

**IMPACT OF INSTITUTIONAL WORK ON
INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE, BOUNDARIES AND
PRACTICES WITHIN THE CREATIVE ECONOMY
CASE: JYVÄSKYLÄ, FINLAND**

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ABSTRACT

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Abstract	
<p>This study aims to explore psychological factors that determine behavioural adaptive mechanisms (equivocal instances of agency) of the key creative industry actors (cultural managers) in creation, maintenance and disruption of cultural institutions in the municipality of Jyväskylä through the lens of "institutional work" theory. Examination of boundaries and practices of key cultural industry institutions (both private and public) provides additional clue on the state of local creative industry development.</p> <p>Study covers such theoretical frameworks as "institutional work", "boundary work", "practice work", "creative economy", "creative industry", "cultural industry" and aims to analyse differences between public and private institutions within the CCI sector in their approach towards institutional change, boundary work and practice work, as well as institutional work. This study provides a unique and novel perspective on the interplay of boundary work and practice work within the creative and cultural industry (CCI).</p>	
Keywords: Institutional change, institutional work, boundary work, practice work, creative industry, creative economy, locus of control, strategy, psychology	
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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background, motivation and aim of the study

Foundation of the First Industrial Revolution was laid in late 18th and early 19th century through a radical shift from predominantly agricultural rural manual labour to industrialized automated production and mechanical manufacturing utilizing power of heated water through invention of a “steam engine”. Second Industrial Revolution enabled mass production and manufacturing through the adoption of electricity. The Third Industrial Revolution started from a spread of digitization. The 21st century pushes the World’s economy through a transformation process with advanced development of new technologies, such as artificial intelligence (AI), robotics, internet of things (IOT), genome editing, autonomous transportation, 3-D printing, nanotechnology, biotechnology, quantum computing, virtual reality (VR), augmented reality (AR), etc., and due to its rapid exponential development pace, has already been referred to as a Fourth Industrial revolution (Schwab, 2015), by bringing together digital and biological systems. Being a theme at the World Economic Forum (WEF) Annual Meeting 2016 in Davos-Klosters, Switzerland the discussion related to advance of technology has led to creation of a Centre for the Fourth Industrial Revolution in San Francisco, which, also became a major narrative of a book: “The Fourth Industrial Revolution” written by the founder and executive manager of the WEF Klaus Schwab in 2017.

In the age when technology commodifies a vast number of previously human dominated industries we eventually can end up in the place where machines are able to do better job in calculation, manufacturing, transportation, etc. , potentially becoming the largest disruptive economical and technological shift in human history, replacing up to 800 million jobs in the next 20-30 years, according to WEF’s frequent visitor – Jack Ma (co-founder and executive chairman of Alibaba Group). Jack Ma emphasises the importance of service industry in the near future and highlights the need to pay close attention to inclusion of soft skill-based education system that would allow development of such skills as: independent and critical thinking, team work, care for others, as well as arts, music and creativity. Wisdom is another trait that hardly can be perfected by technology, making humans superior in the human against machine race, according to Alibaba’s CEO. Fundamentally, we look at a skill set that differentiates humans from machines and focuses on development of those skills that robots and artificial intelligence would struggle to compete with humans in.

Lead by Oxford University future employment research estimates that in the course of next 14-15 years up to 47% of jobs in the US could be replaced by machines, and with likelihood of the same outcome for at least 35% of jobs in the UK respectively (Frey et al., 2013). At the same time, published by NESTA (National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts) study "Creativity vs. Robots" shows, that the creative sector seems to be more resilient towards the advance of technology with 87% of creative jobs in the UK, and 86% of creative jobs in the USA having a low level or risk to be wiped out by automation (Bakhsi et al., 2015). Indeed, if we think of a service industry that combines both vast application of soft skills and need for constant creativity and innovation, which has a potential to fuel global economy in 21st century we could take a look at the industry that gives jobs to nearly 30 million people worldwide (1 person in every 100 people), generating 3 percent of the world's GDP (nearly \$2.25 trillion in revenue by year 2013) and which performs even better than global telecommunications (around \$1.57 trillion) and exceeds GDP of such countries as India, Russia and Canada – Cultural and Creative Industry (CCI), which unites 11 key industries: visual arts, performing arts, radio, music, publishing (books, newspapers, magazines), film, television, architecture, gaming and advertisement (Lhermitte et al., 2015).

Carried out under the implementation plan for Analysis, Assessment and Research for 2018 (tietokayttoon.fi) by the Finnish Government (under the leadership of the Prime Minister's Office) a 155 pages study: "In search of Finnish creative economy ecosystems and their development needs – study based on international benchmarking" aimed at reviewing the status of domestic creative economy ecosystem development as well as benchmarking creative economy focused models and policies in the Republic of Korea (South Korea), the United Kingdom and the Netherlands and as a result provides: "recommendations on how to support cross-sectoral use of creative competencies in ecosystem development in Finland" (Oksanen et al., 2018). The domestic part of the study focused on review of literature and statistical data coming from 2010 Facts Sheets on creative economy in Finland as well as brainstorming workshop sessions among key performers in creative economy of Finland as well as conducting of semi-structural interviews with 22 interviewees which led to summary of main strengths and weaknesses of creative economy of Finland.

Considering the growing understanding of importance of CCI for global economy's development, following up with the recent study lead by the Finnish Government, the aim of this particular study is to better understand as well as present a brief overview of a CCI impact on local communities as well as explore the boundaries and practices of leading CCI institutions in the municipality of Jyväskylä to see how CCI is developed on a local level and how it can benefit domestic economy, following the global examples. In this study we aim to analyse local CCI environment and understand challenges, needs and struggles, reasons for success or failure as well as propose a vision of what can be done better,

as well as understand how to increase efficiency and productivity of local CCI through analysis of internal and external processes within CCI institutions through grounded theory and theoretical concept of institutional work.

1.2 Creative and cultural industries

Creative or cultural industries as a term has been around for at least past 20 years and most commonly was used to include such industries as: music, film, dance, theatre, heritage and visual arts, etc. (Newbigin, 2018). On a more general scale in recent research creative industries were referred to as economic activities that are involved in the process of creation or exploitation of information and knowledge. In some cases it has been referred to as the cultural industries (Hesmondhalsh, 2002) or even creative economy (Howkins, 2001), which later became known as “Orange Economy” in the Caribbean as well as in Latin America (Buitrago & Duque, 2013). For the time being there is a range of definitions and approaches as to what can be referred to as to creative industries and economy.

The rise of interest towards creative industries has been caused by its increasing influence on economies of various states, providing employment to a large number of people worldwide. It has been argued that if the oil was seen as a dominant resource of the 20th century, creativity and innovation are going to fuel the 21st century, which brings light to the question of importance of policy making and legislation adjustment to fulfil needs of creative industries in the rapidly developing age of information and knowledge-based economies (Newbigin, 2018). Despite its increasing value and importance for the global economy, there were no attempts to officially measure the actual impact of the creative industry on the economy by any government. First attempt to do so is registered to as an initiative from the Labour government of the UK in 1997. Based on the 1994 Australian government study “Creative Nation” and advice of leading creative entrepreneurs the Department for Culture, Media and Sport made first assessment of the creative industries in the UK back in 1998 (Newbigin, 2018). It was also recognised as a first of its kind comprehensive analysis of the economic impact of creative sector on the general economic wellbeing of the country. The definition of creative industries that has been adopted at that point stated: “Creative industries - comprise of industries that engage individual creativity, talent and skills that potentially able to generate wealth and create jobs through production and exploitation of intellectual property” (DCMS. 1998). Alongside with the definition, the DCMS included following industries into the core of creative industries, which were later revisited during 2001 creative industries mapping:

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Advertising; | 8. Leisure software; |
| 2. Antiques; | 9. Music; |
| 3. Architecture; | 10. Performing arts; |
| 4. Crafts; | 11. Publishing; |
| 5. Design; | 12. Software; |
| 6. Fashion; | 13. TV and radio. |
| 7. Film; | |

The mapping study was an approach to understand which activities within creative sector actually can be included into the creative industries and how do they contribute to the economy of the country as well as what issues they faced (DCMS, 1998). The definition and industry division gained a portion of criticism at the same time, whereas critics would argue that study made no differentiation between those businesses that generate intellectual property value (typically SMEs with as much as 25 – 500 employees) or even micro-businesses (with less than 10 employees) and large, heavily-capitalized, transnational conglomerates, companies and corporations who benefitted from owning and exploiting intellectual property rights, and which to a larger degree can hardly be described as such that operate within the creative framework (Newbigin, 2018). Despite the differences in the types of ventures they were both included into the “creative industries” list by the DCMS. Originally revisited mapping in 2001 revealed that creative sector was producing twice as much jobs as the underlying rate of the UK economy as a whole (Newbigin, 2018). In a later study on creative economy the initial DCMS list was revisited and few additional industries were included (Howkins, 2001):

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Advertising; | 9. Performing arts; |
| 2. Architecture; | 10. Publishing; |
| 3. Art; | 11. R&D; |
| 4. Crafts; | 12. Software; |
| 5. Design; | 13. Toys; |
| 6. Fashion; | 14. Games; |
| 7. Film; | 15. TV and radio; |
| 8. Music; | 16. Video games. |

From this list we could see that toys, video games, art, R&D has been added to the initial DCMS list (Howkins, 2001). Later on such sectors as education with both public and private services were seen as such that belong to the creative industries (Kultur & Kommunikation for Nordic Innovation Centre, 2007). Despite of different perspectives and opinions on what is to be called creative industries, it has been obvious that creative industries are recognized as increasingly important to economic well-being, whereas human creativity is seen as an ultimate economic resource (Florida, 2002).

If on the edge of the 19th century we could see the importance of industrialization as a forefront of economical development, already in the 21st century in

the era of information it is already about generation of knowledge through creativity and innovation (Landry et al., 1995). On the individual level creative industries has been recognized to have an “irreducible core” which synthesised the idea of “exchange of finance for rights in intellectual property” (Lash et al., 1994), which in essence in many ways echoed the definition by DCMS made in the UK in 1998. In a later mapping of creative industries the initial 13 sub industries were boiled down to 9 major ones (DCMS, 2015):

1. Advertising and marketing;
2. Architecture;
3. Crafts;
4. Design: product, graphic and fashion;
5. Film, TV, video, radio, and photography;
6. IT, software and computer services;
7. Publishing;
8. Museums, galleries and libraries;
9. Music, performing and visual arts;

1.3 Institutional work as research framework

This master's thesis is related to the field of "institutional work" (Thomas Lawrence, Roy Suddaby, 2006) as well as "boundary work" (Gieryn, 1983, 1999). Study aims to understand "how" and "why" institutional work occurs and with what effect (Zietsma et.al., 2010) as well as reveal institutional boundaries and practices of the key institutions within the cultural industries ecosystem which are involved in the development of the cultural landscape of the Jyväskylä city.

The core element of the study is an "institution" itself. In the earlier research institutions has been identified as enduring social patterns (Hughes, 1936) that undergo through periods of change and stability (Tolbert and Zucker, 1983; Scott, 2011), later on.

Theory of the study covers understanding and application of "institutional work", "boundary work", "practice work". Such approach can be used in addition to support more independent nature of the research and by following inductive logics reveal new insights rather than trying to confirm or deny already existing theoretical background or framework by analysing collected data based on semi-structural interviews. Formation of "interesting propositions" (Davis M.S. 1971) may be addressed as a viewpoint of the study;

Institutions are characterised as a set of rules, norms and beliefs that describe reality for the organization, explaining what is and what is not, what can be acted upon and what cannot (Hoffman, 1999). Institutional work describes the practices of individual and collective actors aimed at creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions (Lawrence et. al.2011). Institutional work based on a systematic examination of allied empirical research (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006);

Based on the theory of Institutional work this study explores also, concepts of boundaries and practices as well as boundary work and practice work. Recursive relationships between these categories can be better seen in the figure 1 (Zietsma and Lawrence, 2010).

