerialism in the public sphere

As described before, changes in the global economy, together with a rapid adoption of neoliberalist ideas, had their impact in local policies; the recognition of the role played by culture and the creative industries within the economy, and its subsequent instrumentalization, are only some of the factors involved in the implementation of a managerial model for the public sphere.

This model, focuses in efficiency and outcomes, considering citizens and users of public services, shareholders and costumers (Saukkonen et al., 2012), in which local cultural policy is instrumentalized by “*emphasizing culture and cultural venture as a means, not an end in itself*” (Vestheim 1994, p. 65 cited in Belfiore, 2004:184).

In her study about cultural policy in Britain (Belfiore, 2004), she describes what she calls the “attachment” phenomenon, in which cultural policy and its objectives are aligned to other areas seen as more important or influential politically speaking, such as economic development or social and urban regeneration. Johannisson (as cited in Saukkonen et al. 2012), also coincides on this point with Belfiore (2004) as local cultural policies instrumentalize culture by putting in practice a double strategy where “*the intrinsic value of the arts is recognized while it is also being utilized for other – often economic – purposes.*” (Saukkonen et al., 2012: 209).

The impacts of culture and cultural policy, under a managerial perspective are subject to measurement, like in any other public field, leading to previously mentioned evidence-based policies (Belfiore, 2004). Under this type of policy-making, words such as “monitoring”, “customer” -instead of citizen-, “indicators”, “goals”, “strategy” and “performance”, among others, became the new jargon, whilst data collection a key tool for monitoring and auditing (Belfiore, 2004).

In Belfiore’s words about the practice of evaluating policies based on statistics:

“...from the beginning of the 1990s, data collection (especially in the form of time-series) has assumed a central role in cultural policy making and evaluation. Data were collected in a number of different ways: through audits, performance measurements, time series, impact studies and studies on audiences

(as well as non-audiences). Most of it was based on the quantitative analysis of policy inputs and outputs, and the results of such number crunching tended to be presented as neat statistics.” (Belfiore, 2004: 189).

In the Finnish context, these changes materialized as a group of reforms applied to administrative and political organization since the early 90’s; these gave the Ministry of Finance, an essential role as supervisor of other ministries’ budgets, while the latter must comply to a goal-oriented methodology (Häyrynen, 2013).

Sarinen (2003), similarly to Powers (1999), agrees that some of the main components of the definition of new public management (NPM), such as “*standards and measures of performance; output controls; [...] competition; private sector management practice; and stress and parsimony in resource use*” (2003: 55-56), can be associated with some of the changes experimented by the public sector in Finland.

6.3.1 Helsinki Strategy Programme 2013-2016

An example of the above mentioned in the case of Helsinki, is the Strategy Programme of the city 2013-2016, in which a set of objectives and indicators under the name of ‘meters’ were established, as evaluative counterparts of the ‘measures’ set for each area.

Similar to the definition of indicators examined in chapter 3, ‘meters’ are not mere numbers, but rather figures that work in relation to certain targets, being defined as: “*Methods for measuring the success of the goals for each section [...] specified in the strategy programme.*” (<http://www.hel.fi/www/Helsinki/en/administration/strategy/strategy/meters/>)

Within the strategy, the section called “Helsinki is full of life” includes the subsection “Culture offers delight and attraction”, in which several ‘measures’ are set for it, albeit just one ‘meter’.

Although some of the actions or ‘measures’ proposed for this section, focused on higher quality of services such as aid systems for sport and culture, improvement of requirements for entrepreneurship of artists, and better decision making in the cultural field in general; the ‘meter’ was restricted solely to a quantity matter such as “The number of people using cultural services”.

One interpretation of this, following a Foucauldian tone is the need that governments have for acquiring knowledge and use it in their favour in governing processes (Foucault 2007; 2003), even if this means applying it to areas of an ambiguous nature such as culture and cultural policy. On the other hand, if taken in relation to the cultural policy model, this disproportion between ‘measures’ and ‘meters’, could be interpreted as a tendency towards a shift in the model adopted, from architect to patron or from social-democratic patronage to a liberal one; although of course as explained previously, there are no “pure” models or examples of each category, but rather mixed forms.

Alternatively, Belfiore also provides an interesting approach for a better understanding. According to her (2004), given the instrumentalization process that cultural policy is been subjected to, the definition of quality in the cultural sector can be derived from two different criteria: one, the aesthetic quality or aesthetic value of culture and art, in which case an example of this could be the encouragement of “excellence” promoted by the Arts Council in Britain. Two, it could be according to New Public Management standards of “*effectiveness*” “*performance measurement*” and, ultimately, the provision of “*value for money*” (2004:198).

Seen strictly from what is proposed in the Strategy Programme of the city 2013-2016, the latter criteria seem to match a possible reasoning behind the collection of this type of information and its incorporation and further effects within policy making. However, it must not be forgotten that as one of the interviewees expressed, when resources are tighter, aesthetic value could also make a difference in terms of what is funded and what is not:

“So the numbers are always there but on the other hand everything we do, we are not robots having inputs, that when this statistical data is coming in we produce that kind of decision because we are free to discuss about the quality of cultural institutions and what kind of culture, how do we want to direct the city, which direction we need to take together, we are not going too much to a different field; let's say in the music branch we cannot say we need to do this kind of music, we need all the flowers to bloom but there is this level when we are talking about culture where you can judge when something is really good and when something is not that good and of course we are willing to invest on something that is potentially really good, and of course we make a lot of mistakes with that.” (interviewee 5, personal communication, 2016, January 28)

There is no doubt that in the city strategy, the value of culture is recognized not only as producer of wellbeing and joy for the residents, but also as an element that adds attractiveness to the city as urban centre. Nonetheless, the economic logic, becomes evident when terms such as

‘audiences’ or ‘public’ are replaced by ‘customer’, and culture is considered just another service: *“The City's cultural services, which have been created in cooperation with the residents, are more customer-oriented than before.”* (<http://www.hel.fi/www/helsinki/en/administration/strategy/strategy/>).

In addition, there is a sort of marginalization of culture, as previously described by another interviewee, that stands out when the policy “Culture offers delight and attraction” and its action programme, though included in the strategy, are not meant to be discussed by the city council during the term 2013-2016.

The adoption of this new management system in Helsinki, has not yet run as smoothly as in other cities such as Tampere or Rovaniemi in terms of administrative change. Helsinki being the capital of the country and main centre, possess qualities that differ from other towns within Finland. There is a contrasting political side to the numbers and certain positions within the administrative hierarchy, are charge with status and nationwide social weight, absent in other cities, making transitions or organizational variations, more difficult (Landry, 2014).

It is said that to make an organization work under this model, there is a need to look through the customer/citizen perspective, imitating the corporate culture of the private sector with enough political will to make of that change a reality, especially in the cultural sector:

“This is the new world of open source innovation and co-creation and the critics say that Helsinki remains partly ‘trapped by the institutes of modernity’, with their focus on departmentalism representing a mid-20th century approach and that there is not enough political will to shift. This is most notable with the culture institutions.” (Landry, 2014: 43)

In this sense, Häyrynen (2013) also supports the idea that political negotiations and peer-reviewing system continue to be an important counterpart of the numbers. He claims that despite the fact that statistics as norm and evaluative system with indicators, are becoming an underline in most cultural policy documents in Finland, they do not overcome political discussion. For instance, in art councils, choices regarding grants and other issues are taken, - although with less legitimacy than before -, collectively between cultural actors, artists, experts, etc.

The differences between the peer-reviewing system and the managerial one in relation to statistics, fall on the margin of freedom policy makers have in their actions and the criteria selected to justify such actions. Also, some of the interviewees highlighted the importance of political discussions, the autonomy enjoyed by decision makers to act according to a political consent rather than administrative compulsion, and the difference that can make the existence of a political “will” in different stages of cultural life:

“In Finland we have this kind of tradition that there's a lot of connections between these bodies... [CUPORE, Ministry of Education and Culture] ...but then we invited a lot of people, experts for instance from Helsinki city cultural, Helsinki city youth organization, from Turku city, and different kind of people and some people from the university so, it's a small country, we know each other and we have the tradition to work together, there are not such big barriers (interviewee 1 about group of experts, personal communication, 2015, December 18)

“An initiative comes from either a political side or from civil servants and [...] then it goes forward and the city council either listen to us or they do not, so it's up to them and then of course one more hazardous element is the deputy major, she is in charge of education and culture in the city of Helsinki and she is introducing the things to the city council, she doesn't have to obey our will so she can change the statements, she can suggest something completely different, of course we make sure that our message will be delivered to the city council...” (interviewee 5 talking about cultural hierarchies in the city of Helsinki, personal communication, 2016, January 28)

“Of course anything can be achieved if there's a will. In these case, cultural field is so huge and identifying the limits is the biggest problem and cultural differences do not help. So creating common unified systems and methods is possible but very, very difficult.” (interviewee 6 referring to the possibility of a unified system for collecting data in the cultural field, personal communication, 2016, March 7)

However, there are those who do not share the same reading of the changes experimented by cultural policy as part of a wider neoliberalist turn. Häyrynen (2013) for example, believes that in spite of the reorganization of public spheres, the increased pressure for private sponsorship in the arts, as well as the introduction of effectiveness indicators, among others, Finland is not following a neoliberalist path in culture. This belief based on the fact that most of the funding for this sector still comes from public money and remains in the hands of the state.

According to him, concepts such as consumerism and privatization coming from neoliberalist and market-oriented doctrines, do not apply in Finland when talking about cultural policy, using as justification the funds for culture in municipalities, cultural education, art councils, and public broadcasting (2013).

Although he does recognize changes in cultural policy after the 90's decade, in his opinion the central government is considerably still the main responsible for the financing of cultural production (Häyrynen, 2013:624). The introduction of indicators for evaluation, the new managerial model and the stress on a more entrepreneurial view of private sponsorship for arts and culture, are not a result of the domination of neoliberalist ideology over cultural policy, but rather come from the lack of will to define cultural content, in order to stop using categories and knowledge from other fields and applying them to culture:

“The cultural policy system that was originally constructed to protect free artistic expression and an equal distribution of cultural opportunities has in recent decades been in the front line of a neo-liberalist invasion in Finland. The invasion is modelled rhetorically after the ideas of cultural pluralism and economic efficiency. [...]

The unwillingness of the state cultural policy to emphasise complex cultural contents has let other sectors to make the selection. It means that cultural policy strategists try to define their subject-matter by using the expert knowledge of other, presumably weightier, sectors, and using their means and statistical categories to assess the results of cultural policy.” (Häyrynen, 2013: 637)

Contrasting this, Saukkonen et al. (2012) in his study about Finnish cities and recent development in urban cultural policy in Finland, states that *“Despite of a number of local investments, arts and culture have, generally speaking, hardly grown in economic terms, and the traditional institutions still receive by far the most funding”* (2012: 205).