1.4 Goals and research questions

Focus of the study is pointed towards cross-institutional boundaries and practices of cultural industries institutions (both public and private bodies) in the city of Jyväskylä as well as analyse current creative economy infrastructure of the city, discover specifics of institutional work within the studied institutions and understand what prevents cultural sector from greater success and what can be done better in order to support the growth of the sector, through studying case institutions, international benchmarking studies.

Research question 1: “How boundaries and practices within key cultural industries institutions of Jyväskylä city are created, maintained and disrupted?”;

Research question 2: “How does interplay of boundary work and practice work in studied CCI institutions impact institutional change and stability?”

Research question 3: “What prevents even greater success of regional CCI institutions and what can be done to support future growth of the sector?”

First research question is focused on basic categories of institutional work theory, specifically practices and boundaries. Studied CCI institutions of Jyväskylä city are examined in regards to how they create, maintain and disrupt practices and boundaries within themselves. Second research question aims at filling the gap in institutional work research and explore the interplay of boundary work and practice work within studied CCI institutions. Institutional change and institutional stability are viewed from the perspective of interplay between boundary work and practice work.

Third research question aims to reveal possible challenges and highlight factors that prevent studied CCI institution’s actors to achieve even greater success and what can be done in order to help the cultural sector grow based on international benchmarking data as well as examination of local examples of cross-institutional collaboration between cultural industries institutions from both public and private sectors.

1.5 Thesis composition

Chapter 1 This master's thesis comprises of eight sections. The first chapter of the thesis provides introduction and a background of the study as well as highlights motivation and objectives of current research as well as description of a broader research context and highlights previous research conducted on this subject.

Chapter 2 contains a discussion of the literature on creative and cultural industries. I review previous studies to develop an understanding of the current body of knowledge. Furthermore, I identify thematic demarcations of prior research and present them accordingly.

Chapter 3 discusses the theoretical framework of the study. I review the Institution work research, with a focus on boundaries and practices.

Chapter 4 presents the research data analysis and methodology employed in this study, discussing the grounded theory. This chapter also includes descriptions of the data collection process and the development of the data structure.

Chapter 5 presents research findings represented by first-order categories that are united by higher level 2nd order themes, which shape more general aggregate dimensions. The chapter contains a wide range of informative quotes from interviewees.

Chapter 6 introduces the developed theoretical model. The key concepts and their interrelationships are presented.

Chapter 7 offers a discussion of the study. Theoretical contributions and practical implications are presented. Suggestions for future research in the same area are provided. The section concludes with a brief discussion of the limitations of the study.

Chapter 8 concludes the master's thesis.

2 CREATIVE ECONOMY IN FINLAND AND THE WORLD

2.1 From Creative industries to creative economy

After 20 years of being publicly debated and studied - the concept of “creative industries” has been recognised as important by nearly every government in the world. Original term of “creative industries” seemed to miss represent non-creative jobs within creative sector, thus, a more unifying term “creative economy” was adopted (Newbiggin, 2018). In 2008 United Nations published a “Creative Economy report”, which underlines that growth of creative and cultural industries has been noticed on every continent in both Northern and Southern hemispheres under that stimulates generation of intellectual capital and has a potential to create new jobs, generate income and facilitate national exports (Santos-Duisenberg et al., 2008).

With the UK being at the forefront of policymaking and research of the creative industries, a comprehensive statistics is available, which provides better understanding of the impact that creative industry has on the countries’ economy. According to the latest statistics by DCMS, in the year 2016 creative industries employment increased by 5%, with at least 2 million people employed as creative workers and at least 3.04 million people employed, representing creative roles in non-creative organisations. UK creative industries services export increased by 44.3 % between 2010 and 2015.

With such industries as telecoms, tourism, sports and even gambling CCI export services in the UK were estimated at the level of £38.2 billion in 2015 alone. As for CCI goods, the export reached £27.3 billion worldwide. Both CCI services and goods in the UK generated £87.4 billion in value. CCI in the UK also demonstrate fastest growth rate in comparison with other sectors of the economy (DCMS, 2017). For better understanding of UK’s creative industries we could look at DCMS recent visualisation chart representing basic values of the domestic CCI statistics:

The UK Creative Industries

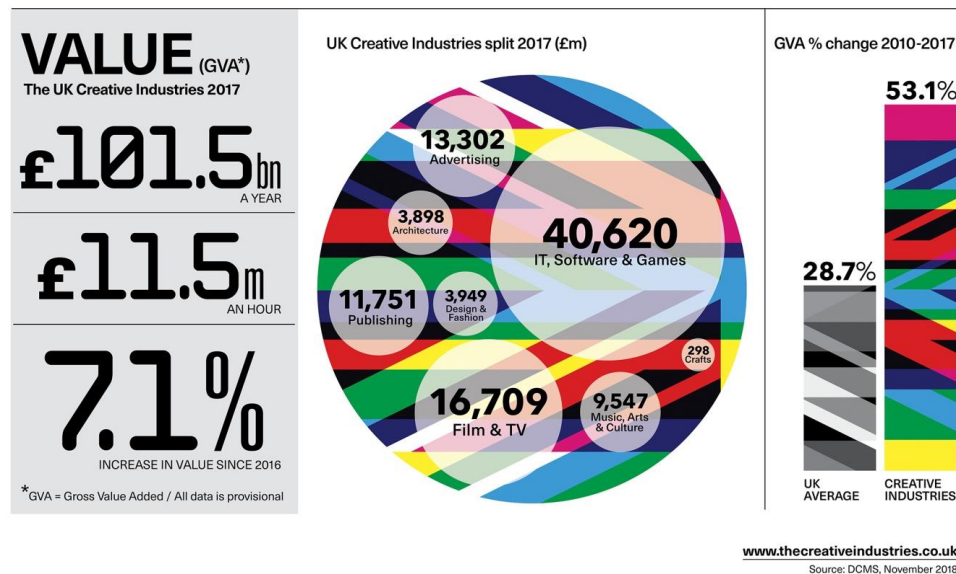


Figure 1. CCI value in the UK in 2017. (CIC, 2018)

From Figure 1 we can see that the Gross Value Added (GVA) of the Creative Industries in the UK in 2017 alone increased by 7.1% compared to the year 2016 and was estimated on the level of £101.5 billion, which constitutes for £11.5 million an hour contribution to the British economy. Within the 7 year window of observation and calculations from 2010 to 2017 the UK government found out that the GVA of creative industries outperformed the UK's average and was estimated in proportion of 28.7% of average general GVA to 53.1% of creative industries respectively, which is almost two times larger.

The distribution of GVA between contributing industries was estimated as follows:

1. IT, Software & Games : £40,620 million;
2. Film and TV : £16,709 million;
3. Advertising : £13, 302 million;
4. Publishing: £11,751 million;
5. Music, Arts and Culture: £9,547 million;
6. Design and Fashion: £3,898 million;
7. Architecture: £3,898 million;
8. Crafts: £298 million.

According to United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), between 2003 and 2001 the worldwide production of creative goods and services grew by 134%, showing a 15% annual growth during the accounting

period. In 2015 the 11 creative economy sectors generated \$2.250 billion (World Bank, 2015).

Different countries and areas have their own perception of what exactly should be included into creative industries and how they should be understood. Hong Kong for example, approaches its policy making with a focus on a copyright ownership in the value chain, which can be recognized as an influence of the World Intellectual Property Organisation's (WIPO) definition, according to which creative industries are divided on the bases of who owns the copyright during production and later distribution of creative content.

In Latin America and the Caribbean creative industries were defined as: "group of linked activities through which ideas are transformed into cultural goods and services whose value is determined by intellectual property" (Felipe et al., 2013) and have been denominated as Orange Economy by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). The Peoples Republic of China has recognized the importance of intellectual property assets generation over manufacturing of physical goods and widely discussed policy of shifting from "made in China" towards "designed in China" in its 11th Five-Year plan (Newbigin, 2018). In Singapore creative industries are seen as major contributors to the economy and employed over 75,000 people in 2013 (MOE Singapore, 2017).

To sum up the general understanding of what creative industries, cultural industries, creative economy stand for, we can look at some of the most common definitions suggested by different researchers in both public and private sectors:

Author	Definition
Lash & Urry, 1994	Creative industries have an "irreducible core" which correlates with "the exchange of finance for rights in intellectual property".
DCMS, 2001	Creative Industries are "those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property".
Howkins, 2001	Creative industries comprise of advertising, architecture, art, crafts, design, fashion, film, music, performing and visual arts, publishing, toys, games, TV, radio, video games, research and development in science and technology.
Hesmondalgh, 2002	Creative industries, cultural industries or creative economy refer to those that: "create texts or cultural artefacts and which engage in some form of industrial reproduction".
Kultur & Kommunikation for Nordic	Creative industry among others, also include: education industry, including public and private services.

Innovation Centre, 2007	
Newbigin, 2010	“Creative economy - weaves together economic and cultural values.”
DCMS, 2015	“Creative Economy - includes the contribution of those who are in creative occupations outside the creative industries as well as all those employed in the Creative Industries.”; “Creative Industries – subset of the Creative Economy which includes only those working in the Creative Industries themselves (and who may either be in creative occupations or in other roles e.g. finance)”. Creative industries comprise of: advertising and marketing, architecture, crafts, design (product), graphic and fashion design, film, TV, video, radio and photography, IT, software, computer services, publishing, museums, galleries, libraries, music, performing and visual arts.
Oksanen et al., 2018	“In Finnish policy making, the contribution of creativity to economic development has been framed especially through three terms; creative industries, creative economy and intangible value creation.”
Cambridge Dictionary, 2019	“Creative Industry - based on work in which <u>original ideas</u> are important, such as work in the arts or the media, in designing computer software, etc.”.

Table 1 . Most common definitions of CCI and Creative economy

As we can see from the Table 1 there is yet no single definition of creative industries, however, most of the definitions revolve around the idea of recognizing intellectual property as a main “product” for trade in the industry. Production, utilization, commercialization, trade are all parts of the lifecycle of intellectual property within the most common definitions of creative industries.

2.2 Creative industries in Finland

Conducted in 2018: “In search of Finnish creative economy ecosystems and their development needs – study based on international benchmarking”, report published through the Prime Minister’s Office analysed the status of Finnish creative economy infrastructure development as well as conducted international benchmarking of creative economy dedicated models and policies in the Republic of Korea (South Korea), the UK and the Netherlands, as countries that were identified by the research team, as leading internationally in terms of creative economy policy and infrastructure development. Study also involved individual interviews with 22 representatives of creative economy in Finland as well as used

available statistical sources in order to analyse and better understand Finnish creative economy ecosystem. The research divided creative activities into several categories (Oksanen et al. 2018) :

- Creative and cultural products;
- Creative content;
- Creative services;
- Creative environments and platforms.

Study defined creative economy as a combination of both creative industries and creative work (Higgs et al., 2008). Creative industries deal with a range of economic activities involved in generation and exploitation of creative and immaterial competencies, which means that creative industry has a non-creative jobs and creative work is performed in a non-creative sector as well (Oksanen et al., 2018). Overall, economic growth in Finland as well as employment is largely dependent on strength of its export industry. International competitiveness of creative sectors as well as developing collaborations within the sector between creative and non-creative competencies is crucial for further growth of creative industries. Creative industries are among the most dynamic sectors of the economy and most of the activities within the sector are project based (Oksanen et al.,2018).

In creative sectors value is usually created in the network of several actors of different backgrounds who tend to bundle together due to the limitations in their size, thus nowadays there is a need for collaboration facilitation between different actors, to ensure future growth of the Finnish economy, as currently from the business perspective domestic creative eco-system is limited.