Additionally, Belfiore provides an interesting theory that debates Häyrynen's position in which, even if given that cultural production is still being primarily funded by central government, then, to what cost?

Although both authors agreed on the instrumentalization of cultural policy and the introduction of indicators and effectiveness measures, Belfiore (2004) believes this constant justification that art organizations and the cultural sector have to go through, usually by numbers and statistics, can bring a very negative effect on cultural policy.

The tighter public budgets get, the bigger the necessity to highlight the social and economic benefits culture has on a local and national level, that together with the “attachment” phenomenon, could make cultural policy pointless as it may will be carried out or eventually absorbed by social or economic policies (Belfiore, 2004).

6.4 Cultural Participation Surveys in Helsinki

Once examined the cultural context and what surrounds the realization of cultural surveys within the city of Helsinki, it is time to list some of the varied local statistical sources. To start with, a few samples are the questionnaire surveys carried out by the Arts Council of Finland, the statistics produced by Urban Facts, data provided by different associations in the field (museums, theatres, orchestras, etc.), occasional studies conducted by the Cultural Office of the city of Helsinki, academic research, and of course, the data provided by Statistics Finland in regard to the city.

The cultural office of the city of Helsinki, provides a regular series of publications on cultural matters (see <http://www.hel.fi/www/kulke/en/Cultural+policies/publications/>), however, most of the data used in it is not produce by them but rather comes from its subsidies, customers' feedback collected once or twice a year, or data from tickets bought for their events (interviewee 4, personal communication, 2015, December 18).

Additionally, the cultural Office of the city of Helsinki, relies on Urban Facts, which claims to be the *“expert organization responsible for statistics, research, information and open data as well as records management at the City of Helsinki.”* (taken from <http://www.hel.fi/www/tieke/en/This-is-urban-facts/>). The latter carries out statistics and publications about general issues related to the city; specifically related to arts and culture, there is a recent one called “Arts and Culture in Helsinki” (2014), that has been released approximately at intervals of five-year, previously preceded by similar volumes in 1995, 1999, 2004 and 2008.

In this publication Urban Facts applied a web-based survey using email and Facebook as channels for communication, focusing on matters such as the role of the respondents in the field of arts and culture, respondents' consumption of various forms of arts and culture, the most interesting cultural event of the year, the use of the Internet for arts and culture-related purposes, satisfaction with cultural offerings in Helsinki and problems and shortcomings of cultural offerings in Helsinki (City of Helsinki, 2014).

Urban Facts provides information about present, past and future of the city, and it is organised in three units, including urban research unit, archives and a unit for statistics and information services.

Among the information collected by the research unit, can also be found the cultural survey called Urban lifestyles which, as its name suggest, collects information on different ways of living in Helsinki. The first set of data was collected in 2012/2013 and concentrated on living, lifestyles, consumption (especially food and eating out) and families with children and the second, in March 2016, focussed on cultural consumption as well (interviewee 6, personal communication, 2016, March 7).

The results of this survey, are analyzed in conjunction between the research unit of Urban Facts and the Economic Sociology departments of the University of Turku. Its use is mainly in the preparation of written articles based on the data which are likely to be published in the online journal of the city called Kvartti. These articles are not intended to be purely academic, as the survey not only intends *“to gather information of how people live in Helsinki, [but also] to provide City of Helsinki information for decision making.”* (Urban Facts, 2016)

Another survey worth mentioning is the one belonging to the Helsinki Creative City Index where 245 people were interviewed either face to face or electronically, with the objective of finding out how good people felt and how well Helsinki as a city performed in different topics, in comparison to other cities. Out of 245, 185 were on-line survey responses of long and shorter questionnaires, while the rest participated in workshops, focus groups, and individual conversation with key informants from public and private sector (Landry, 2014).

The web discussion, that followed after the preliminary debate for Helsinki’s strategy programme 2013-2016, is another example of data collection directly linked with processes of decision making in Helsinki; in this one, 1,418 people took part with a total number of answers of 2,405; however, this debate did not focus solely on cultural matters, but in the strategy in general terms (City of Helsinki, 2013).

Lastly, as part of an academic study regarding cultural centres in Helsinki, a survey was applied to 814 visitors of those centres, complementing it with interviews and revision of documents.

The main purpose of the questionnaire was to understand the perception and reasons for visiting the centres, while for the research itself was to examine the relationship between the visitor's motivations and the political justifications of the centres (Silvanto, 2008).

Notwithstanding several surveys existed around the cultural thematic or that may include it, only some of them seem to be intended for further impact on decision making; the statistics put together by the cultural office in their publications are an example of the latter. Issues such as City of Helsinki 2014, 2015, give the impression of not surpassing the descriptive stage as it limited mostly to the presentation of numbers as well as their geographical and sectorial distribution, without additional recommendations or interpretations.

Although the work made by the research unit of urban Facts in the interpretative side is valuable, it is not aimed solely to the cultural field, the execution of surveys represents just a small part compared to the statistics unit, and the connection with the decision-making level is not as clear-cut:

“Statistics are just one dimension when I think of my job as a sociologist. When I think of my projects, they are rarely born because of some direct wishes from the city administration. But on the other hand, issues I'm dealing with are strongly linked with strategy of the city. And sometimes, of course, some special information is needed.” (interviewee 6, personal communication, 2016, March 7)

In other words, the topics of the statistics although relevant to decision making processes, are not always a result of decision makers' needs. Regardless of the multiple sources abovementioned related to cultural surveys, when compared to Urban Facts, these are not executed on a regular basis, but rather following a specific objective depending on the field they come from.

While the existence of Urban facts, as main responsible for statistics for the city of Helsinki, - not just culture-, could represent itself an indicator of the interest of the local government in keeping data, subject to measurability and evaluation, -in a similar fashion as Statistics Finland at the national level-, it does not necessarily mean the information collected is enough, it reaches the right target (e.g. policy makers), or that it is subject for comparison with other cities.

As Saukkonen (2012) mentions, despite the fact that culture represents a great deal in many cities strategies across Finland, the information regarding culture and the cultural sector is rather scarce. As the autonomy of municipalities and local authorities increase, and the cultural activities diversify, the amount of reliable information is less and less accountable for inter-city comparisons.

Seen from a theoretical perspective, the case of Helsinki supports Foucault's idea of the relationship between governmentality, power and knowledge, exemplifying that similar to the national level, local governments seen in the gathering of information related to its population, a form of govern through knowledge. A knowledge that being derived from a scientific discipline such as statistics, brings "truth" and validation to what it is presented (2007; 1980:133).

Following that reasoning, this is a possible explanation of why areas, such as cultural policy, are being scrutinise under economic categories despite their vague nature, sometimes, even more than other areas of public policy. As Belfiore (2004) points out:

“...the subsidised arts...– in so far as they constitute an area of public expenditure – have found themselves forced to turn to the “rationalised rituals of inspection” [...] One might even be tempted to suggest that, even more than other areas of public policy, the arts have found in the justifying practices of audit and performance measurement a precious form of official validation.” (Belfiore 2004: 195)

Therefore, by adopting statistics as the “science of the state”, with its neutrality and sacredness, governments consider their work done as good rulers, while culture and cultural policy are forced to turned it into a mechanism to validates itself; a discussion that will be addressed more in depth in the next section.

On the other hand, Foucault in his analysis of the role played by the government in this new governmentality, - which is no longer based on the structure of family and the sovereign, but instead on the knowledge of population, laws, and power relations -, recognized civil society as a counterpart for the state. A force that indeed until nowadays seems to have great weight in counterbalancing the numbers, as expressed by some of the interviewees in previous chapters.

The weight of political will and collective demands in contrast to hard data, do not lose relevance, specially in cases like Helsinki where symbolic constructs can be strongly adhered to positions, structures and institutions (Landry, 2014).

Finally, notwithstanding the relation between government and producers of statistical knowledge appears central in Foucault's theory and gives great account for some of the phenomena presented, in the case of Helsinki, the connection between local policy makers and the main bodies in charge of cultural statistics seems blurry, at least in what cultural policy is concerned.

6.5 Some final remarks

Helsinki like the rest of Finland has seen itself affected by the economic turn after the crisis in the 90's. It cannot be said that specific changes occurred in this direction that involves the application of cultural surveys but there were in the cultural policy perspective, especially at local level and related to the concept of urban development.

Helsinki's wide range of statistical sources do not necessarily translate into better understanding of the cultural field or better decision making (neither worse). There isn't a unified system to collect this type of information or a regular survey; instead, there's a cultural office and the urban facts office in charge of some studies in the field, whom per se do not mean a statistical coverage of cultural life in the city.

Statistical data and hard facts present in the numbers, similarly to the dynamic followed at the national level, are of great importance in Helsinki to justify actions, evaluate goals and managing budgets, among others. However, the political will, remains being a great counterpart, resisting the complete installation of the managerial model partly due to social charges (status), characteristic of the capital hierarchies.

Despite culture being considered a revitalizing element of urban culture and producer of wellbeing, the notion, -previously mentioned by some of the interviewees-, that culture is somehow marginalized, gets reinforced by going through the strategy of the city, where states

that action programmes corresponding to culture, are not to be executed or revised by the city council, at least between 2013-2016.

As at the national level, the indicator trend is also being applied at the local level, and it is presented in the strategy programme of the city of Helsinki under the name of “meters”. This could be also derived from the neoliberalist logic and the new public managerial model that according to some authors, Finland is not complying completely in the field of cultural policy.

Being the central government still the main financer for culture and arts, statistics and indicators can be seen as a result of a lack of definition in cultural policy cultural content.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Discussions about the social (Matarasso, 1997; Ministry of Education and Culture, Finland, 2010), economic (Bennett, 2001; Saukkonen & Ruusuvirta, 2012; Silvanto *et al.*, 2008; Kulonpalo, 2010) and political (Young, 2008; Foucault, 1981, 2003, 2007) sides of culture, among others, have provided a rich base for the analysis of the use and gathering of statistical data in the cultural field, cultural surveys and their relation to cultural policy in Finland.

As the importance of studies in cultural participation have been gaining more popularity among policy makers as foundation for evidence-based policy (Belfiore, 2004; O'Hagan, 2014; Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011), cultural policy has also been acquiring more weight in the political spheres (Bennett, 2001; Saukkonen & Ruusuvirta, 2012; Silvanto *et al.*, 2008; Kulonpalo, 2010). Mostly originated as a way to monitor governmental interventions and their impacts, the use of this type of studies has stretched to other aspects such as wellbeing and social stratification, resulting in an instrumentalization of culture (Belfiore, 2004; Ministry of Education and Culture, Finland, 2010).