However, today digital channels of distribution enable global scalability of several creative categories, such as cultural and creative products (in the realm of music business), creative content (in the realm of media) as well as creative environments (mainly gaming industry). The opportunities for scalability of these sectors depend heavily on internationalisation and new networks (Oksanen et al., 2018).

Creative sectors of Finland were reviewed extensively last time back in 2010 (Luovata Fact Sheets), however much has changed since that time within creative industries and creative markets, thus for better understanding of current state of Finnish creative economy an up-to date creative sector review has to be made. Based on identified major categories of creative activities the 2018 study revealed summary of key creative sector categories (Oksanen et al., 2018):

Category	Number of actors	Turnover (€ 1000)	Number of creative employees	Creative intensity	Number of exporting firms	Exports (€ 1000)
Creative and cultural products	3 954	583 199	4 983	53%	15	23 945
Creative content	2 871	3 663 245	11 223	52%	11	10 173
Creative services	10 071	2 562 860	12 666	64%	1	65
Creative environments and platforms	7 079	8 733 445	26 236	61%	64	37 111
Other	1 432	740 554	438	11%	33	35 980
Total	25 407	16 283 303	55 546	56%	124	107 274

Table 2. Summary of creative sector in Finland.

From Table 2 we can find out that category of creative environments and platforms (mainly within gaming industry) as the largest by number of employees sector generated the biggest turnover of €8 733 445 mln and also accounted for the largest amount of export. At the same time category of creative content has generated the least amount of export revenue. This category also features least number of employees involved in the sector. Having a strong gaming manufacturing scene provides solid grounds for growing the export based on the high level of flexibility and scalability of the sector.

Apart from providing information on major categories and estimates of both turnover and exports, study revealed facts about employment rates in Finland within the creative sectors 2011-2015 (Oksanen et al., 2018):

Creative industries workforce in Finland is heavily concentrated in the Greater Helsinki area, with at least 57% employment in the region of Uusimaa. Export growth is limited to software and gaming industry mostly. Digitalization has re-shaped distribution of certain creative products (music business, music publishing, etc.). Most of others act mainly nationally with limited resources and lack of potential for internationalization and growth (Oksanen et al., 2018). Four main categories of creative economy made it through a qualitative analysis (strengths and weaknesses identification) based on insights from creative industries stakeholders (Oksanen et al., 2018):

If to look at statistical data representing Finnish creative economy companies with over €12 000 in annual export volume, we could notice dominance of companies related to creative environments and platforms (software and gaming companies) in the year 2015 (Oksanen et al., 2018) :

The estimates provided in the study are based on 2010 to 2015 data and alternative but more up-to date study has to be conducted in order to see the creative economy tendencies in a rapidly changing and developing environment of global economy.

Finland's creative economy has been reviewed extensively in course of the year 2010 (Luovata alat Fact Sheets), however since then a significant change has taken place within the creative economy. In order to enable efficient policy-making and design , an up-to date overview of activities as well as actors and development needs in the creative sectors has to be made (Oksonen et al., 2018).

The impact of creative sector on local economy has not been conducted, thus detailed information about contribution of the creative industry on the region is missing.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Institutional theory

For a long time organisations were studied and analysed from the point of view of institutional theory (Lawrence, Suddaby, Leca, 2011). In the core of its own definition, Institutional theory focuses on deeper and more resilient elements of social structures. It tries to reveal processes by which social norms, routines and rules shape expected social behaviour (Scott, 2004). Different researchers described institutions in various ways, from approaching the last ones from being such that has “no single and universally agreed definition of an ‘institution’ in the institutional school of thought” (Scott, 1995) to being “a widely accepted theoretical posture that emphasizes rational myths, isomorphism and legitimacy” (Scott, 2008). Building on the top of this believes further research emphasised tendencies of organisations to look to their peers for cue to appropriate behaviour, rather than optimizing their decisions, practices and structures (Marquis et. al., 2016). In order to survive organisations, have to comply with the rules and beliefs of the environment (DiMaggio et.al.,1983; Meyer et.al., 1977), as institutional structural and procedural isomorphism will earn the organisation legitimacy (Suchman, 1995). In general institutional perspective contributed heavily to macro-sociological understanding of how organisations operate, relate to each other and are structured, however, at the same time, concepts of institutionalization, institutional change,, and institutional logics – have focused on the macro dynamics of fields, such as process, through which large –scale social and economic changes occur (Lawrence et.al., 2011).

3.2 Institutional work

Theoretical framework of this particular study, however, shifts its attention from “institutional theory” to “institutional work”. Being fairly young theoretical concept, developed by Thomas Lawrence and Roy Suddaby, the concept refers to “broad category of purposive action aimed at creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions” (Lawrence, Suddaby, 2006). Concept can be dissected and viewed in the light of its components as “institutions” and “work”. Institution as a component can be seen as one that affects individual and collective beliefs and behaviours through providing cognitive and emotional templates and effect their actions (DiMaggio et.al., 1991; Meyer et.al., 1977; Scott. 2001), as well as nonconformity with which is associated with some kind of cost (DiMaggio et.al., 1983; Jepperson, 1991).

Institutional work as a theoretical framework focuses more on how individuals’ active agency affects institutions, rather than tries to explore processes

through which institutions govern action (Lawrence et.al., 2009). Among other applications of institutional work framework, it has been examined in the light of environmental governance, where it has been applied to analyse interactions between actors and institutional structures that produce flexibility and stability in governance systems (Beunen, 2016). Institutional work as a theoretical concept rejects to focus only on “successful” examples of institutional change, instead it highlights institutional entrepreneurship that produce new practices, structures and regimes (Garud et.al. 2002; Greenwood et.al.,2006; Maguire, 2004) and social transformations that spawn new logics (Suddaby et.al., 2005), which makes it different from the traditional points of view (Lawrence et.al., 2004). Another aspect of the concept is that it departs from widely adopted innovation that it affects a new normative order or taken-for-granted status quo (Hinings et.al., 1988; Tolbert et.al.,1983).

One of the core components of institutional work is work itself, which is seen as a sum of efforts of individual and collective actors to cope, transform or create institutional structures, which assigns them their roles, routines, relationships and resources (Lawrence et.al., 2011). Most importantly, it is based on systematic examination of allied empirical research (Lawrence et.al., 2006) and developed notion of what might be involved in developing a research framework of the idea itself (Lawrence et.al., 2009). Despite the fact that organisational research is primarily concentrated with work organisations, the notion of work itself has received relatively little attention (Barley et.al., 2001). Concept of work can be expressed, also, through notions of intentionality and effort (Lawrence et.al., 2011). The most common view on institutionalism in regards to institutional work can be associated with so called “projective agency” (Emirbayer et.al., 1998), which emphasises future-oriented intentionality and conscious reshaping social situations.

At the same time the concept of “effort” has been given very little attention in organisational research, though it is so close to the daily experience of organisation’s actors. The concept of work implies a connection between effort and goal (Oxford English Dictionary, 2007), therefore Institutional work would involve physical or mental effort set to affect separate institutions or group of institutions (Lawrence et. al., 2011). Interest of institutional work is reflected in “the myriad, day-to-day equivocal instances of agency that, although aimed at affecting the institutional order, represents a complex *mélange* of forms of agency – successful and not, simultaneously radical and conservative, strategic and emotional, full of compromises and rife with unintended consequences” (Lawrence et. al., 2011).

There for in this study we will examine instances of agency showcasing different behavioural expressions of major creative industry actors to see how their agency contribute to creation, disruption and maintenance of CCI institutions in Jyväskylä. In this particular study we also take benefit from utilizing empirical data that was gathered though semi-structured interviews with cultural managers (actors in the field of culture in Jyväskylä municipal area) as well as

conduct analysis of a field experiment that involved several cultural institutions from both public and private sectors. In the course of conducting interviews with actors that represent both public and private cultural institutions we were examining both goals and efforts if these actors in maintaining and disrupting cultural institutions. The prerequisite of the interview became idea that institutional work highlights notion that individuals actively engage in processes of institutional creation, maintenance, disruption and change (Lawrence et.al., 2011), which turns to contradiction with traditional organisational institutionalism, where category of individual has mostly disappeared (Greenwood et.al., 2008).

Speaking of individual in institutional writing that has taken individual as an object of research has positioned the concept itself as a product of Western rationality thought, where individual emerges from structure of mass education (Thomas et.al., 1987). It would be fair to add, that in the context of institutional research the more intimate relationship between institutions and individuals appeared already in the 1970s, when formation of habituated actions under conditions of repetitiveness were described, which leads to formation of nucleus of incipient institutions (Berger and Luckman, 1967). Later in the 21st century, focus shifted from conceptualization of relationship between individual and institutional towards act of “thinking institutionally” (Hecllo, 2008), which according to the author provides individuals to think and act in a way that allows them to “transcend the totalizing cognitive influence of institutions” in the context of civil society.

At the same time we can see stream of researched concerned with oppressive nature of institutions and ability of individuals of a subject positions that they occupy in society are able to better than others resist and even challenge the conforming pressure of institutions due to the high social status of the individual or on the contrary coming from a lower social position (Battilana, 2006). As a result of life experience interacting with institutions individuals collect “institutional portfolio” that differentially grant both access and influence to social institutions (Viale et.al., 2009). On the behavioural level though, it was noted that perception of actions undertaken by people on behalf of organisations are seen as of more credence and legitimacy in comparison with individuals acting on their own (Zucker, 1977). Attention towards individuals and their actions have been also covered from the standpoint of their (individual’s) ability to alter or reproduce institutionalized patterns of behaviour (Barley, 1986). Better understanding of institutional work can largely contribute to many fields of Scandinavian research or even extend those that focus on sense making and translation (Boxenbaum, 2009).

3.3 Boundaries

Boundaries as a general concept in sociological research is often referred to as distinction that establishes categories activities, people and objects (Lamont and Molnár, 2002). Understanding of boundaries as “distinctions between people and groups” derives from research on organizational boundaries (Santos and Eisenhardt, 2005), boundary spanners (Rosenkopf and Nerkar, 2001), as well as research on boundary objects (Carlile, 2002). Organizational field represents dominant boundary of interest through the study of organizations, which describes “a community of organizations that partakes of a common meaning system and whose participants interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside the field” (Scott, 2001). Boundaries also act as “tools by which individuals struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality” (Lamont and Molnar, 2002). It has been also argued that boundaries translate into “unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) as well as social opportunities”. In institutional work research, a social phenomenon of boundaries is understood as:” distinctions among people and groups” (Bowker and Star, 1999; Carlile, 2002).

Strong boundaries around fields result in isolation and unresponsiveness of institutions towards their external environment, creating contradictions between practices accepted in fields and norms legitimate in the broader society. (Seo and Creed, 2002). Attempts of actors to create, shape, and disrupt boundaries are known as: Boundary work. (Gieryn, 1983, 1999). Professional or occupational boundaries have been major subject of previous research of boundary work. (Abbott, 1988; Arndt and Bigelow, 2005). Boundary work represents the attempts of actors to create, shape and disrupt boundaries (Gieryn, 1983, 1999). It has also touched upon the ways in which actors work to establish coordination across boundaries (Carlile, 2002; Bechky, 2003b; Kellogg, Orlikowski, and Yates, 2006).