Documents such as “Effectiveness Indicators to Strengthen the Knowledge Base for Cultural Policy” (Ministry of Education and Culture Finland, 2011) and 2009 UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics, demonstrate that there is a recognition of the importance of statistics nationally and internationally.

The analysis of the former document seems to indicate that there is indeed a trend to use statistics, surveys and indicators as monitoring and assessment tools to measure, audit and compare the effectiveness of Finnish cultural policy, following a logic usually assigned to economic agents. This supports what authors like Powers (1999), Rose (1999), Giannone (2014) and Belfiore (2004) among others, describe as a culture of evaluation, often adopted by governments, based on market models and applied to the administration of public areas.

At first glance, Helsinki shows a similar dynamic that the national level, at least in formal documents such as the Strategy Programme of the city 2013-2016 and the ‘Helsinki model’. In the first one, a sort of effectiveness indicators named ‘meters’ are included, as evaluative references for the statistics collected. In the second one, a model copied from another European

city is used as an example and comparability measure, regarding cultural services and their distribution.

In both cases, nationally and locally, cultural surveys seem to be closely related to cultural policy goals, since the inputs from surveys like ‘the leisure survey’, ‘time use survey’ and ‘urban lifestyle’ respectively, conform the base for the application of indicators and goals met.

Additionally, most interviewees expressed how the use of numbers and figures for cultural institutions as well as for decision-making, have become essential to justify their actions and use of available resources, especially after the economic recession.

Despite the fact that periods of economic crisis cannot account in totality for the changes suffered, they have certainly worked as catalyst and justification for the adoption of substantial changes in Finnish cultural policy after the 90’s (Council of Europe, 2014; Häyrynen, 2013; Kangas, 2001; Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011).

A combination of tighter budgets, austerity measures, and the adoption of a managerial model in public spheres, among others, have turned surveys in a convenient tool for policy makers when it comes to modify, justify or maintain certain aspects of their policies.

Given the difficulty to define elements such as culture and art, and its effects or benefits, cultural policy is not an easy subject of measurability, - at least in quantitative standards - nonetheless, there is still a strong will from the state to extend a more managerial approach to the cultural field, even if this means the creation of new apparatuses, or the improvement of the existing ones.

The proposals studied in chapter 5 are an example of this, since they do not only show the strengthening of the framework for the gathering of information, but also allow, as Foucault described it, the exercise of a power that has the population as its target (2007).

However, if culture possess a different nature from other areas in public sphere, then why have not cultural institutions and artists opposed such treatment? The answer might have to do with

what some interviewees perceived as a marginalization of culture, and what Belfiore called the “attachment” phenomena.

On one hand, by going through rituals of inspection, cultural policy might get out of the marginalization by legitimizing through effectiveness indicators its role in the public sphere. On the other hand, an overestimation of the social, health, or economic benefits of culture, might undermine the importance of cultural policy per se, causing the so-called “attachment” effect (Belfiore, 2004).

Another finding from the analysis of documents like “Effectiveness Indicators to Strengthen the Knowledge Base for Cultural Policy” (Ministry of Education and Culture Finland, 2011), as well as multiple interviews, is that despite the interest from local and central Finnish government in numbers, there is no such thing as a unified system to collect data in the cultural field, neither at national level or in the main city and capital, Helsinki.

Municipalities and central government do not collect their data together, as explained in section 4.2, which sometimes can make difficult to have a full picture of the cultural field as a whole or for comparison between cities within Finland (Council of Europe, 2014). The system proposed by EUROSTAT, as one of the interviewee stated, while accepted, it is not applied, and the existence of a Ministry of Culture in Finland does not translate into clear specific guidelines on how to collect data about culture or related figures, with the exception of the proposals already mentioned.

At the national level, the main body in charge of collecting cultural data is Statistics Finland, which carried out the first ‘Leisure survey’ in 1978, when cultural policy was closely connected to the welfare state ideals (interviewee 1, personal communication, 2015, December 18). In this regard, according to Hillman & McCaughey (1989) and Mulcahy (1998) categories, Finnish cultural policy model, correspond to a model where culture is seen as one of the basic services of the welfare state and main responsibility of the government. Yet there is a disarticulation in the gathering of information regarding culture.

This could be a result of its vertical decentralization and arm’s length principle applied in the funding system, as budgets are distributed among municipalities with a certain autonomy,

favouring the creation of gaps in terms of standardization in the collection of information or the application of surveys. Additionally, it must not be forgotten the reorganization processes that public sectors in Finland have been going through in recent years, as a result of a more managerial perspective.

Together with this lack of standardization in the gathering of cultural information, the process of including information collected by cultural surveys in the transformation or improvements of cultural policy, is not acutely clear or identifiably linear either. In contrast, what it does indicate a possible future trend in the relation between statistics produced by surveys, and modifications in cultural policy based on them, is the adoption of effectiveness indicators and particularly, the concrete changes suggested in the proposals.

In this sense, cultural surveys appear at the forefront of the “*management by knowledge*” adopted by the Ministry of Education and Culture, in which actions are based on information (Ministry of Education and Culture Finland, 2011).

Albeit statistics and the indicators derived from it, essential, there are other factors to take into account such as the political will and overall understanding of the particularities of the cultural field as a whole by policy-makers. Or as in the case of Helsinki, a particular resistance in the political arena, to a submission to numbers, as pointed out by Landry (2014).

Nonetheless, more common ground than divergence has been found when comparing the case of Helsinki to the national level, in terms of cultural surveys and cultural policy making. One similarity between them, is that neither count with one unified system for collecting statistical data in the cultural field, or a unique cultural survey.

In Helsinki, the sources are varied and the administrative and political hierarchies are more complex than in other cities within Finland. The relation between the production of this data and the cultural policy model adopted by the city, usually based on the imitation of good practices in other major cities around the world, like the Helsinki model, is not a clear one.

Another similarity is that following the same trend as other cities within Europe, after the economic recession, Helsinki has -as the rest of the country- become in overall terms, more

oriented by an economic logic; notions such as citizen were replaced by customer, and culture does not seem to be among the city priorities, or at least not in their strategy 2013-2016. The sources of cultural surveys are dispersed and sometimes lack connection between them (e.g. academia, Ministry of Education and Culture) or between them and policy-makers.

The existence of “meters” (Strategy Programme of the city 2013-2016), comparable to the indicators, could be considered a manifestation of the adoption of a more managerial approach similar to the one present at national level; so far kept it at bay, partly due to symbolic and social charges adhered to some positions, as describe by Landry (2014), together with a ‘friendly struggle’ between political groups, and some of the interviewees mentioned.

In other words, Helsinki in most aspects related to cultural surveys and tendencies adopted in local and national cultural policy associated to them, seems to be following a similar path to the national level, with the particularity of facing a bigger resistance to administrative changes than in other Finnish cities such as Tampere or Rovaniemi (Landry, 2014).

From a theoretical perspective, the evidence collected seems to support Foucault’s thesis of knowledge as a strategic matter in governmentality. For example, the notion adopted under the managerial model of citizens and tax-payers as customers whose services need to be improved, can be trace down to the historic analysis of statistic and their first uses in governing; the replacement of the family with the population as model of the society, changed the objective of the government including among its function providing better conditions in the life of its inhabitants (Foucault, 1981; 2007).

The question of what should be the state’s concerns and responsibilities, pose by Foucault (2007), appears still relevant as most interviewees and authors presented believe Finnish government’s encouragement of entrepreneurship in the arts and reduction of state’s duties, is a cause of worrisome, while for others like Häyrynen (2013) is not. Equally alarming is that at the base of these changes regarding the state’s stand on culture and art, are a mix of aesthetic values and NPM criteria, namely effectiveness in culture and managerialism in public administration (Belfiore, 2004). As Bennett (2007) would put it, this could mean that Finnish government is opting for a more regulatory stance, retreating itself and letting other actors (mostly private), to act according to their own rules and inner coherence.

The idea that scientific knowledge is necessary for good governing and the existence of biopolitics, is exemplified in the proposals presented by the Ministry of Education and Culture for the creation and improvement of new apparatuses. The hypothesis that control is exerted over the mass through the collection of its data (Foucault, 2007) is a possible explanation to the efforts the Finnish governments is willing to do in order to make sure that scientific knowledge and statistics are available while governing. This could be also related to the validation received by gathering this type of information or the actions taken based on it, like Powers (1999) mentioned when referring to auditing; sometimes the results of the audit is not the most important, but the process of auditing itself, and subsequent validation in the eyes of the population and other actors.

Surveys serve not only as a mechanism to measure governments' effectiveness in the use of resources, but also as tools for the civil society to express their opinion on the handling of state matters in specific fields, characteristic of the new governmentality born in the eighteenth century, described by Foucault, in which civil society represent a counterpart of the state (2007). Furthermore, those governed in addition to their opinions can also makes judgements on governments' performance through number as described by Rose (1999), or in the case of Finland through cultural surveys and indicators.

Provided that the statistics collected by cultural surveys are the base for the indicators that probe the usefulness or success of public policy areas such as cultural policy, and the recognition of these methods as valid tools for measurement, the greater legitimation over the control and way of governing possessed by the state (Foucault, 2007).

In conclusion, this research tried to shed some light to the relationship and use of cultural surveys and the production of statistical knowledge in the development, transformation and execution of cultural policies in Finland. Although the relation was not always a straightforward one, it was possible to establish a connection between both, taking into consideration as many other elements involved as possible.

Certainly, statistics derived from cultural surveys have been becoming a major part of this new evaluative and auditing way of governing, and very likely will continue to increase their role if more weight is being put on numbers and figures as it has been so far. Nonetheless, it is

important to bear in mind the peculiar nature of the cultural field, and the interpretations that surround the numbers; a discussion that is not only responsibility of politicians and policy makers, but also of all institutions and researchers related to the production of this type of knowledge.

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Index 2. Transcript of interviews

Interview 1

(Statistics Finland)

September 18, 2015.

S: please tell me your name, the institution you work for, the position you hold and for how long have you been working in this.

I1: my name is XXXX, the institution is Statistics Finland and I've been working here for ages, over 30 years.

S: For how long has been carried out a survey about cultural consumption (or a section within another survey dedicated to cultural habits) in Finland?

I1: we have one survey called "leisure survey" and part of that is the cultural participation, and I've been heading that survey since 1980. Is a survey that is conducted every 10 years but now, this time, has taken a long time, we haven't been able to conduct that because of economical reasons and next survey I'm not going to conduct it myself, there is a young girl, a researcher, who is taking the lead, and we are now renewing it.

S: when was the last time that this leisure...?