3.3.1. Boundary work

One of the approaches towards boundary work presents it as an attempt of actors to create, shape and disrupt boundaries (Gieryn, 1983,1999). The notion has been also associated with actors’ efforts to establish, reinforce, expand or even undermine boundaries (Llewenllyn, 1998; Arndt and Bigelow, 2005). Research on organizations reveals focus on different ways in which actors work to establish coordination across boundaries (Carlile, 2002; Bechky, 2003b; Kellogg, Orlikowski and Yates, 2006) as well as professional/occupational boundaries (Abbott, 1988; Arndt and Bigelow, 2005). Previous research has identified three forms of boundary work:

1. Protection of autonomy, prestige and control of resources. Studied in sociology of professions (Abbott, 1983; Burri, 2008) as well as social studies of science (Gieryn, 1983; Burri, 2008). According to Bechky (2003) - "occupations fiercely guard their core task domains from potential incursions by competitors" ;
2. Strategies of managing cross-boundary connections. This line of research has focused on boundary objects (Star and Griesmer, 1989; Bechky, 2003; Kellogg, Orlikowski and Yates, 2006), counting in processes and artifacts that "work to establish a shared context" (Carlile, 2002) as well as spanning actors (Hargadon and Sutton, 1997; Bartel, 2001). Such elements of organisational life as project management software and design drawings were seen as helpful in facilitation of coordination across groups and departments (Carlile, 2002, Bechky). Boundary organizations (Lawrence and Hardy, 1999; O'Mahony and Bechky, 2008) are used to coordinate groups while maintaining their distinct identities (Miller, 2001).
3. Boundary breaching. Received some attention in the social movement literature (Zald and McCarthy, 1987; Schneiberg and Lounsbury, 2008). Resource mobilizing and framing have been reviewed as strategies (McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Benford and Snow, 2000), which can influence opportunity structures, and conceptualized as the relative openness of the political systems (McAdam, 1996) or an industry (Schurman, 2004) to activist's influence.

Though, boundary work has been widely examined and various strategies have been studied, the interaction and evolution of various types of boundary work hasn't received enough attention, though it might be beneficial to understand roles of different forms of boundary work in the processes of institutional change and stability as well as how they might be associated with changes in social systems over time. (Lawrence et al, 2010).

Institutional work aimed at creating, maintaining or disrupting practices is referred to as "practice work", following the notion of boundary work, accordingly.

3.4 Practices

Within the framework of institutional work theory, practices are seen as “shared routines of behavior” (Bowker and Star, 1999; Carlile, 2002) or “recognized forms of activity” (Barnes, 2001), that guide behavior according to the situation (Goffman, 1959; Pentland and Reuter, 1994). As such, practices can be seen as part of social groups, rather than individuals. Social groups help to verify correctness of practices as well as ways of learning them by group members (Barnes, 2001; Schatzki, 2001). These practices, however don’t simply describe people’s actions (Whittington, 2006). Actions undertaken by group members, if conform with certain social expectations can be defined as practices. Practice research and theory has tended to focus on the “informal and tactics, reflecting their origins in the sociology of everyday life”.

Formal and explicit routines are also critical to understanding practices in organizations (Whittington, 2006). Transition of exogeneous events across field boundaries into field-level practices happens along the interplay of boundaries and practices. Institutional stability or change are largely dependent on how actors work to affect boundaries and practices. Overall, previous research has primarily focused on aspects of change or stability, leaving out the interplay between boundaries and practices and its effects on stability and change. Practices might inspire both practice work and boundary work. If actors are dissatisfied with existing practices they might engage in a practice work that may directly affect the practices, however if existing at that time boundaries are not allowing such practice work occur actors might engage in boundary work first, to affect existing boundaries in order to create conditions for development of the new practices over time.

3.4.1 Practice work

Notion of “practice work” refers to actor’s efforts to affect the recognition adoption of a set of routines, rather than engaging in such routines. Practice work focuses on creation, maintenance and disruption of practices, as it has been described by studies examining how actors affect practices within a legitimate domain. However, these studies looked at practices individually, not accounting for the interconnection of all the above types. Efforts of actors to create practices and design mechanisms to ensure their usage have been studied as institutional entrepreneurship and innovation (DiMaggio, 1988; Hargrave and Van de Ven, 2006). Practice disruption involves dismantling the normative, cognitive and regulative mechanisms supporting them (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006).

Social movement research has highlighted this form of work, including activists attempts to disrupt the practices associated with genetically modified food (Schurman, 2004), unscrupulous pricing (Rao, Morrill, and Zald, 2000), as well as the use of DDT (Maguire and Hardy, 2009). At the same time, work dedicated to maintenance of practices has received less attention (Scott, 2001). Lawrence and

Suddaby (2006) argued that maintaining practices involves developing and policing the normative, cognitive, and regulative structures that underpin them in two main ways: “ensuring adherence to rules systems” (Fox-Wolfgramm, Boal and Hunt, 1998).

Previous research has pointed towards role of practice work and boundary work in the context of supporting organizational stability and change, yet left out the interplay of them both. One of the exceptions became the study by Kellog (2010) on two hospitals in the process of adopting a regulatory change, in which it was discovered that one hospital managed to comply and change its practices whilst another one didn't. In the case of a successful adoption of regulatory changes studies hospital used cross - boundary connections to build “relational spaces”, where new practices and “cross-position collective” were developed across status boundaries to overcome resistance.

3.5 Interplay of boundaries and practices, boundary work and practice work in studying creative industries of Jyväskylä

Institutional work as a theoretical framework examines actors' actions in the fields concerning creation, maintenance and disruption of institutions through the interplay of common and shared activities (practices) as well as distinctions or differences between people and groups, known as boundaries (Bowker and Star, 1999; Carlile, 2002). Interplay of boundaries and practices in the context of institutional work resides on: “equivocal instances of agency that, although aimed at affecting the institutional order, represent a complex *mélange* of forms of agency – successful and not, simultaneously radical and conservative, strategic and emotional, full of compromises and rife with unintended consequences” (Lawrence et al., 2011). Speaking of agency, it might be observed in diversity of its expression, in particular when expressed through work of actors on affecting boundaries and practices:

- Projective – future oriented agency (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998), that has been widely present in the research dedicated to institutional entrepreneurship (DiMaggio, 1988; Maguire, Hardy, Lawrence, 2004);
- Habitual – selection amongst sets of established routines;
- Practical (evaluative) – focused on addressing the “dilemmas and ambiguities of presently evolving situations” (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). In the works of Lawrence fields are described as “co - evolutionary systems” where both practices and boundaries exist in a recursive relationship that is significantly affected by the heterogeneous boundary work and practice work of interested actors (Lawrence, Zietsma, 2010).

Figure 1 from the Lawrence 2010 study on interplay of boundary work and practice work illustrates the recursive model of relationships between boundaries and practices along with boundary work and practice work and how they affect each other as suggested by the existing research. In this model practices provide support for boundaries, while boundaries play a role of a delimitator for practices.

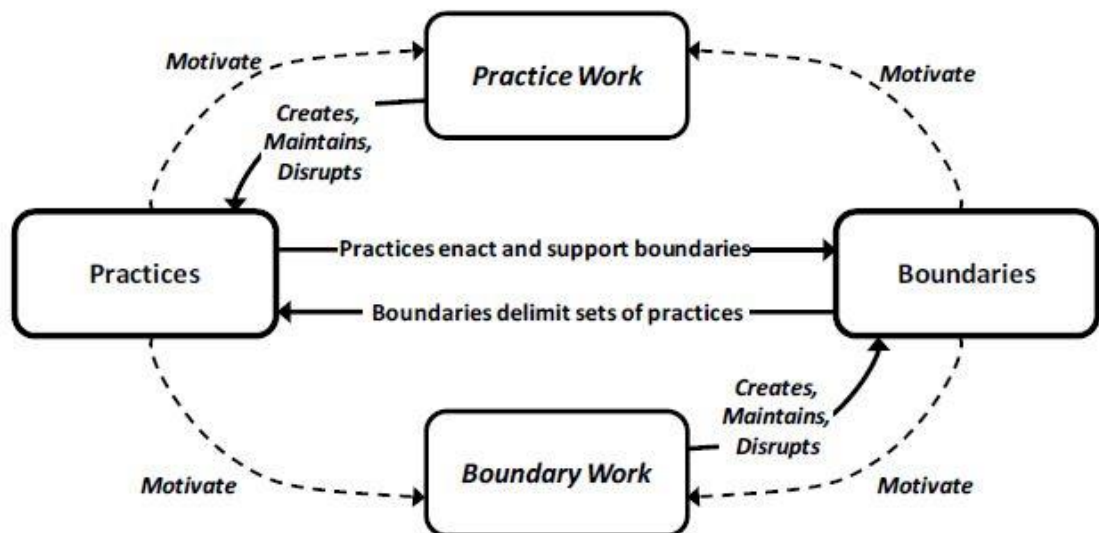


Figure 2. The recursive relationship between practices, boundaries, practice work and boundary work (Lawrence, Zietsma, 2010).

Existing research points towards practices and boundaries by equal share being able to influence and inspire both practice work and boundary work. If certain practices dissatisfy actors in fields, it might motivate them to engage in practice work that would allow to change the established practices. However, if established boundaries prevent these changes from taking place, actors might get involved in boundary work first to ensure that sufficient conditions have been created prior to engaging in any particular practice work activities. At the same time, boundaries are capable of driving similar processes, which only strengthens the importance of understanding the correlations between practices, boundaries, boundary work and practice work.

Though these correlations are seen as important for understanding institutional stability and change, these correlations have been overlooked in the previous research as well as interplay of boundary work and practice work on boundaries and practices haven't been paid enough attention to (Lawrence, Zietsma, 2010). Boundary work and practice work are able to influence institutional stability or lead to institutional change, however the correlation between

them has not been thoroughly examined. Evolution of institutions can be influenced by combined effect of boundary work and practice work; however, their correlation is yet to be studied, especially unclear are empirically identifiable configurations of boundary work and practice work and what are the patterns of institutional change or stability that they influence (Kellogg, 2010).

In this particular study we aim at examining boundaries and practices of major creative institutions of Jyväskylä as well as boundary work and practice work undertaken by the field actors.

In particular we are looking forward to examine individual impact of CCI field actors (cultural managers and decision makers) on creation, maintenance and disruption of the studies cultural institutions. Based on the recursive model of relationships between boundaries and practices as well as boundary work and practice work as described in Figure 1 this study aims to find the interplay of boundaries and practices of local creative industry institutions in Jyväskylä.

3.6 Criticism of Institutional work concept

As any theoretical concept Institutional work has its own criticism that highlights an agency being detached when institutions themselves are relatively obliterated in notion of agency's possibility, and in particular, subjectification of an actor, therefore it is claimed that individuals become bound to the subjected roles that they have been assigned to (Cooper et.al., 2008). Critical perspective on institutional work might stimulate research on conditions that might provoke development various forms of intentionality within institutions themselves with focus on projective forms of intentionality (Emirbayer, 1998). As one of the possible directions of such research we can think of entrepreneurship in the instances of extreme poverty where agency of individual seeks for alternative and creative ways of approaching problem-solving procedures (Marti et.al., 2009). Authors argue that conventional institutional work research has overlooked the work of individuals who don't have other options but to comply with the system as "powerless" or suppressed by the circumstance at the time of them doing important institutional work, which is more experimental, enhancing of institutions, focusing on challenging denigrating myths and traditions, navigating across institutional logic.

4 DATA AND RESEARCH METHODS

In this chapter the research context of this master thesis is presented. Cultural industries ecosystem of the Jyväskylä city will be introduced. We will look at the major cultural institutions in both: public and private sector as well as get familiar with the statistical information about efficiency of cultural sector in Jyväskylä through annual financial statistics. We will also look at the research approach adopted in this study. The collection of data and their subsequent analysis and related processes are also introduced.

4.1 Research context

In the municipality of Jyväskylä the City Council is in charge for introduction and implementation of new policies as well as allocation of funds for all areas of municipal activities. Cultural sector in Jyväskylä region is represented by both public and private institutions. City of Jyväskylä through the Cultural and Sport services ensure accessibility of both recreation and entertainment by supporting functioning of 7 major units of municipal cultural and sports infrastructure:

1. City Theatre;
2. Jyväskylä Symphony;
3. Museum services;
4. Sport services;
5. Cultural services;
6. Library services;
7. Kansalaisopisto.

In the municipal budget for the year 2019 around 5.5% was allocated for support of both cultural and sport services. Impact of creative economy on the Jyväskylä area (financial and social) has not been conducted. According to the local municipal government, there are no records as for number of annual attendees or financial impact of the cultural industries actors in Jyväskylä, therefore it is hard to understand the real impact of the creative industries on the region. In the year 2018 the estimated income of the entire public creative sector under the municipal management constituted for as much as 4 million euros in gross profits, however the exact financial impact on the region is unknown due to the lack of sufficient research and statistical data, therefore a more detailed and concise study on cultural institutions on regional development is needed.

As the policy focus has moved from search for a precise definition of the creative industries towards promotion of cross-sectoral collaboration, a number of

policy documents promoting cross-sectoral collaboration between creative industries actors and businesses has been published as an attempt to support development of new creative projects and innovations. It has been also acknowledged that creative industries has to be promoted for crossovers that would integrate both both novel bundles of both creative and non-creative competencies as they are seen to be crucial considering the high level of dependency of Finland's economic growth and employment from success of its export potential.

4.2 Overview of the researched public and private cultural industry actors in Jyväskylä.

Jyväskylä city is located in the heart of Central Finland and is known on both national level and internationally as a home for Alvar Aalto – profound and innovative architect and designer. These days it is also a home for Alvar Aalto museum, supported by Alvar Aalto foundation and exhibits some of Aalto's architectural and design heritage items. Nordic's oldest on-going art festival "Jyväskylän Kesä" found in 1956 and also takes place in Jyväskylä. Cultural landscape of Jyväskylä is shaped by various institutions in both public and private sectors.

Both public and private institutions represent cultural sector in Jyväskylä region. City of Jyväskylä through the Cultural and Sport services ensures accessibility of both recreation and entertainment by supporting functioning of 7 major units of municipal cultural and sports infrastructure: City Theatre; Jyväskylä Symphony; museum services; sport services; cultural services; library services; Kansalaisopisto. Independent foundations, non-profit organisations, private businesses, independent artists and solo-entrepreneurs represent private sector.

Following the logics of qualitative research approach in the course of data collection a series of semi-structured interviews was conducted with institutional representatives of cultural sector on both governmental and private sides (museums, municipality, cultural foundations, NGOs, theatres, etc.). In the course of the interviews the focus was pointed towards the understanding of boundaries (Gieryn, 1983, 1999) and practices of these institutions as well as what are the current challenges and possible solutions for the gradual development of the cultural landscape on the regional level within the Jyväskylä urban environment.

Interviews were conducted individually with representatives of several cultural institutions (in both public and private sectors) as well as with municipal management of Jyväskylä city:

4.2.1 Kauko Sorjonen Foundation

Kauko Sorjonen's foundation aims to preserve and cultural heritage of several architectural sights in Finland (Honkakovi, Mäntän Klubi, Särestöniemi Museo, Kuokkalan Kartano, Taidekeskus Järvinlinna, Palsa-museo, Jyväskylän Juomatehdas, Wivi Lönnin Kotitalo, Kanala, Toimistorakennus) and also supports artists, researchers. Foundation is focused on preserving of cultural and historical heritage of Finland through support and restoration of architectural heritage sights, preserving pieces of classical art, organising public exhibitions, concerts, engaging Finnish and International artists, serving to the local community. Interview reveals general tendencies towards lack of interest and understanding the importance of supporting and preserving cultural heritage in contemporary public discourse in Finland.

4.2.2 JELMU ry (Tanssisali Lutakko)

Non-profit organization that was able to establish a strong brand within 30 years of operation and built strong relationships with both domestic and international performers. Organisation is able to fully cover its own expenses and not rely on the governmental support. Interview revealed a need in establishing more active collaborations between cultural institutions providing active managers in the field a networking opportunity to exchange ideas and establish new projects in collaboration in Jyväskylä area.

4.2.3 Jyväskylä Summer festival (Jyväskylän kesä)

The first Jyväskylä Summer was held in 1956 under the name of "Jyväskylä Music Culture Days", which was designed by Professor Päivö Oksala, composer Seppo Nummi and Professor of Music Science Timo Mäkinen. Idea of the Festival as a high-quality music event came in the summer of 1955. Founders designed the program, and in the summer of 1956 the first Music Culture Days were organized. The event was initially focused on chamber music, but quite soon included visual arts, architecture and theater, and the name first became the "Jyväskylä Cultural Days", and later "Jyväskylän Kesä" (Jyväskylä Summer). Jyväskylän Kesä is the oldest cultural festival in the Nordics. The program of the first editions consisted of congresses, seminars, lectures, panels and music courses. The program also included concerts, art exhibitions, films and outdoor events. The current line has essentially been born over the past 20 years. Since its foundation, Jyväskylä Summer has been a continuous multidisciplinary festival that complements Finnish cultural offerings, producing domestic and foreign performances and programs that would not otherwise be seen in the area.

4.2.4 University of Applied Sciences (Cultural management program)

Future cultural managers who graduate from HUMAK are expected to get involved with projects in governmental sector, media business and public sector within cultural industry. Kulttuuri tuottaja (cultural producer) is the officially registered name and a profession title status. Interview revealed ideas of lack of Central Finland's unified identity as one of the reasons that prevents development of cultural life development in the city of Jyväskylä.

4.2.5 Riika Arte. Independent art project

As an artist interviewee sees her goal to impact others with her art which at times is done at the expense of personal financial stability when she involves in the projects that engage audience but don't cover production costs so artist has to cover them herself. This leads to struggles with financial issues. Interviewee often dreams of a manager, who could help with the business side of things, so she could fully concentrate on her art; Being able to touch people is what gives interviewee the drive to continue making her art.

4.2.6 Nordic Art Network ry

Established in mid-2017 in Jyväskylä as a non-profit organization it aims at contributing to development of immersive cultural experiences for local communities engaging modern technology and approaching target audiences of all ages and backgrounds. Mainly focusing on event management and cross-institutional collaborations, engagement of local artists and promoting arts, cultural leisure as well as educational content related to creative industries expertise for students of all ages and specializations. Most prominent event organized by the Network management team became the "City of Digital Art" new media and digital art exhibition that attracted over 1500 visitors (children with their parents, Jyväskylä residents and guests of the city). Event was co-organized in collaboration with Jyväskylä Art Museum and was featured at Keski-suomalainen newspaper, which proves effectiveness of cross-institutional collaboration between public and private cultural institutions. Participating in the field experiment of this research Network demonstrated practical outcome of cross-institutional collaboration and its efficiency.

4.2.7 Jyväskylä Art Museum

Main art museum of Central Finland is a major scene for exhibiting of contemporary art works as well as classical art works. Being part of the municipal infrastructure, it is managed through the cultural and sport services of the Jyväskylä city. Interview questions became helpful to the management of the museum and were partially adopted in the strategy development of the institution for the year 2019 and onwards. It was revealed during the interview that cultural

sector in Jyväskylä area is not so actively growing because local cultural institutions don't dare to plan big and are concentrated mostly on their own day to day routines rather than actively reach out to other organisations in the network with initiative for new projects and collaborations. Interviewee feels lack of network engagement and new initiatives for collaboration.

4.2.8 Jyväskylä City Theatre

City theatre was established in 1961 and later in 2001 received a municipal status. It is owned by the city of Jyväskylä and is supported by both national and municipal governments. Interview revealed most current issues and points of concern for the theatre management.

4.2.9 Jyväskylä Symphony

Jyväskylän Sinfonia is the only professional symphonic orchestra without its own concert hall and produces its concerts in the venue of City Theatre. Interview revealed most critical challenges and threats to the effective functioning of the organisation. Despite the fact that 100% of Symphony's concerts at the City Theatre are sold out on a regular basis for the last decade the limitation of 550 seats at the venue and 80% of tickets being sold under the discounted rates there is a huge upside that it left behind as potentially there are more people willing to attend the concerts. If Jyväskylä Symphony would have its own professional concert venue the income of 400.000 euro per year would have grown substantially, taking financial pressure off the shoulders of the municipal government making it possible to use extra money for other needs of the cultural sector in the city.

4.2.10 Business JKL (Jyväskylän Sydän project)

Started in 2018 and run by the municipal government project "Heart of Jyväskylä" is focused on understanding needs of 6 cultural units of the city of Jyväskylä (Taidemuseo, Kaupunginteatteri, Sinfonia, Kaupungin kirjasto, Suomen käsityön museo, Kansaaopisto) and finding solutions for providing these unit with new spaces within the city centre of Jyväskylä in the next 4-5 years window. The vision for the project development is supposed to be ready by the end of the year 2019 and should be based on data collected from mentioned above 6 cultural units. Reference project solutions in Finland can be found in Espoo and Imatra. Conducted on the 22.10.2018 interview contributed to the work of the project as it suggested organisation of public survey/referendum based on the Swiss local government experience and ask the public's opinion about the project, which was implemented in the building of City Library between 18.-20.2.2019 with suggestion to the public to vote for 5 different alternatives of implementing the "Heart of Jyväskylä" project.

4.2.11 City of Light Festival

Being held for the past 20 years “City of Light” festival apart from its artistic and cultural goals is focused on developing an urban lightning infrastructure in the city of Jyväskylä. Since 2003 every year Jyväskylä has been acquiring from 6-10 new urban lightning installation thanks to the Festival. By the year 2018 festival has brought 120 permanent lightning installations to Jyväskylä. Project is supported by the European Union, ELY-keskus, local businesses in Jyväskylä. City of Light is currently working on the vision for “City of Light 2028” concept which would expand on economic value of the event and how it can support tourism sector in Jyväskylä

4.2.12 Sport and Cultural Services at the City of Jyväskylä

Cultural and Sport Services centre is in charge for coordination of 7 units of municipal cultural and sports infrastructure: City Theatre; Jyväskylä Symphony; Museum services; Sport services; Cultural services; Library services; Kansalaisopisto. When speaking of private investments and contribution of businesses into the municipal infrastructure experience shows that it is easier to engage private money for the sport-related projects rather than for cultural ones. Cultural units are currently lacking active networking, cooperation and sharing ideas, coming up with new collaborative projects. “Jyväskylän sydän” project is supposed to help this situation by bringing major cultural units to the same space, creating tighter infrastructure for their functioning. Interview revealed that currently cultural sector is strongly subsidized by the municipal budget and sport sector is strongly backed up by private sector and is ready to bring additional resources to the city.

4.3 Performance comparison between major cultural industry units: Culture and Sports

Traditionally cultural activities on the municipal level are considered as a basic service that is supposed to contribute to mental wellbeing of citizens and often are provided for free. As a result, the precise statistics of number of events as well as number of visitors is not maintained. Besides there has been no comprehensive study conducted on the economic and social impact of the cultural services on local economy, which makes it difficult to estimate the effectiveness of the cultural sector outside of its financial contribution. It has been different with sport services. Sport events are well counted and tickets are being sold to almost all events, which makes it easier to track the efficiency of the entire sport complex. As an example, during Neste Rally 2018 combined amount of expenses by visitors (audience, tourists, media representatives) was estimated at 20.2 million euros with direct financial contribution to Jyväskylä regional economy on the level of 14.4 million euros (Neste Rally Finland economic impact, 2017). In

comparison financial impact of cultural sector combined in 2018 was estimated at 4,1 million euros (City of Jyväskylä statistics, 2019).