I1: 2002, so it was long time ago, but then we have the "time use survey", and in the "time use survey" has been always conducted in between this "leisure survey"; we have an interview part, about cultural participation and it is comparable with the leisure survey so we have this time sharing, the intervals are shorter than if you are basing only on the "leisure survey". I've been very long time also heading this section, in the 90's I was the head and then I wanted to show great and that I could manage, I could make an agreement with my office that it is possible, but after some years when it was my turn, they said that you are going to be steady, head of the section. It a unit of about 10 people, it's small, no big, in the section we have "leisure survey", "time use survey", and then we have the so-called "ICT survey" which is interested in internet use and use of phones, this kind of new technologies, and then we have cultural statistics and mass media statistics also in my unit.

S: I think I read in this -I don't know if you are familiarised with this- "compendium in cultural policy", the household survey, there was some data from there as well. Is this like a bigger survey with a cultural section?

I1: I think they have used... exactly I'm not sure, but at least earlier they used "Leisure survey" as the basic, and maybe also "Time use [survey]", but in Statistics Finland we have also this "Household budget survey", and if they've used this data on culture, money consumption on culture, then they can have used that data too. I don't know, I'm not sure, I haven't been checking that.

S: which one would you say is the main survey in cultural consumption? Would be the "leisure" and the "time use" that is between?

I1: yeah.

S: What's the primary objective of the cultural survey? The leisure one, let's focus on that one.

I1: it's very wide, at least it used to be very comprehensive survey, and the idea was that we get knowledge on all the leisure, everything that people do on the everyday life except work and also by work we have many questions as background information.

When it started, the very first was made in 1978, I was not involved in that but in that survey, the cultural policy purposes were very strong, and at that time the idea was to see about the equality of different sections of society, how much they are involved in high culture productions. I was said during all the years, the core of the survey has always been this cultural participation part, but it is not more important in a way than the other parts. So we have in the survey a lot of questions on sports, sport participation, and then we have all kinds of hobbies, we have media, TV, radio, books, newspapers; then we have questions on holidays, travelling, restaurants, and what was new in 2002 was that we added a set of questions on social connections on people, how often they meet their family members, living in another home and the relatives, the friends, the neighbours, and that set of questions it was in another survey that was conducted two times, then it was decided that is not going to continue anymore so we thought that this is such a valuable set of questions that we want to have the same questions in our survey, so from that item we also have time series from 1987 or 1984, maybe I don't remember, something, anyway, quite a long.

But the purpose, always in this kind of statistical surveys which are very comprehensive and conducted where the sample is about the whole population, is to get the level of participation and how the level of participation is divided in different parts of the society or population.

In addition to that, there has been all different kinds of questions, we have been interested in ways of life or lifestyles, cultural taste... one important item in the last 2002 survey was the question of social capital, there was a very lively discussion about that in our society and also in science at that time. We have also -I didn't mention that-, organised these activities in different kinds of organizations, and then we have this 'social connections' in addition to those that are part of the concept of social capital, we added the questions on trust, general trust or trust on institutions, that kind of questions.

S: then would you say that the focus is more on cultural participation than in cultural consumption?

I1: what do you mean about cultural consumption?

S: well, maybe I understand cultural participation differently. Is it cultural participation when someone is part of a cultural expression by, for example, playing an instrument or being acting, or do you understand cultural participation as also being audience?

I1: yes, because these concepts can be a little bit difficult in that way, because cultural consumption can be using money or attending, so in English at least I like more to use this cultural participation. I know I also have been using this cultural consumption in that way. It's very suitable when you're talking about media studies connections so everybody understands media consumption is reading and watching and that kind of things but yes, I understand it in

a wide way. Of course we have also this 'active', we call it "active creative participation", is this kind of painting and singing and we have all these questions of course.

S: Who are the main users of the survey information you collect and analyse? Do you know to what purposes those instances use your results?

I1: I think that the main users are the Ministry [*of Culture and Education*] is one, the Ministry has always also giving money to us to conduct this survey...

S: which Ministry?

I1: Ministry of Culture and Education. They give some part of the budget and if you have time we can open the internet and see one report that will be interesting to you where you can see how the Ministry is using these results. We have of course lots of users at the university, for example in Jyväskylä, there are some people that they use it in their thesis and so on, and then we have different kind of research institutes also that are interested in, and of course media, media is always, media is very, very interested in these items.

We have this kind of system that always when we are planning this kind of survey and is conducted and analysed, we gather this expert group and at the moment we have a new group to renew this "leisure survey" and we have people from Tampere University, Helsinki University, from Tampere we have 2 people, from Helsinki we have 2 people, we collect from different disciplines, for example we have music scientists, sociologists, from Turku University we have one person that is interested in gender studies, we have sport studies, different kind of people from different instances, that we know they will use this, they are experts in the content and they are also interested in using this data later on.

S: and for example, specifically the Ministry of Culture and Education, what do you think is the main use they give to the information?

I1: also I forgot to say that in the expert group we have a person from the Ministry of Education, from the Culture section. As you know, there is a tendency at least in western countries, they talk about this evidence-based policy and also in Finland, they talked about this evidence-based policy and in Ministries often mean that they want to get this kind of indicators and what I wanted to show you but you can find it yourself in the Ministry of Education's website, in 2009 I think it was, I don't know if you know Sari Kartunen, she's working now in CUPORE, she was working in fact here at that time and they asked from the Ministry Sari and me to help them, to form the "social performance indicators" and we didn't do that, we were consulting and discussing about that with them and the report is on the website and I think it is translated in English.

S: and how is it called?

I1: let's see if I can open it, because many of those indicators of cultural consumption or participation were based on "leisure survey" and "time use survey".

-----Technical problems with the computer-----

S: maybe we can continue and look at it at the end. Are there any other bodies or policy makers apart from the Ministry of Culture that make requests for statistical studies regarding culture?

I1: no, not exactly. But about the Ministry I was about to say that they want these indicators but on the other hand there's a good feel to understand what's happening in the culture field and in the consumption and in that way they are really interested in these surveys but of course I cannot exactly tell you how in precise way they use it. In Finland we have this kind of tradition that there's a lot of connections between these bodies, for instance I'm personally in the board of CUPORE, and on the other hand there has been in CUPORE for instance this small research on these concepts of participation and all these bigger concepts concerning cultural consumption, and I was in the board of that small study and we have this expert group and then there was the Ministry, me, Sari and the director of CUPORE, but then we invited a lot of people, experts for instance from Helsinki city cultural, Helsinki city youth organization, from Turku city, and different kind of people and some people from the university so, it's a small country, we know each other and we have the tradition to work together, there are not such big barriers between like Ministry and University, like many times my British colleagues said "this could never be possible in Britain", there are so many prejudices, it's a bigger country and it's a different history.

S: Were there any specific moments when culture -and cultural surveys- started to have more weight in the public policy sphere? (for example, democratization of culture in the 60's or now that you were mentioning that recently there is more a trend of evidence-based policy).

I1: Culture has always been somehow marginal as policy, but on the other hand and during the 70's when in Finland and in other Nordic countries too, but Finland was later, building up this Nordic welfare state system, at that time cultural policy was connected to this welfare state policy and it is seen in a way as part of these basic services. But still, it is contradictory this position because on the one hand it is appreciated and on the other hand it is marginal. I think at the moment the meaning of culture is somehow understood more in the society but it's difficult, it's complicated. There are always in the society this kind of contradictory developments, for example, when you look at the big picture, economic and social policy, Finland it is nowadays more and more neoliberal, and it has meant that the structure of cultural policy created during the welfare state they are gradually and little by little ruined, very gradually, nothing really revolutionary happened yet but I have a feeling that things are not going well, in the future, I don't know, I'm not sure. Maybe now that we have quite a strong institutions in culture and cultural policy and there has been laws that has been supporting different kind of art section and the financing of them, but this neoliberal development can be seen for example in the positioning of young artists that even in the cultural policy discussion they have stressing that it must be more entrepreneurship in the culture and it sound fine but it's of course impossible, there's no money and it's a small country, in the private sector only a few can be succesful; most of the young artists that are not connected with steady institutions are living on a very low income and they are so-called not free-lancers but they try to find the money somewhere and that has been more common in the field. Of course there is also this one other reason that is not only neoliberal development, it is also that is has been too much education on culture, it was increasing in the 90's more and more education programs were created in culture and it means that too many people are getting degrees in different cultural fields and they cannot get scholarships or jobs, it's a bit difficult because of the wider political thinking, but also because of these too optimistic decisions that were made in the 90's and the people thought that these occupations are getting more and more popular and more and more this creative industry is growing.

S: Do you think that with this growth, the role of surveys changed for the policy makers?

I1: I don't know, I'm not sure. In Finland if you look at the state culture actors, like the Ministry, there are at least some people, there has never been many of those people who are interested in this surveys but there has always been some, and that hasn't changed. In general, when I look at for instance at this institution that I'm working and I know what the role of these kind of surveys has been earlier, I think that the policies have changed so they are not anymore interested in this complicated, or analysed knowledge so I'm quite critical about this indicator thinking, it kind of narrows the way in which the knowledge is understood and I think that earlier the politicians, the people working in the ministries and state offices, they regarded this kind of more deep information, more important than it is now, that is my feeling about what has changed. This has happened so quickly, people think that it should have happened quickly so they need this kind of short term knowledge and when I think about the position of our institutions is more like competing with commercial knowledge and is not anymore self-evident that this work done here, we are trying to be as trustable as possible and to use these new scientific methods and these kind of things. They are regarded us as important, it is more important to get some things, something interesting, nowadays it's so easy to conduct different kinds of surveys, on internet or whatever, you get so easily the computers and the programs are so easy to use when I compare to 20 years ago it's so different; things are complicated, there are not going only one way, there are different kind of trends, but I think the meaning of knowledge in the society is changing and the concept of knowledge, what is regarded as knowledge is also changing.

S: I think that's a valid appreciation of how knowledge now it's been used, in a less integral way and more in numbers, but not what's behind the numbers... I think that is actually one of the things that it says in this "Handbook for statistics" from UNESCO; one of the recommendations for policy makers was to go beyond the numbers...

I1: yeah, it is a global development, specially in European Union, they have been very much stressing on these indicators and that is one of the reasons, not the only, but one reason why the thinking for instance Finnish Ministries and among Finnish policy and politicians has changed.

S: actually my next question is about that: How would you describe the current situation regarding cultural surveys in Finland and in Europe? Do you think there's any predictable trend for the future?

I1: cultural surveys...? There is no cultural survey in Europe. There are only national surveys. I've been working in EUROSTAT for years proposing and trying to make EUROSTAT to understand that they need this... and there have been developing programs in culture statistics but in EUROSTAT there are so many surveys already now that I have now understood that this has been the only work we have been doing in culture in this sense. They will never start cultural participation survey, never, ever; they have been using this Euro barometer, this Gallup, they use private, they have been using that sometimes but the sampling system is what the commerce use so they cannot give any numbers or refusals for instance, and the data is very small, for every country is 1000 but in EUROSTAT they have now in one of the big surveys, EU-SILC is a survey on economic wellbeing and incomes and from now on every 6 years there will be a small section in the survey where they have maybe 2 or 3 questions on culture and maybe 3 questions on social participation and that's all.

S: I think you go one step ahead, the next question was about EUROSTAT: Recently in 2012, Eurostat included in one of their reports a cultural section -but also I read that there were these guidelines by Eurostat about how to collect cultural data but they are not followed...

I1: yes, I was involved in that and Sari Kartunen was also involved in that work. I was exactly in that cultural participation part and that is not followed but the other parts of the guidelines, is now followed. They started cultural statistics now; it has been very sporadic in Eurostat, it started in 1995 there was a series of conferences and after those conferences that were led by countries, they started a small section on cultural statistics. There was one person, one and a half person, and after that they launch first this kind of developing project called culture LEG and they made a report and after that report a couple of small groups on participation and they were working some time and Eurostat started to make these kind of cultural pocket book that they have published many times now, these small ones, and they also published some figures on cultural employment at that time. In the cultural pocket book they use whatever kind of data they can get, they don't collect new data but they used the data they could get, and that time there was an "adult education survey" that it is still going on and in the beginning of 2000 they have also some section of cultural participation but now I think it has quitted and after some years again they started this kind of developing program and it was just the report you were talking about. And now after that they got money from the commission of cultural and education for 5 years and they have now 3 or 4 people working on cultural statistics but they are working on the economic side, they are working on the employment, they're working on enterprises, they try to use the data what they have there, in the big surveys, in culture.

S: you said that Eurostat is like the closest thing to a unified system of collecting data about culture in Europe..?

I1: I don't know, Eurostat is the official body and it is lead partly by national statistics bodies so we are part of Eurostat, our office. In that way I thought that if Eurostat is collecting something, they cannot force people, the countries to collect things and most of the surveys they have are regulated, so there's the "employment survey" and the "EU-SILC" and there is this "adult education survey", etc. So in Europe it is in that way the officially most united, but I don't know, there are of course other systems too but I don't think in culture there are any better system. There are culture surveys in almost all countries but they are national.

S: If you could compare Finland with other country, for example the UK, what do you think will be the main difference in terms of the use and implementation of cultural surveys in relation to their cultural policies?

I1: that's a difficult question. I don't know about how they used it in the UK. I think in the UK they have similar kind of thing of what we have, in their survey they have culture and at least sports, I don't know about everything else.

-----End of interview-----

Interview 2 (via e-mail)

Ministry of Education and Culture

February 4, 2016

S: Please tell me your name, the institution you work for, the position you hold and for how long have you been working in this.

I2: XXXX

XXXXXX

Ministry of Education and Culture / Department for Cultural and Arts Policy.

S: What use does the Ministry give to statistical information regarding culture?

I2: The Ministry has to have statistical information (as a part of all kind of data) because of: its role to define the guidelines for national cultural policy, making strategies and plans comparing cultural policy system, arrangements and measures to those in other countries evaluating results and efficiency of cultural policy measures

S: How important are surveys on cultural consumption/participation in the development of cultural policies?

I2: They are very important. Consumption and participation is nowadays one of the main interests in cultural policy. Instead of centrally planned cultural policy we have to know more about the actual behaviour of people: how they participate cultural life, what kind of services they use, and what kind of products they are willing to pay.

S: How does the data from national or other surveys is incorporated in the development, adjustment or practice of cultural policies?

I2: We have not a strict system how to do this. There are some relevant institutions and organisations, which product the data – some of them product statistics and surveys and some of them product information based on (qualitative) research. Information and data, which the Ministry needs and would like to have, is not always available.

S: How much does the Ministry relies on indicators to modify their policies in the cultural field or in the elaboration of documents?

I2: We have to be aware that indicators to be available are often imperfect. This is in principle the case in all policies but especially in cultural policy. Cultural policy deals with – e.g. and basically on actual cultural life level – experiences, emotions and feelings. It's almost impossible to have reliable indicators to measure them. Another problem is that the impacts of culture and cultural policy arise gradually, in most cases after years and even decades. Of course there are some plain “indicators”– f.g. attendance in concerts, theatres, museums and so on –but in strict sense these are not indicators but information.

S: Who are the main providers of statistical information regarding culture at national and local level? How does the Ministry use the statistics produced by the local level?

I2: On the national level statistical information comes from the Statistics Finland. In addition there are some organisations within the cultural field, which collect and publish information about their own responsibility areas. E.g. The National Board of Antiquities (museums), Theatre Info Finland (theatre), Music Finland (music), Finland Festivals (festivals). The data, which these organisations collect, contains both national and local level. On the other hand, there is no system to collect all the data collected on local level (it would be impossible). The statistics of Statistics Finland contain some local statistics, and the Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities collect and publish also some statistics. The Ministry use all this statistics in a way or another.

S: Have there been any changes in the use of this type of information throughout the years? Were there any specific moments when culture -and cultural surveys- started to have more weight in the public policy sphere? (e.g. democratization of culture in the 60's, neoliberalism in the 80-90's).

I2: Basicly this type of information has been used throughout the years. In the era of democratization of culture the use was based on "planning ideology"- it was era (In 1970's and -80's), when cultural policy was largened by many ways. Nowadays we have to use statistics and information both in this kind of use and because of need to demonstrate social and economic efficiency of cultural policy (by the same way as other sectors in social policy).

S: Taking into consideration the shortcuts in culture and that the last "leisure survey" was done more than 10 years ago, how would you describe the current situation regarding cultural consumption/participation surveys in Finland?

I2: In administration, e.g. in the Ministry of Education and Culture, we have a constant need for actual information about cultural consumption/participation. It would be ideal to get statistics more often, e.g in periods 3-5 years. We understand that this is difficult in recent situation (e.g. Finland Statistics has had budget cuts).

S: Recently (2012), Eurostat included in one of their reports a cultural section. Do you think a unified system for collecting data in the cultural field could be achieved at EU level? And what would it be their impact in terms of cultural policy?

I2: More or less, yes, it is possible to collect data but not as a unified and reliable system. The differences between countries are remarkable when we are speaking about cultural policy systems and arrangements. But of course we have to do what's possible to do. Within the limits of comparability and reliability it would be useful to have this data as a source to compare measures in other countries.

Interview 3

(University of Helsinki)

December 18th, 2015.

S: First of all, please tell me your name, the institution you work for, and the position you hold and for how long have you been working.

I3: Ok, so my name is XXX, my affiliation is the University of Helsinki and the department of social sciences, and... is not really sociology, is social policy that I'm in, I'm a post-doc researcher, I got my PhD in 2011 and since then I've been working in different projects in cultural capital. Right now I'm working on the cultural section of newspapers but I think you're going to be more interested in my PhD study, the one on the survey.

S: Ah, ok

I3: Yeah, I think...

S: Ok, then, tell me a little bit more about this research related to surveys

I3: Yeah... well, first of all I'm going to start with questions, you know, Bourdieu... like this obviously...

S: Aha

I3: Of course you know, and so we are very interested in how Bourdieu works here in Finland, like does his theory apply here in Finland? Which is supposed to be such a cultural homogeneous country, there're no big differences, everybody is middle class, etc. So we wanted to do a big study that would emulate a little bit Bourdieu's big study about France, using the same kind of big survey, interviews, etc. And then another model we have is this British, I don't know if you know this research project, they are quite famous. This book is "Culture, class, distinction" and they have made a very Bourdieusian thing in England, in the UK. In England, being this mega class society, with this very strong elite, very strong middle class, very strong working class, they did this very big survey, household interviews and focus groups, so what we did is in this Bourdieusian framework, we copied their survey, so also to preserve comparability between Finland and the UK, because we know these guys, they're colleagues and it's really nice to talk to like "hey, in our survey, half of the people uses this kind of culture and in yours only 20%, and in our case is middle class but in yours is only high class" etc, so we wanted to compare, so what we did is that we took their survey and we translated it, we kept some items but some we tried to find the equivalent, kind of what would it be queen's yearly broadcast? What TV program would fit in Finland? Or if these guys were asking about Oasis and 'Wonderwall', like do you like or not, etc, would we translated or keep it the same?

But anyway, we tried to keep the same structure and I did my PhD this, maybe I can sort of send... well, I sent you the link yesterday to our survey...

S: Yes

I3: But this was my PhD, it was in this project, which it is called "Cultural capital and social stratification in Finland", maybe I miss one word but anyway, I can send you the link. We did a really big nationally representative household survey that have something like 1300 respondents, then we did household surveys from those respondents, we chose people that are different enough, we chose 28 and then before the survey we have done focus group interviews, around 50 focus groups interview that will help us understand how they speak about things, etc. And this was where I did my PhD. Actually mine, was about the focus groups rather than review the survey but anyway.

S: Ok... so these researches you are with whom? Or is it the university the one who is carrying out the surveys?

I3: Yes, let's say that we have a lot of funding from different bodies; do you know the Finnish academy for instance?

S: No...

I3: Is like a very big, you can check it out maybe "Suomen Akatemia", is a big funder for that, and the Helsinki University Funds, and we got the money and with that money we made the survey, is not public funds or anything.

S: Ok... and the primary objective of the survey would be to try to compare the data in Finland with...

I3: With the one in the UK, yes, but also I think the main research question will be like how is cultural capital socially stratified in Finland at this moment of time?

S: That's very interesting, I did that for my Bachelor's, for my "licenciatura" actually, but now I'm trying to do it differently... survey, but in a different perspective...

I3: Yeah, I know, I was reading at your paper...

S: Who do you think will be the primary users of the survey information you will collect?

I3: I was thinking about it and I think actually, the primary readers or the interested, are other academics, rather than policy makers, or politicians or organizations... I think is other academics.

S: Ok, and what use do you think will be... as academics, do you think academics have really an impact or some sort influence eventually...?

I3: I think not too much actually, of course, the ideal will be that the politicians would read about it but I think it's very difficult to make so large.

S: And how did the idea come up of doing this? Do you think there was a need for more statistics or more data, like hard facts about cultural consumption?

I3: I think so, in Finland nobody yet had done this kind of thing, I know that today you're going to talk to Mirja Liikanen from Tilaskokeskus and they have this, I don't remember how is called but... something like, free leisure...

S: Yeah, I think is a part of the household survey, the cultural part...