4.4 Research process

The current master's thesis aims to increase the understanding of boundaries and practices within creative industries institutions and their institutional work in Jyväskylä city in both private and public sector as well as understand challenges and concerns of cultural institutions that they face in day to day operations. We also look at the empirical evidence of positive opportunities that come along with initiation of collaboration between cultural institutions and establishment of cross-institutional partnerships between public and private cultural institutions. Upon going through interviews and getting more acquainted with the individual cases it became clear that there is gap in the research field. It manifested in absence of comprehensive study on cultural institutions and their impact on the regional social and economic structures. This study utilizes perspective of grounded theory studies as well as inductive analysis in approaching data collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews with representatives of both public and private cultural institutions in the city of Jyväskylä, accompanied by the empirical field experiment conducted in order to test the effectiveness of cross-institutional collaboration between public and private cultural institution.

4.4.1 Interviews

Following a qualitative research logic this master thesis adopts method of semi-structured interviews as a primarily source of data collection (Edwards et al., 2013). It is also one of the most common and frequently used interview approaches (Alvesson et al., 2000,). It gives access to in-depth insights from the relevant sources, revealing facts and opinions on researched topic. By conducting interviews, we can find more relevant information from the first hands, focusing mainly on opinions of experts within the selected case organizations. When it comes to interview approaches, neopositivist perspective (based on studying facts) is more typical for structured interviews, the romanticist approach (focusing on meaning) is on another hand aims to unstructured interviews, and from the localist point of view (social construction of situated accounts) more typical for semi-structured interviews. As we follow a reflective approach logic, trying to collect critical insights of the ways interviews can be utilized for better understanding of "social and linguistic complexities", which, however, should not be perceived as a source of an interviewer bias but rather as an insight that has to be examined more thoroughly (Alvesson, 2003, p.). Interview plan is based on themes and topics rather than on strict predetermined set of questions. Interviewee is allowed to use their own words (Dumay et al., 2010). It is also seen as most effective and convenient way of information gathering (Kvale et al.,2009).

The semi-structured interviews were conducted between September 2018 and March 2019. To ensure all interviews are conducted consistently according to the preliminary identified topics and themes, all interviews were conducted individually by the author of this master thesis. Total number of interviews is 11 and average interview length was 60 minutes. 9 interviews were recorded on audio tape during the interview sessions and 2 interviews were conducted distantly. Audiotaped interviews were transcribed verbatim. The interviewees ranged from senior managers of private cultural foundations, art directors of cultural and art festivals, higher education coordinators, senior managers of non-profit organisations to independent artists and senior executives in the municipality of Jyväskylä. Both representatives of public and private cultural institutions were involved in the process of interview collection. Tenure of the respondents ranged from 1 year to over 30 years. All interviews started from more general questions regarding the place of work and personal experience of work within either public or private cultural organisations and later on more specific questions were approached that would reveal the inner motives or latent tendencies within studied institutions as well as point towards challenges and possible opportunities for institutional development. Table 10 demonstrates the distribution of contact interview hours with representatives of both public and private cultural institutions. Interviewees were preliminarily selected through the purposive sampling (selective or subjective) procedure. Based on the researchers' individual judgement as well as recommendation from the master thesis supervisor a group of cultural institutions and active actors of cultural industries in the city of Jyväskylä were selected from both public and private sector. In order to save time researcher team followed sound judgement measures while selecting candidate institutions for the interview rounds (Black, 2010). In some cases additional interview candidates were suggested by the interviewees themselves and such additional interviews were conducted in case they fitted into the research structure and were relevant to the researched field. All interviewees are active operational actors within their representative cultural institutions from founders and top managers within their organisations to senior managers and independent actors. Their names as well as titles are not disclosed in order to ensure anonymity.

Inter- vie wee	Pri- vate insti- tu- tion	Public in- stitution	Adminis- trative position	Years within organisation a. 0-5 b. 6-10 c. 11-15 d. 16-20 e. 20->	Duration	Date
1		x	x	b	55 min	September 2018
2	x		x	e	1 h 10 min	October 2018
3		x	x	a	42 min	October 2018
4	x			b	48 min	October 2018
5	x		x	e	1 h 5 min	November 2018
6		x	x	b	53 min	November 2018
7		x		d	59 min	November 2018
8		x	x	a	41 min	February 2019
9		x	x	b	1h 11min	February 2019
10	x		x	a	55 min	March 2019
11	x		x	b	58min	March 2019

Table 3. Interviews and their schedules

4.4.2 Secondary data

Statistical data from municipal website regarding cultural sector performance, internal institutional publications and reports were utilized as a secondary data for institution's operations assessment. The EY report "Cultural times. The first global map of cultural and creative industries", alongside with the NESTA report "creativity vs. Robots. The creative economy and the future of employment", both published in 2015 became helpful and insightful source of data, that helped to estimate the position of creative industries and their significance for the global economy. "Neste Rally Finland economic impact study" (2017) conducted by JAMK University of Applied Sciences has provided important information on financial impact of the biggest sport and cultural event in Jyväskylä on local economy.

During the time of collecting primary data (interviews) in 2018, a governmental assessment of Finnish creative economy report was published under the prime-minister's office "In search of Finnish creative economy ecosystems and their development needs - study based on international benchmarking", which provided useful information regarding current state of affairs in the domestic creative economy field as well as demonstrated the Finnish national concern and understanding of creative industries importance to the Finnish economy, which at the same time became a proof of concept and relevance of this master thesis.

4.4.3 Field experiment

Unlike traditional controlled experiments with full control over the experimental artificial environment, experimental groups, control groups, testing preliminary hypothesis, independent and dependent variables, field experiments on the contrary are conducted under conditions that are outside of the researcher's direct control or influence. This type of experiment though differs from natural experiments or quasi-experiments (Meyer, 1995). At the time when natural experiments rely largely on the external forces, exercising control over randomization treatment, implementation and assignment, field experiments, on the other hand, require researchers to retain control over randomization and implementation. In field experiment under conditions of random assignment, results are most reflective of the real world as subjects of interest are assigned to groups based on non-deterministic probabilities (Rubin, 2005). Excludability and non-interference are two basic assumptions underlining researcher's ability to collect unbiased outcomes (Nyman, 2017; Broockman, 2017).

The aim of this master's thesis field experiment is to reveal the potential of cross-institutional collaboration between a public and private cultural actor. We also try to measure level of interest in cultural services among Jyväskylä citizens as well as understand the mechanism of attraction of visitors of various ages from children to seniors. The questionnaire (attachment 6.1) for semi-structured interview was designed to reveal information about "boundaries" (Gieryn, 1983, 1999), as structural organisation and major components of the cultural institutions and "practices", as major activities run by the organisations interviewed as well as challenges and threats to those organisations and possible solutions and opportunities as well as measures or activities to achieve even greater success. Field experiment will provide us with empirical evidence and better understanding of mechanisms and effectiveness of cultural services in the city of Jyväskylä as well as better understanding of benefits of collaboration and generation of new ideas in the network of cultural institutions in a cross-institutional context (Case: City of Digital Art festival by Nordic Art Network ry at Taide-museo Jyväskylä, February 2018).

4.5 Analytical approach

Along with collecting data (conducting interviews and reviewing archival materials) and inductive analysis was applied as it was specified by the methods of naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln et al., 198; Locke et al., 1997; Langley, 1999;) as well as constant comparison approach (Glaser, et al., 1967). Application of these methods allows for rigorous collection and further analysis of qualitative data provides a hand in further sampling and content focus for a data collection on a later stage. At the same time, we assist in distillation of themes second order themes

and later identification of aggregated dimensions (Gioia et al., 1994) with the help of examination and comparison of key events (Isabella, 1990). The process of analysis starts from distilling a 1st order category (Van Maanen, 1979), also referred to as open codes) from the interview data, also known as conceptual coding applied in-vivo (Strauss et al., 1990).

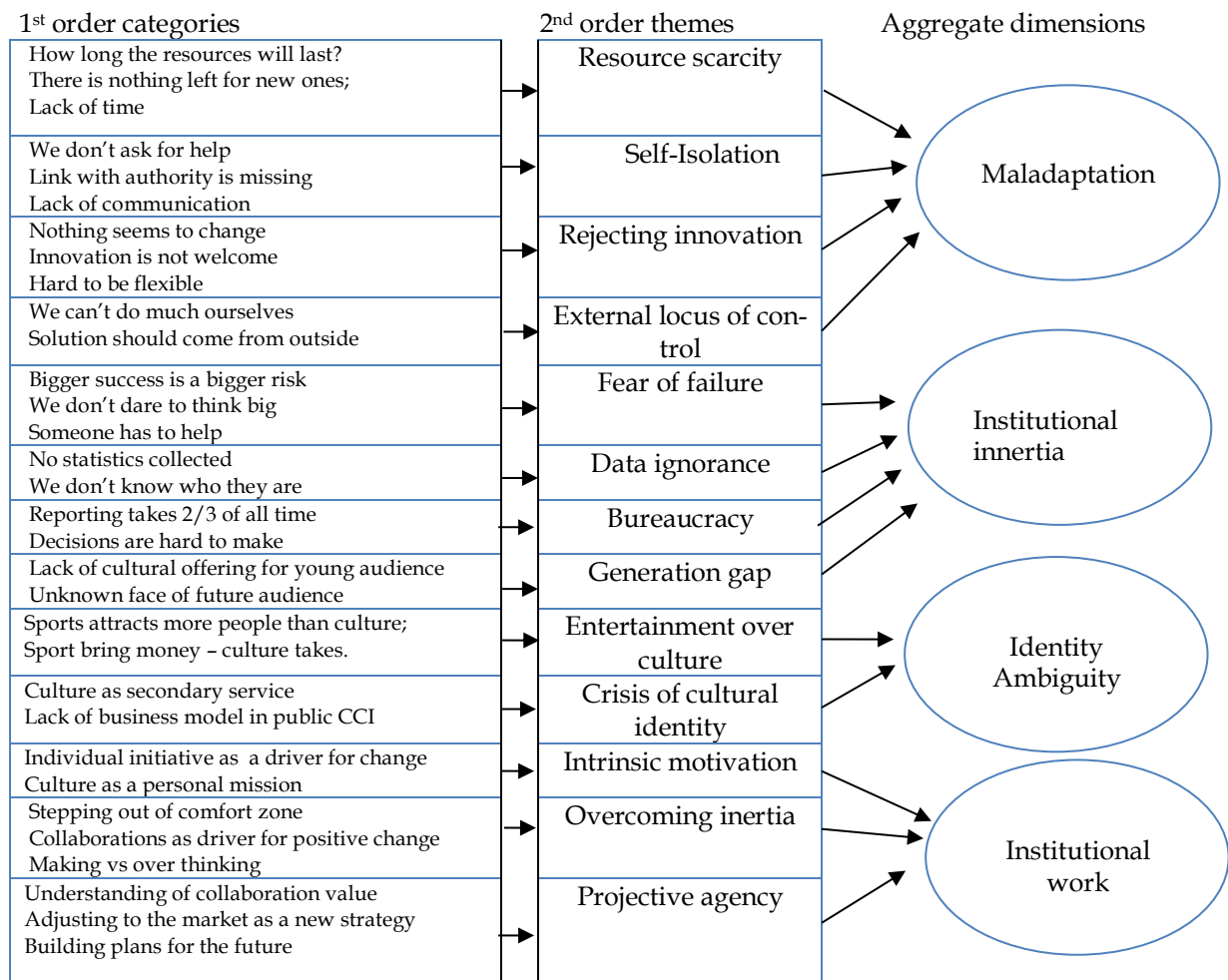


Figure 3. Data structure

On this stage we try to stick to interviewee's native language and expressions as long as it is possible. Based on the 11 interviews conducted in this research estimated 253 initial categories has been recorded, which after the initial coding narrowed down to just 32 1st order categories. At first it looked overwhelming and it was hard to make sense of the data. However, it seems that for qualitative research it might be pretty common situation as it was mentioned earlier: "You gotta get lost before you can get found" (Gioia, 2004). Once the initial 1st order codes got sorted, according to their similarities and differences, the process of axial coding (Strauss et al., 1998) came in hand reducing the initial number of 1st order codes into a higher level 2nd order themes.