I3: Yeah, part of the household, exactly, the cultural part, they do it like whatever years? 5 years? Something like that... It's kind a longitudinal thing, but we wanted to do something different and very much in this Bourdieusian framework, and we included, of course, we checked what they were asking and are we asking so we wouldn't do the same, but we tried to make it as different as possible.

S: Ok, interesting.

How would you describe the current situation regarding cultural consumption in Finland and in Europe? and do you think there is any predictable trend for the future? Not only for the cultural consumption but for the cultural consumption surveys and collecting information about that

I3: Well first of all about the cultural consumption, have you heard about this omnivorism trend?

S: No

I3: That's a trend that speak a lot about, I think that both UK people and we noticed it, more and more people like more things, that is not anymore that the high class likes opera, the middle class likes... is not that the high class like the classical music and that the popular class likes popular music and heavy music, but rather than everybody likes everything, there is this mixing of tastes. There's also this idea that the taste doesn't come necessarily from the class, like originally Bourdieu said rather than from friends, from the workplace, people also have this individual taste and that is that omnivorousness means that specially people from this middle upper classes they have a really wide variety of tastes and activities, they cross totally social borders that are very... let's say that a CEO of a company might also like to go to karaoke to sing and relax, then he might also go to the opera, that sometimes he reads cartoons but also poems; that kind of thing. So I think that's one really important trend that is going to become more important all the time.

And then about the surveys themselves, I think that going to go... because we have noticed -and Mirja Liikkanen is going to tell you the same- that people is not answering anymore the surveys. Let's say that we, I think we send out 3000 surveys and only something like 1300 answered it, so less than half and it has gone worse all the time, because people are busy, they are not interested in filling these forms... so I think that's one thing and then another one, is that maybe perhaps more and more in the internet, this kind of electronic surveys, because I've heard that really many do it nowadays, they just put it to the internet and they are wishing more people finds it easier or more reliable perhaps.

S: Did you ask, for example for support or do you present the proposal to any kind of public institution or to the ministry of culture...?

I3: To get the funding?

S: Yeah... to try to get them involved, not only in the funding but also to know if the research could be useful for them as well...

I3: No... Actually, no...

S: Is it national level? Or it is the sample in Helsinki?

I3: We didn't do any kind of dissemination of the results, for that kind of public, no...

S: No, no, but I mean for the survey that you send the 3000, was it national or only in the area...?

I3: National, national, yeah, it was national and representative; let's say that Tilaskokeskus, which is Mirja Liikkanen employer, which in English is statistics Finland, they took care of it. They did the survey, because they have all these registers and they know exactly how to send it to different people across Finland, so the survey went all around Finland.

S: And if the survey changes from -I guess you send it by post...- to electronic version, do you think there is an interest or a good environment to continue or to make it a regular practice? A cultural consumption survey itself?

I3: Perhaps I'd say, I see there's a danger that people don't answer anymore, the survey, so maybe that's the necessary step; and the Brits for instance, our British colleagues they did the same survey but interviewing, let's say they were to the people's houses to do the survey, so it was kind of an interview because they were talking but it was a survey, they were like "do like this and do like this" so they kind of collected it manually, unlike us. And of course, there's this telephone survey, there is this wide variety of stuff.

S: Ok do you think that a unified system for collecting data in the cultural field could be achieved at the EU level?

I3: Probably it could, if there was enough of this political will; but then again, isn't that already this social sciences survey...? Do you know what it's called this SISSP? International Social Science Survey, I think it's called ISSS... and there's another one, Social Value Survey or something, there are two of these big important European data sets, and those are longitudinal, they do them every 2 or 3 years, I use them a lot for my students, if they are doing quantitative little work, they can just get the data from there and that's it. But, there's a little part on culture as well, but is not of course as big as this kind of survey that we are doing, but I think that for instance in the case of our survey, we would like to repeat it, because we did it in 2007 and we would like to do it in 2017 but there's no guarantee that we will have the fundings, because usually Finnish system is like that, the projects are funded or not, do we get the money from the funding? If not then we don't do it.

So I think it will be very important to have this kind of established cultural surveys.

S: If you could compared Finland to the UK, (I guess you're working with UK as a whole), what would you say is the main difference in terms of use and implementation of cultural consumption surveys, in relation to their cultural policies? Because I know that UK has one national survey...

I3: I have to say that I really don't know... my hunch would be that they are better in disseminating the information for policy makers. In Finland that culture is not very strong, unfortunately, I think that academics do a lot of interesting stuff but it stays there, it doesn't go outside the academia.

S: and the last one, if you have to mention someone in the UK that it'd be your equivalent, who would be?

I3: well, my equivalent I'd say could be for instance this David Wright, but if you would like someone more important, a professor, this Alan Warde, he's a big name, actually all these names in this list, they are very much what I'm doing but in the UK. I'm sure if you want to contact someone this David Wright is a good case, very friendly guy.

End of interview

Interview 4

Cultural Office Helsinki

December 18, 2015

S: Please tell me your name, the institution you work for, the position you hold and for how long have you been working in this.

I4: my name is XXXX and I work here at the Helsinki City Cultural Office as a project secretary and I've been working here almost 2 years. Mostly I work with different datas and I do researches from the field of cultural policy and I also developed our department open data and statistics.

S: does the cultural office do any kind of survey by their own initiative or do they always use data produced by other organizations or institutions?

I4: we have all sorts of data, for example data from our subsidies or from our customers' feedbacks which we collect once or twice a year or we also have data from the tickets that people have bought to our events so we can analyse that data too.

S: so you don't have one unified survey for the city of Helsinki?

I4: no, not yet. We have discussed with other culture departments, for example the city museum or the city theatre, that we should have one survey and we also have talked to Urban Facts that they could do this kind of survey for us but we don't have it yet, so probably in the future we will have that kind of survey.

S: what is the use that you give to this data that you collect, like for example the visits to the museum or the events? Do you have to make some sort of reports to someone else?

I4: yes of course, we have to report to our directors and vice mayor; our decision-making body is the Culture and Library Committee within the cultural field and in the whole city is the City Council, so we can report this data to them like this are the problems, or whatever in the cultural field, or these are the suburbs that should have more money in culture. Is like a data base management or marketing that we use data for example to get more money or something else.

S: do you know if at some point the role of statistics in this type of reports or the proposals for funding changed -maybe not in the last 2 years- but at least for the city of Helsinki?

I4: do you mean, if we have had some survey and we have showed it to the decision makers and they have gave us some money because of this report or...?

S: I'm trying to see if there's a trend of a more evidence-based policy, and I was talking to this person from Statistics Finland and he/she was telling me that there is a need for more indicators and numbers and the knowledge has changed or the way is it presented at least; before it used to be presented in a more analytical way and now are more like facts or indicator, so I was wondering if you know if the same has happened at a local level, in the case of Helsinki.

I4: yeah in the big picture it is true, what XXX has told you, the decision makers wants more, because it has been a long economic depression in Finland, and there isn't that much money like it used to be and we have to have more evidence-based, or more facts and more data so we can prove that this is important and this is what we need to have, for example this theatre or this festival here, so in that way I believe this trend is true.

S: are there any other bodies or institutions that ask for this type of information or that you report apart from the City Council? Do you have any relations with the Ministry of Education and Culture directly? Or does all work on a local level?

I4: actually yes, the Ministry of education and culture they collect, they publish every 2 years this "basic services" survey so they ask from every commune in Finland, for example what is your culture budget or how many people work in the cultural field in your commune but not so much in Helsinki because Helsinki is so big city that is like a land in a land, so the differences between for example Jyväskylä and Helsinki are so huge that it's hard to compare these cities with each other, so that's why we didn't probably have to take part that much. We mostly compare Helsinki to Stockholm or Amsterdam or other big cities in Europe but not other cities in Finland.

I can show you some data if you like. Sara probably told you when you were here that we give out grants to the cultural field, is something about 17 million per year and I did this little study a couple of years ago where we found out how our subsidies are allocated, where our grants go, so I can show you the distribution.

S: does the cultural office use some guidance in the collection of data at a European level? Some standard way of comparing?

I4: no, and that's probably a big problem, it's hard to compare Helsinki to other European cities because you can't compare it really good because of how the cities are organized, how the decision making is organized or how you get funds or where the budget comes to the cultural sector or other sectors, it's so different for example in Netherlands or Germany, so it's hard to compare for example the budget with another cities. But I believe Statistics Finland, they collect this data the same way with other European countries or EU so they can compare.

S: with the Eurostat?

I4: yes. No?

S: well that's one of the things that it was mentioned today, that it should be a European cultural survey but it's not in practice, it doesn't work basically.

I4: we have this development project that it's called "Helsinki Model" where we try to expand our cultural services within the city. *[Showing a graphic in the computer]* This is from one of our grants, this is not from Helsinki and it shows how one of our grants are given to one of our big theatre, big band or big museums in Helsinki, almost 14 million, and this is how its located in Helsinki or distributed in the south where there are a lot of these points *[points on the graphic]* it's very full the area, it's like the city centrum, that's where everything happens where are all the theatre and all the facilities for culture and that's where our money goes.

S: do you work with even more local associations? I think Sara [Kuusi] mentioned the houses of culture in different places of Helsinki...

I4: yes, we have 4 cultural houses in Helsinki.

S: how important is the data that you give to them (City council) and the feedback that you received from them?

I4: mostly I'd say that of course, we have this strategic program in Helsinki which guides what we do at the Cultural office; what other goals we have, the decision makers are the ones who set these goals. For example, that Helsinki should be more equal, differences between different areas should be over and we try to figure out, ok, that's the goal, where we are going, and now we have to think, with our services, how can we achieved these goals.

S: and how much do you rely on the surveys or on the statistical knowledge to prove that the goals are being met or that you are working to get there?

I4: very much, those are probably the only indicators we can show for the decision makers and it's always easier when you have numbers that something has changed. Of course is hard to say that this happened because we did this, but I guess in general it's impossible to say what correlates with whom or what causes what. With the statistics, they are important but we also here at the cultural office we visualised the data, like this map, if you have this data, this information as statistics, nobody wouldn't see the differences or understands, what the heck this means.

S: yeah of course, so you obviously add the professional criteria or the explanation...

I4: pardon?

S: I mean that every time you present some sort of data, you obviously also present the explanation in the sense that it's not just the numbers, or the bars... I guess it's also the explanation from the professional perspective, from someone that works in the cultural field.

I4: yes, of course.

S: Who would be the counterpart of the Cultural Office? Would it be the City Council?

I4: probably yes, or the Library committee.

S: can you tell me a little bit more about that? About the Library Committee.

I4: Cultural Library Committee? The decision making in Helsinki goes like the in the highest stage there is the City Council and under that there is the City Board and under that there are these several boards, for example Culture and Library Committee or Youth Committee. Every sector have their own board which makes the decisions, for example for subsidies the decision making body is the Culture and Library Committee and the City Council only decides from the city budget and some big decisions, but within the cultural field the Culture and Library body is the first and for most decisions body.

S: how would you evaluate if for example there was one unified body that collects cultural data in Helsinki? Do you think it would make an impact in the local cultural policy of the city of Helsinki? Do you think that would facilitate or show the importance of collecting this data or do you think it's the same if there are different sources, like the way you have been working so far?

I4: I believe that it should be one source; our aim is to have to whole rear of the culture in Helsinki or the developing issues within the cultural field because it's different for example museums or city theatres, they only focus for example the museum, in museums issues, that's how they function, they don't really like to hear what to theatre do or the philharmonic orchestra do, so there's not that much cooperation between these different departments or art institutions, so we are the connecting body between these different departments. So, yes I believe that it is important.

S: do you think the need for this type of survey is something that will eventually grow to the point that it will be created?

I4: it hard to say, probably in the future when we have... -in Helsinki will be in a couple of years this new management, the city management will changed, they will explore these current departments and there will be one field where will be all the cultural departments and all the museums, etc, so probably then. But I believe that before that we should have this view of what's the situation with culture in Helsinki, to discuss with theatres and orchestras and others cultural bodies.

S: who is going to implement these readjustments that you are mentioning?

I4: The City Council.

S: how is it that they called it?

I4: I don't know, it's johtajure something in Finnish but in English is something like leadership change. The politicians wants to have more power, they want to have majors that are elected for the positions. Our majors and vice majors are not elected for the position, they are burocrats.

S: they are assigned by someone else.

I4: yes, these vice major are going to be like ministers, they are going to be like 4 years or something in their position.

S: they will be something like federal? Are they looking to have more of a local government, more independence from the national level?

I4: no, not really but in the city they once have these fields, they were 4 fields and one field was this fun field where would be all these sports department and culture and youth department and on top of that field will be the vice major who will be elected and the politicians say that this will increase the democracy in Helsinki because the citizens will have the power to vote these vice majors.

S: do you have any relation with any city in the UK?

I4: no and yes. Actually we are part of this Eurocities community where there are other cities in Europe and I believe there are some UK cities for example Birmingham is part of these Eurocities network.

S: what does it consist to be part of this network of European cities? What do you do as a cultural office?

I4: I think that's the point of the network, people from different countries and different cities exchange information and practices. We have been doing this and it's good because it gives us what other cities benchmark; for example the Helsinki model we have benchmarked, it's like in Lyon they started in the beginning of 2000 that type of development project and we have copied it from Lyon.

S: in France?

I4: yes. We try to do what they do in Lyon in the context of Helsinki.

S: have you have any case like that with a city in the UK?

I4: Birmingham, actually at the beginning of this year we have this seminar for the Helsinki model and there was this woman from Birmingham and she had the presentation at the seminar where she told us how they do in Birmingham this developing project called "culture on your doorstep" so she told us about that and our culture director is going to Birmingham in February or March.

S: isn't true that the office change the director recently and that the other one retired? Marianna Kajantie?

I4: yeah, she was the director of Cultural Policy division, I believe that almost 3 years ago.

-----End of interview-----

Interview 5

Helsinki cultural and Library Committee

January 28th, 2016

S: Please tell me your name, the institution you work for, the position you hold and for how long have you been working in this.

I5: I'm a chairman of the, is the culture committee..? of Helsinki, I've been chair it since September, about half a year, I was a member since 2012.

S: and your full name...?

I5: XXXX

S: if you want to say a little bit more about other things related to the cultural field that you are involved with

I5: well at the moment I'm involved in the library business, so I'm president of both Finnish Library Association and Eblida which is the network computer in the Library Association, European Bureau of Library, Information and Documentation Associations, so we have actively taken part in discussions about how to develop libraries and what kind of librarians we want to have and then there's a lot of lobbying for libraries, particularly in Brussels when there's a new copyright law going on we are lobbying for copyright to allow e-books in libraries and I must say it's quite a struggle with the publishers because they're not so keen to allow the e-book in the library at all.

So I'm spending a lot of time in political discussion about culture and lobbying activities and different organizational things and so forth and I'm suffering a lot because of that I don't have time actually to take part in the cultural life. Today there is a premiere at the National Theatre and I don't have time for it.

S: yeah actually I read some of the activities you are involved and you seemed you have your hands full.

I5: yeah and I do have my day job too.

S: ok well I'm going to ask you mostly about the committee, because I'm interested in to see both sides, the side that do the statistics as well as the policy makers. In the case of Helsinki because it's local cultural policy and because it has its own dynamic, I think - correct me if I'm wrong- this committee is some sort of intermediate level in policy making...?

I5: oh well, yes, in the cultural field yes. Of course, there's the city board and the city council, they are above us and they have a right to subject to our decisions and a lot of things we pass through, we say something about it. An initiative comes from either a political side or from civil servants and we give them the (?? 4:57) and then it goes forward and the city council either listen to us or they do not, so it's up to them and then of course one more hazardous element is the deputy major, she is in charge of education and culture in the city of Helsinki

and she is introducing the things to the city council, she doesn't have to obey our will so she can change the statements, she can suggest something completely different, of course we make sure that our message will be delivered to the city council and they have of course access, all the documents are open, on open spaces except for those that are protected because of some privacy law or something, related to people's private data which are not published of course but otherwise... So, it's a complicated process.

On the other hand, we have a lot to say about who is getting city grants, who's cultural activities will be supported, we discuss about the amount of money we give to the theatre and so forth, and there a lot of that that we do.

And we have a lot to say about libraries as well, because we are library and culture board of Helsinki.

S: Would you say that there is the major, then the vice major, then the City council, then the Committees and then the Cultural office. Did I understand it correctly?

I5: yes, yes, that's basically how it is. But of course, there's always, I'd say a friendly struggle between politicians and civil servants, they have a will on their own, they want to take things their direction but actually we do have a very good work, there are a lot of areas in the city which are more difficult.

S: What use does the Committee give to statistical information regarding culture?

I5: there are many ways to use statistical information and I can't promise you that I will mention the most important but for example, when we are arguing about the cultural activities to get more money from the city budget, it gives statistical information to show for example that total budget hasn't really increased since 2007 and if it does not increase there will be no cultural activities which it had only the building and the administration but no activity inside the building, because the prices get high all the time and we are getting less and less money related to the prices or when we are talking about the new central library which is a big building, do you know where it is between railway station and the house of parliament? An empty area?

S: no.

I5: oh well that's going to be the new central library which is for the 100 anniversary of Finnish independence and mostly the project is for that, to celebrate our independence by building a new central library, and it's going to be a fancy building, 5000 visitors every day, so it's a big thing. Of course, there's a political struggle about that, that ok we have so many libraries and can we afford this? and we use the statistics to defend the library and the statistics quite clearly show that actually in Helsinki we have less library square meters per capita that in any other city so can we have some more.

Or we can have the statistics by telling that we actually have so many library visitors coming to library which is so little budget compare to Sweden for example or the total amount of libraries in Helsinki it is the same as it was in 1986, the increase in the population must be about 200 000 since that so that's one thought of statistical information we are using in political discussions. Of course we are looking at the demographics and for example when we were moving a library from a place to another and it was very sensitive thing because there was people who was very keen on the library as it was in the place and there was a lot of local activity connected to library and it's going to be moved to 20 kilometres away and people feel a lot of these activity will be out and the library director is spending a lot of time to go through different statistical information about how many people are in kilometres in radio from this

building compared to the old one, how the transport goes, how many people we have going through this metro station which is going to be next to the new library compared to the metro station that is close to the old library and so forth.

But if I think about these examples I have been giving to you, over the movements of statistical consumption, it had been the statistics to support an argument and that's the other way to approach the statistics and try to identify needs, we do make man's work, we do different cultural activities, pin down and then we think about these areas which do not have cultural activities and that's why we develop what we called "The Helsinki model" which is a way for cultural institutions to get funding if they locate their activities in those areas of the city which do not have theatres or music groups or whatever, the availability of culture. Actually, we have copied the idea from Lyon.

S: How important are surveys on cultural consumption/participation in the development of local cultural policies? For the case of the city of Helsinki of course.

I5: if the people don't come and participate, if they don't go to theatre and they don't go to concerts, if they don't come to exhibitions or museums or libraries they weren't even exist. Let's have an example, Finland is the number one in the world when it comes to library usage, we have more visitors in library and more loans than any other country in the world so is this an argument to get more funding to the libraries because they do so brilliantly? Or is this an argument to cut the budget because they are doing so fine that they could manage with a little bit less of money? I don't know, there are two edges in this war.

S: would you say that surveys are important as a tool to rely on to defend the argument of the budget that the libraries need and the cultural sector?

I5: yes, of course. They are absolutely necessary, we need them to exist and of course we need to be able to show the money we are spending is used in an intelligible way, that makes sense, that it's of some use, people gained from it, and it makes a better city. The only way to show it, it is showing the numbers. And that's why each individual cultural institution is doing so, the theatres when apply for funding they are given the number of people are coming, how many premieres, how many people are working there and so forth. So the numbers are always there but on the other hand everything we do, we are not robots having inputs, that when this statistical data is coming in we produce that kind of decision because we are free to discuss about the quality of cultural institutions and what kind of culture, how do we want to direct the city, which direction we need to take together, we are not going too much to a different field, let's say in the music branch we cannot say we need to do this kind of music, we need all the flowers to bloom but there is this level when we are talking about culture where you can judge when something is really good and when something is not that good and of course we are willing to invest on something that is potentially really good, and of course we make a lot of mistakes with that.

S: how does the data from national or other surveys is incorporated in the development, adjustment or practice of cultural policies of the city of Helsinki?

I5: well of course we are discussing about let's say when we talk about money we need the numbers, that's how it is and we compared our budget to maybe not so much to other cities at national level but for example to other big cities, well none of them is really big but they're bigger, then we have to pay attention that Helsinki is the capital city and we have to spend more money to have a national theatre, a national opera and so forth, we have cultural activities that

other cities do not have, but we also get support from the state, the national theatre for example, our support is very small, I think about €180 000 a year when they get 20 million from the state, from the Ministry of Culture.

S: for example, I know that in the city of Helsinki you use mostly the data from Urban Facts...

I5: and what is that?

S: Urban Facts I think it's part of the cultural office that used to be a research section... but in this case, would you say you use other data, at national level for example, the data produced by Statistics Finland or statistical knowledge produce by other cities? And how?