Once all the 13 themes were identified they were grouped into umbrella-categories also known as aggregate dimensions or else core categories. Shaping a “recursive process-oriented, analytic procedure” (Locke, 1996) enabled grasp of emerging theoretical relationships, while additional interviews failed to reveal new relationships between the data collected, also referred to as “theoretical saturation” (Glaser, 1967). Based on accumulated 1st order codes and higher 2nd level order themes and aggregate dimensions we were able to visualise our data set in a form of a data structure (Figure 3).

In essence data structure provides visual representation of the advancement process from a raw data to codes, themes and dimensions while conducting the analysis, which can be seen as a key part of rigor in qualitative research (Pratt, 2008; Tracey, 2010). Data structure also provides us with ability to look at the data already theoretically and not just methodologically (Goia et al., 2012). Up until this stage in the research we proceed without following previous research literature, as we knowing literature in detail on the initial early stages of research can lead towards formation of a previous hypothesis bias. Once starting to referee to the literature we can speak of transition from “inductive” towards “abductive”, as data and theories in existence are seen in tandem (Alvesson et al., 2007).

5 RESEARCH FINDINGS

This study sets the goal of analyzing boundaries and practices of the CCI institutions in Jyväskylä (both public and private), as well as challenges and opportunities that these institutions face. The most critical categories in understanding the phenomenon are *maladaptation*, *institutional inertia*, *ambiguity of identity* as well as *purpose reflection*. These categories can be characterized as rather general, and they emerged through several subthemes, which are presented and elaborated on more in detail in this chapter. The data structure that depicts all mentioned above categories and subthemes can be found in the previous chapter. Table 12 contains supportive evidence in the form of quotes from research interviewees, related to the second-order themes.

5.1 Resource scarcity

One of the most common themes that emerged in almost 100% of the interviews is the lack of resources in both public and private sector. Scarcity comes in different forms - from basic lack of financial, human resources to a need for construction of completely new facilities and renovation of existing buildings. If in public sector the reason of scarcity lies within the limitation of public funding and expectation of the audience to attend free events - private sector has to rely on its own ability to sustain its operations. One of the major limitations for private cultural institutions is a shortage of staff. Usually just 3-4 people share a large number of responsibilities, often sharing a high level of risk as if one or two people wouldn't be there (due to sickness or other reasons) the work can stop with a cost of losing money and not fulfilling the expectations and needs of the stakeholders (clients, partners, etc.). Cultural institutions within public sector on the other hand are limited by the fixed governmental funding with a small percentage of reliability of their own sources of income, because a large number of public cultural events are free of charge. With lower capabilities for generating their own income, absence of business models - public institutions are more dependent on the governmental support.

5.1.1 How long the recourses will last?

Human resources, financial resources and infrastructure are amongst core factors named by the interviewees as such that effect their daily routines and 10 out of 11 interviewees expressed concerns about limitations of their operations dictated by the lack of financial resources. When asked about most vivid challenges of one of the independent cultural organisations in private sector the response was:

"The only danger our organisation encounters - we don't know as for how long our resources (financial) will last, as we don't receive any external support and we don't make

any profits from the cultural sights that we maintain. Most of the events we host are free of charge.”.

Financial resources and human resources are among major scarcities when we look at smaller independent CCI organisations. It was clear according to some of the interviews that the cultural sector in general faces quite similar challenges on regular basis, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“Especially in cultural field there are always organisations that are really in big trouble (financially) and they may have no place to operate and so on.”

Infrastructural struggles were also on the list of common challenges that the CCI institutions face. Several public cultural institutions that took part in our research are located in buildings that either require renovation or even don't have one and have to rent spaces from other organisations that are not meant to be used in the way they . Lack of professional spaces and need for renovation could be tracked throughout the interviews:

“The lack of a good concert hall for classical music is a big problem in Jyväskylä. We have to rehearse classical music in the space that is not meant to be used for music even. We play live concerts every week in the city theatre but acoustics there is also not meant for the symphonic music that we play. Also other problems and renovation needs about the performing spaces for art are a big challenge.”.

5.1.2 Nothing left for the new ones.

In another conversation on public funding from the municipal government it has been discovered that public cultural sector in Jyväskylä is rather rigid. On the municipal level cultural services are designed to serve the needs of predominantly older generation with fixed budgets supporting the functioning of well established CCI institutions with little to almost inexistent allocation of resources and almost no opportunities for new initiatives, coming from new and younger, independent cultural organisations, as one of the interviewees noted:

“It has been so that rally has been really important thing and sports have been really important here but in cultural field nobody want to let go of anything and so we have to have all the museums, we have to have the orchestra, city theatre, we have to have Jyväskylän Kesä and so on and on...so there is nothing left for the new ones... there should be more money from somewhere to take care of the new ones and also other ones, much newer than us and I am not sure there will be more money and people are getting older and sicker and so on, so there won't be more money I think. If I was a dictator in Jyväskylä I would make some choices. I think we should let go of something to make room for new things.”.

Another common obstacle for the private cultural institution is limited human resources and as a result – higher pressure on every individual within the organ-

isations as they have to manage larger amounts of tasks on daily basis. Such tendency can be seen in small organisations with less than 3 employees. Here is what one of the interviewees had to say about this tendency:

“There are limited people resources and a lot is at stake for our few employees. In example if someone gets sick it can affect us a lot.”.

5.1.3 Lack of time.

Time management as an essential part of any organisations functioning makes all the difference especially in the smaller teams where majority of responsibilities lay on the shoulders of just 3 - 5 people and depending on size of the organisation that they serve to the amount of pressure rises as well as the amount of free time for additional activities reduces. As an outcome, smaller teams end up being soaked in execution of day to day operations with little to almost no time for strategic planning and work on a bigger vision, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“We have so many things we need to do and take care of all the time. We don’t have time to develop it or think 5-10 year ahead. We always are managing day to day things. I think it is a problem because we don’t have time to think about what we want to be in 5 years from now, where or what we could be doing other than this. This takes all of our energy and time.”.

Lack of time for strategic long-term planning as well as shortage of human resources has been consistent themes present throughout most of interviews. Extensive reporting and countless hours filling out the forms takes away time from creative work for some creative executives in both private and public sector:

“In our organisation we are a few people (3 people), and over 60% of my time is dedicated to reporting and bureaucratic things, which means I have only 40% of my time to spend on actual work and as a result I can’t fit any extra curriculum activities to my schedule...Sometimes I bump into my colleagues in other cultural organisations by accident in the city and we talk about this problem that we don’t actually have time to meet for a coffee and sit down to discuss our problems, though they are kind of similar and we know about them but there is just no time available for us to get together and decide what to do with it.”.

By the time this research has been conducted cultural institutions in both private and public sector were concerned with basic resource limitations and were keen on receiving additional sources of funding (whether it be governmental support or private partners and sponsors). According to interviewed representatives of CCI additional resources (monetary, human, and infrastructural) would increase their productivity and help in achieving better results in their operations. Some of these challenges were publicly addressed by the municipal government in the

course of “Jyväskylän sydän” project, that would unfold within 2018 – 2022 time window.

5.2 Self-isolation

Though creative and cultural institutions in Jyväskylä recognise presence of specific challenges in their daily routines it has been clear that neither one of them had a “roadmap” and clear understanding of how to overcome these challenges and more specifically what should be the steps towards finding a solution. Additionally, to the lack of time, lack of human resources and infrastructural issues interviewed institutions seem to also lack effective communication between each other (private and public sector). It has been consistently admitted throughout interviews that general lack of communication between cultural institutions in town has a chronic nature and motivated by the isolation of individual cultural institutions, mostly occupied with their own issues and not reaching out to each other in order to seek for advice, cooperation or exchange of ideas. Interviewees themselves admit the fact that weak communication within the local CCI network makes the work of the entire cultural sector in the Jyväskylä region less efficient.

5.2.1 We don't ask for help

In some cases, isolation of the individual cultural institution or group of cultural actors is a matter of personal choice. Either through negative personal experience or personal subjective decision to avoid collaboration as a method to save decision-making power and not share it with others. For some cultural organisations ability to preserve their own independence becomes more important compared to collaborative mode with necessity to compromise their vision and find points of connection with other CCI actors in the region. As one of the interviewees commented on the positive effect of having no extra parties involved and being able to make independent personal decisions:

“Strong side is that all decisions are made by 1 person without silly discussions and voting. This is the mission of my life and I don't want to let others impact my decisions. There were some attempts to engage other opinions but it didn't have much success.”.

Some CCI actors prefer to handle their activities without seeking for partnerships or collaborators. As a conscious decision rejection of help is at times seen as honourable position. When asked about perspective of international cross-institutional collaboration, one of the interviewees mentioned:

“I am proud to not ask for help from anyone.”.

For some CCI actors it is a matter of communication challenges due to inequality between resources and capabilities of certain cultural institutions when it comes to looking for equal partnerships and cooperation. As one of the interviewees mentioned:

“Even nowadays there is nothing similar in Finland (like our organisation). Sometimes if we get some problems there is nearly nobody, I can ask for help from.... In Jyväskylä we don’t have anyone. We are so big compared to all the others in Jyväskylä, so it has always been like we always help others. We give microphones and speakers and help in organisation but other way around we couldn’t find equal partner.”.

Therefore, it has been discovered that some CCI institutions in Jyväskylä don’t reach out to other organisations, seeking for help or collaboration initiatives. Interviewed CCI organisations also acknowledged lack of connection with the municipal government, which in their opinion could have had a larger stake in CCI operations in a longer perspective.

5.2.2 Link with authority is missing

During interviews CCI actors acknowledged lack of attention to their operations from the side of a local municipal government. It has been indicated that cultural institutions wish to have more connection to the local authorities and strive to gain attention from the side of responsible municipal management. As one of the interviewees mentioned:

“Few weeks ago I was in the city hall talking about our situation and there was (...) and she has been as the head of everything in that area for years and she knows everything about this town and she was arranging for the Rally, but she is going to retire soon in 3 years and I think she is the only one who understands what we are doing here. Because we have so loose connections with the municipality. So we met because I was worried that nobody actually knows what we are doing. Even the (...) who is the head of the cultural things and while talking with her it seemed as she had no idea about how all this is working.”.

When asked about the possible reason why the link with the municipal government is not so strong, the interviewee mentioned:

“Most probably they think we can manage ourselves. They don’t think it is something they have to be worried about and probably they don’t have to, so partially they are right. Especially In cultural field there are always organisations that are really in big trouble (financially) and they have no place to operate and so on. For the most part we can handle our problems by ourselves. We have a lot of resources ourselves. So they have other issues because there is always someone in trouble.”.

We were able to find similar thoughts in other interviews, and mostly interviewees wished for a closer collaboration and engagement with the municipality. When asked about perspective collaboration with the municipality one of the interviewees mentioned:

“Neither national nor municipal governments take any action in supporting these (heritage) sights... They don’t understand fully the importance of preserving cultural heritage... Main issue is the lack of interest in cooperation with us from the side of municipal government. Therefore, the operations of our organisation gradually decline over time. Municipal government management is mostly interested in sports and entertainment segments.”.

Overall, the tendency is such that both private and public cultural institutions revealed concern about missing opportunity and links to the municipal government. It has been indicated that CCI institutions would like to have a closer connection with the municipality. Apart from this tendency we were able to reveal a gap in communication between the cultural institutions themselves.

5.2.3 Lack of communication

When approaching questions related to cross-institutional cooperation between local CCI actors it has been discovered that there is a significant communication gap between the cultural institutions. Regardless that fact that they are located in a short proximity from each other, due to various reasons local CCI organisations found themselves distant from each other as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“In Jyväskylä there are many small theatres or many things on the grass root level. Everybody is doing their own stuff and there is not so much contacting. Maybe if we could have more possibilities to meet and plan and think and create some crazy things together that would be good. It seems it is very difficult to find resources for this thing.”.