I5: well I'd say I could ask a civil servant, if I need statistics I can ask this cultural centre, can you provide me data? or I googled and I use what I find.

S: ok...

J: I don't have an official source of data which I'd use as a political decision maker. But on the other hand, our politician's job is to sort of be above the numbers, this number is indicating this and that number indicating that, that is positive information and then we have to listen to the cultural people and the cultural life, what's going on and so forth, and then we make the judgement, it's a summary of everything. It's above the numbers, it's the citizens and the civil servants and the cultural actors and so forth. So we have the power of neglect if we want.

S: ok I think that answers my next question which was: How much does the committee relies on indicators to modify their policies in the cultural field or in the elaboration of documents?

I5: which document are we talking about?

S: in general, do you rely on indicators to illustrate a point maybe in a document or to modify certain cultural policy and how much?

I5: well I think that's again maybe the job of the civil servants to write the papers we get in front of us when we start making the decisions, and when we make the decisions we either agree with what is written down or we disagree and then we rewrite it, or return it for preparation process, and that's quite common, if we agree with something, we return it and 'hey you have to rewrite this again, we don't agree with this, and this and this', so reform it so we agree.

S: by 'civil servants' who do you specifically mean? To whom are you referring to?

I5: there's an organization, the cultural centre that produces the papers we have in our board meeting. Of course the cultural director is in charge but of course there are people working for him to compose certain sections, to have a list of things coming up, a list rather long and there a lot of things and attachments, and there is the decision history that has to be organised and so forth, and then there is the rest of the city library of Helsinki who is taken part of the other for those matters that are related to library and she is using again her stats to produce whatever we

are getting to do our diagnosis; so there's a lot of professional activity behind the documents which originally have and then we have the political discussions. Like for example the case of moving a library from one place to another one; we get a lot of pressure from people who are very much imposing it, on the other hand we get a lot of messages from people who are living in the new place that are very glad to have the library there, so it's basically a political decision and if the political pressure will be too high, then maybe leave it to the old place it's ok, statistically will be better there but we also have to obey to the general will of the society.

S: ok, that sounds fair. Who are the main providers of statistical information regarding culture at national and local level?

I5: no clue. Google.

S: Have there been any changes in the use of this type of information throughout the years? Were there any specific moments when culture -and cultural surveys- started to have more weight in the public policy sphere? (e.g. democratization of culture in the 60's, neoliberalism in the 80-90's).

I5: well I wasn't there so I don't know what it's been going on within the decision making processes, but my overall impression is that the new public management strategy which were pretty much from neoliberal thinking, which started spreading in Finland maybe most effectively as a sort of solution, a suggested solution to the deep economic crisis we had in the 90's. So Naomi Klein in 'The shock doctrine' book says, she's saying that neoliberals have been using this social crisis in each one of these societies to establish a new set of liberal tools which means that everything is measured with money and there's more use of statistics and less focus in the quality of what's going on and I think that's must become more...

S: Do you think that also affects the culture?

I5: I think so, I don't know what's happening to the content of culture, I don't say there's a direct connection but I think the funding is based on, maybe. They came with the idea that objective criteria for funding and I just say it's impossible but they are trying. At the moment in the city the civil servants they want to do their jobs as objectively as possible and then we have to decide over that, you know that's free judgement. I think this combination is good because we do have the statistics, we do have the figures and all kinds of calculations but on the other hand we are free to consider

S: to negotiate...

I5: yes and of course you have to remember that the cultural board is composed of six different political parties, we have greens, we have the conservatives, I don't know how they are called in english but then there's a social democrats, the Swedish folk party, there's a communist party and there's the lefties party and we all have different cultural policies. I'm representing the greens, so of course it's a political persistence, we are arguing to one another and trying to ally with another party to have support to our line whatever it is in each one respective case.

S: Recently (2012), Eurostat included in one of their reports a cultural section. Do you think a unified system for collecting data in the cultural field could be achieved at EU

level? And what would it be their impact in terms of cultural policy? (Taking into consideration that the city of Helsinki compares a lot with other big cities in Europe...)

I5: it will make it easier to benchmark so you can really take ten European cities and compare what you are doing. The risk is of course that if you are doing something really good is very difficult to get more money if somebody else can show that 'hey, even in Paris they don't put so much money in culture per capita' so, shut up. I'd say in general would be good to have European statistical information if it's used wisely.

S: I think right now each country has their own national survey but there is not unified system in Europe for collecting data... Do you think that it could make a big impact even at local level in terms of cultural policy?

I5: I'd say it would be a tool to spreading out good ideas. It could be misused but that's the risk with all statistics.

S: by misuse you mean that they could try to compare two places that are too different?

I5: my point here is that statistical information is most important when we are talking about funding and there are people who want to increase the funding and there are people who want to decrease the funding in the political field. There are political parties who want to increase the funding and political parties who want to decrease it and there are political parties that want to use the existing funding more effectively so using statistical could be good to compare but you can always use statistics selectively so you cannot pick up a city, 10 cities in Europe which have more money for ballet and then you can't say that 'hey we are underfunding this', there's a lack of resources for this and that's why we are not the shining city here in the north when it comes to ballet and the misuse is that you can always pick up evidence from statistics that actually we are using our resources in a very actively way, we have more administration than any other city in the world or in Europe and now actually we should cut here, here and here *or* you can use statistics to defend your argument and doubled the money spent in culture because everything is so much better in any other places in Europe.

S: If you could compare Finland with other country, for example the UK, what do you think will be the main difference in terms of the use and implementation of cc surveys in relation to their cultural policies?

I5: well, of course I'm aware of every detail of British cultural policies. I know there have been huge library cuts in the UK, one third of librarians are unemployed or something like that. I remember the loans per capita are one third of Finnish loans or even less than that already, so they are not putting very much effort to make people read at the same time the illiteracy rate is going up, particularly in the UK and in general in Europe, I think one sixth of people is illiterate either completely or in practice, that is so difficult for you that you don't do it.

S: do you think the "Nordic model" the welfare state has to do with the differences in the investment in culture for example in comparison with the UK?

I5: well there have been eager funders of culture, there's a famous quotation which is maybe not originally said which is the church, and it goes without its name, and you see the way they were investing during war, civil war, they were given more money to, I don't know, city orchestra, in London, and the politicians were asking 'why do you do that?', we should focus

on war efforts and then they said "what are we fighting for then?" so that attitude has existed in Britain. Of course the Belfast state includes different supportive systems which has been locked to the arts but on the other hand I think that it is a bit case because for example one wonderful discussion with the president of the Norwegian library association once, he was kind of anxious about the fact that they are getting so little money from the state and this library association where the association for museum workers was hugely funded and then he started wonder why is this?, and we came up to the calculus that Finnish nation was developed or sort of invented in the 1860, 1870's during that time, this huge investment in culture and there was a boom of arts in the end of 19th century but the libraries, the two big institutions in the late 19th century was the Finnish library and the folk Finnish school system they both among the best in the world because they were how our nation was built. When Norway got their independence from Sweden in 1905, they built the national identity on the Viking ships they found in the ground so they were building new sail boats, that's the core of Norwegian nation and you have a house in which is a Viking ship and all the stuff they excavate from the ground to describe the glory of past Norway and this things still influence and they are a very distant past and I think that's one of the reasons why there's a will to invest in the culture so is part of the national narration. But on the other hand of course, the welfare state idea is that is part of the public sector, this taking responsibility for those sector which cannot be operated on a market based system. Like classical music, I think they earn about 20% of their money, and the rest is public, is very, very expensive art form but we see some certain value but if we give the same money to the rock bands we'd have a lot of activity I'm sure.

----- End of interview -----

Interview 6 (via email)

Urban Facts

March 7th, 2016

S: Please tell me your name, the institution you work for, the position you hold and for how long have you been working in this.

I6: XXXX, senior researcher at City of Helsinki Urban Facts (urban research) since 2008.

S: Do you have a survey to collect cultural data specifically? If so for how long has been carried out?

I6: Urban lifestyles –survey is probably closest to this field. First set of data was collected in 2012/2013. The data collection of the second one just ended and we will get the data during this month, I hope.

S: What's the primary objective of this survey?

I6: The primary objective is rather simple: to get information of different ways of living in Helsinki. The first data concentrated on living, lifestyles, consumption (especially food and eating out) and families with children. This second one on cultural consumption as well.

S: Who are the primary users of the survey information you collect and analyse? Do you know to what purposes those instances use your results?

I6: Data is mainly analysed by me and my colleague from University of Turku (Taru Lindblom). However, anyone can use the data but the permission must be applied. We have written and will write articles based on the data and of course hope that our ideas and interpretations would benefit the different inside the city organization – plus the academia of course. Who really “uses” the results and how the results of social sciences in general can be “used” is another question.

S: Are there a lot of direct subscriptions of statistical studies coming from administrators (policy makers)?

I6: Statistics are just one dimension when I think of my job as a sociologist. When I think of my projects, they are rarely born because of some direct wishes from the city administration. But on the other hand, issues I’m dealing with are strongly linked with strategy of the city. And sometimes, of course, some special information is needed. However, I’m not doing these so often but I know that some of my colleagues are. And there are another 20 people or so working at the statistics unit of City of Helsinki Urban Facts. I represent the urban research unit; there’s a big difference in our case.

S: Were there any specific moments when culture -and cultural surveys- started to have more weight in the public policy sphere or more demand? (e.g. democratization of culture in the 60's, neoliberalism in the 80-90's).

I6: I don’t know. I am not an expert in this field. However, maybe you want to read this one: <http://www.kvartti.fi/en/articles/how-helsinki-became-trailblazer-urban-culture>

S: In your opinion, how much of this data is incorporated in the development or adjustment of local cultural policies in the city of Helsinki?

I6: I can’t answer this either. In general level, research-based data should be used more. So we researched must present results in different forms. There’s no use to publish only scientific papers. That is why we have this Kvartti/Quarterly etc.

S: Do you collaborate with other institutions (e.g. University of Helsinki) or make use of data produced by other for your work?

I6: Yes of course. Currently I work closely with University of Turku (economic sociology).

S: Helsinki usually compares itself with other cities around Europe instead of other cities within Finland. Which would you say are the main differences in the application of

cultural surveys between Helsinki and other European cities in relation to their cultural policies?

I6: I can't answer this one. I don't know enough about the cultural surveys in other cities.

S: Recently (2012), Eurostat included in one of their reports a cultural section. Do you think a unified system for collecting data in the cultural field could be achieved at EU level? And what would it be their impact in terms of cultural policy?

I6: Of course anything can be achieved if there's a will. In these case, cultural field is so huge and identifying the limits is the biggest problem and cultural differences do not help. So creating common unified systems and methods is possible but very, very, difficult.