Such tendency has been detected in both public and private sectors of local CCI. Among other reasons enormous amount of day to day tasks, lack of time and energy as well as extensive bureaucracy have been named as a major reason for lack of communication between the cultural organisations. As one of the interviewees mentioned:

“Though we live in a small town, we still are too busy with our own tasks and everyone is focused on themselves and on their activities, so there is not much of communication. Artists and creative organisations are trying to survive themselves and so there is not much time to think about our future and how we could engage more people in what we are doing.”.

It has been acknowledged by the interviewees that more active collaboration between the CCI institutions can benefit every participant of such collaboration and in general support development of cultural life in Jyväskylä.

5.3 Rejecting innovation

Several interviews revealed rather stable and predictable nature of CCI environment in the local community. Cultural institutions in public sector gain stable support from the local government as well as National government through the range of programmes, especially through the National monopoly on Gambling industry. Distribution and reallocation of resources between existing and newly established CCI players has not been questioned for the past several years, making it a bit more challenging for the new players on the field. Private sector seems to develop on its own without much interruption from the side of municipal government. It has been clear that major challenges for the sector were identified a while ago and most of the interviewed CCI representatives kept referring to the same issues starting from lack of financing and suitable spaces for their operations to inability to allocate additional time for planning new projects and collaborations. Stiffness of financial decisions by the municipal government has its own drawbacks according to some of the interviewed CCI actors.

5.3.1 Nothing seems to change

From several cultural managers within the private CCI sector we found that there have always been a grass-root activities and initiatives by numerous private organisations. Lack of support or inability of the later ones' to find recognition and acceptance in the existing cultural environment leads to stiffness in cultural cooperation with same issue of isolated nature of creativity, when both established and new CCI players exist and function in parallel to each other with seldom opportunity to benefit from each other's knowledge, recourses, ideas and create something completely different. In a way things have settled down in the way they are and not much change could be foreseen in the upcoming future. On a more general level interviewed experts acknowledge the importance of recognizing the opportunities that the 4th Industrial revolution (Schwab, 2015) can bring and advocate for adjusting to the rapid technology advance by adopting new technology and leveraging it to benefit the National economy, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

"The general economic changes in the post-material world when ideas and immaterial content (art, games, programmes, VR and AR) and other changes mean that there is a need for us (cultural managers) because we are experts in these fields and we can connect these people (practitioners and doers) and we can't only produce paper machines in Finland and people need more and more of these cultural services. "

Importance of thinking about what is ahead of us brings up a question about the priorities that the local government has to identify for itself. With a long-lasting tradition of “sports city” it seems obvious that the city has acquired certain recognition with many thousands of tourists coming to witness sport events to Jyväskylä. When it comes to cultural services some local CCI experts recognize a slight conflict of interests that has been in place between the sports and cultural service providers. One of the interviewees put it this way:

“It has been so that Rally has been really important thing and sports have been really important here ... I think it is not wise that we can't let go of anything.”

It has been revealed through the number of interviews that sports and culture seem to have a silent rivalry for municipal attention and resources that we would look closer on the later stages of this research.

5.3.2 Innovation is not welcome

In a series of interviews with CCI experts we found out that in general, situation in the cultural sector doesn't seem to change: public funding is pretty much limited and there is a common fear amongst cultural service providers that at any moment in time if the government decides to cut expenses in the National budget the cultural sector would appear among the first services to feel the consequences of such changes. In private sector the common fear is losing their customers along with the income streams that these customers produce. When studying attitudes towards alternative ways of generating income for local CCI and innovation and finding new solutions to benefit the sector we discovered some opinions that might provide additional food for thought and reveal the reasons for general stiffness of the cultural sector in the city, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“I remember back in the days (70x, 80x, 90x) it was so different from today. Then in sport and cultural services it was like: “you have to do what you did last year”, - the idea was that you have to do the same thing as you did last year, nothing more. Don't do “that”, because you haven't done it last year.”;

Through several interviews we found that such opinions reflect in a number of cases from inability to innovate and create new projects as a result of budget restrictions and lack of schedule flexibility in programming for the public CCI actors as well as stressful nature of work in a smaller teams for private CCI organisations and constant dealing with the day to day routines. Constant lack of financial resources and stressful nature of work due to the uncertainty about the future seem to negatively affect the local CCI. At the same time, there are examples of municipalities where thanks to the flexibility of public policies and innovative approaches CCI thrive and prosper, attracting hundreds of thousands of tourists and earning its own strong revenue from box office sales and a very

tiny portion of a government support (\$ 25m by Fringe World Festival, Peth, Australia) with a ratio of 78% box office sales revenue and a bit over 5% of state funding (Walker, C. et al., 2019. Fringe World Festival 2019. Impact Report).

If we look at the trendsetter of the art festivals movement – Edinburgh Festivals, we could see that on average annual contribution of 12 festivals in Edinburgh to the Scottish gross domestic product is estimated at £ 312m (Naylor, R. et al., 2015). When referring to Edinburgh experience and possible application of its ways to help boost the local CCI in Jyväskylä in an interview with some of the key decision’s makers in the local public CCI, the response has been as follows:

“We have been to Edinburgh some 4-5 years ago with our cultural units directors, and we were very interested in this “Fringe” model and they presented it to us and it is so big, and so famous, and it brings people from another countries and so on... Maybe someday in Jyväskylä. If we can handle this “Jyväskylän Sydän”, and we are going to have something new, something special in Finland... maybe, something like that, but it comes in the future... We actually have this “Jyväskylän Kesä” which is the oldest urban festival in the Finland, but of course, they have many free happenings and some events have more expensive tickets, and it is not a big money but still it is very important for Jyväskylä.”.

5.3.3 Hard to be flexible

As public CCI institutions rely mostly on governmental funding it reflects on their programming and planning routines. Events and activities are planned well in advance, which means that these organisations are more stable over a longer period of time, however experience difficulties with adjusting to the dynamic environment, as one of the interviewees mentioned during the interview:

“Our organization is funded by the public money. It is also a little bit slow (activities), everything is planned 1-2 years in advance, so it is not easy to react to the things that are happening outside very fast. At least not on a big scale, maybe on a smaller scale it is possible”.

Such organisational structure means that public CCI institutions might feel more secure and protected in the situation where public funding is consistently provided, however, in the situation of financial turmoil or due to the unexpected changes in financial channels the ability of such organisations to adjust quickly seems as a challenging task overall. On the executive level, where decisions are made the situation doesn’t seem to be entirely flexible either, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“Our decision-makers are a bit older people and so if we want some progress, we need to take smaller steps”.

According to the information collected during this research the public CCI institutions rely heavily on governmental support and cannot maintain their own operations independently as a larger part of their finances come not from direct sales based on their performance but rather depends on subsidies by the National and local municipal governments.

5.4 External locus of control

Influence of both National and local government authorities on public CCI institutions are hard to underestimate due to the nature of support that these institutions receive through the numerous public funding programs. As we were collecting more insights from the local CCI actors we found out that cultural foundations financial support, National government cultural funding programs along with tax money collected from gambling industry, for example, often represent over 60% of the public CCI institution's funding (which means that less than 40% of their budgets come from direct sales or activities directly related to the CCI's customers input). As a result of a prolonged practice of reliance on external support (authority bodies in this case) the common practice of shaping expectations and higher level of dependence on governmental agencies lead to feeling of uncertainty related to possible shortages of public funding in dynamic economic environment that has proven to not always be stable, with more attention provided to the social welfare and health care systems.

After analysing numerous interviews with representatives of public CCI we encountered a common theme of concern about individual capabilities of public CCI institutions to maintain their operations in the situation of possible shortage of public funding as well as fear of taking action independently and constantly referring to the inability to make big decisions by themselves, expecting external guidance, seeing their development and opportunities for success coming exclusively from the outside environment. These themes were identified as such that contain an "external locus of control" believe systems, from where the name of this chapter derives.

Observed believe system as a socio-psychological phenomenon has been studied at Ohio State University in 1960s and was referred to as: "external locus of control" (Rotter J.B., 1966). As a psychological construct, external locus of control describes a belief system that implies that one's actions will not result in a valued reinforcement from the environment based on one's behavior, thus is out of one's control. Reinforcement is perceived as a result of factors out of one's control and seen as "chance" or a "good luck". We could see it as an opposite side of the locus of control continuum, opposing the internal locus of control construct. Strongly influenced by Alfred Adler's research on striving for superiority, where feeling

of inferiority has been linked with externality. The external locus of control construct was first described by J.B. Rotter's 1966 paper, where he also develops an Internal-External Locus of Control Scale (I-E) that was introduced as a tool for measuring dominance of external or internal locus of control believe systems. We can also find a lot of research on locus of control construct in the later research: Lefcourt. H. M., 1983; Wallston, K. A., 2005; Hand, M. P., 2008; Davis G., 2013.

5.4.1 We can't do much ourselves

When discussing questions of decision-making authority with individual CCI actors within the public sector we found out that in some cases despite organisational transparency and straight forward structural hierarchy in place the individual cultural institutions are, at times, not aware about who is making decisions on a higher hierarchical level, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

"It is very bad, that after this organisational change and merge with 2 other organisations we lost the independence in decision-making in managing our own resources. We lost the link with the decision makers and we don't know what is going to happen in the future. We can't talk directly to those people who make decisions in the town hall. We used to have direct link to these people, but now the link has been lost and we don't really know who they are...We can't do much on our own, we can't make big moves ourselves.";

On a larger scale the lack of possibilities for cultural employment becomes a problem for the next generation of cultural actors and CCI professional workers in the near future as one of the interviewees, already in the private CCI sector mentioned:

"Most of the cultural centres are around capital area. If you think, it is easy to go to Stockholm or Tallinn or St. Petersburg from Helsinki, but where would you go from here (Jyväskylä)? We tell our students who are about to graduate that: "you need to leave and go to Helsinki if you want to do fashion or you need to go to Lapland if you are into tourism etc. There are not many possibilities for cultural and creative employment in this area.";

Such tendency implies that local environment is not seen as perspective and promising for the careers of future CCI professionals, which can lead to even more significant slowdown of the CCI development in the region.

5.4.2 Solution should come from outside

When looking at the relationship between the CCI infrastructure and individual local artists and cultural institutions we could see polarization of opinions with a part of the research participants were fully supporting the current state of affairs and other part of research participants being unsatisfied with the way how artists are supported, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“I think the city could support local artists more. For example, I think it's great we got some amazing murals made by artist from other countries into Jyväskylä. And the (...) event brings several international artists into our town each year. However, I cannot but ask that wouldn't it be more valuable and also cheaper (without having to pay for hotels, food, transportation) to also have locals bring their art and get paid for their work. I have organized art exhibitions at (...) event three times and I have got none or very little financial support. At the same time, I know the international guests get thousands of euros + expenses covered. Wouldn't it be better that the money also stayed in town? If the money stayed here more, it could develop the local artists and the art scene further.”;

It has been acknowledged that individual local artists don't get as much attention as international artists that are invited annually to the range of local cultural events in Jyväskylä. As it has been seen from the interviews individual artists find it important for the local government as well as local events to pay more attention to the needs and more frequently engage local artists. When asked about what can bring change and support the development of CCI the representatives of public cultural institutions referred to importance of external references and increase of media attention, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“If we could get some visibility in the National media, that would be good. Then we would have some key persons who would be able to influence the climate of Jyväskylä city cultural life. They have to come outside, so that they (authorities believe them), but if someone from here says that we have done something good it is like nothing.”;

Lack of acknowledgement and recognition on the local level has been a theme that migrated from one interview to another. The need for external force “outsiders with authority” as a solution for lack of attention from the side of local authorities seem to be perceived as a major opportunity for the development of CCI activities for local cultural actors. Situation becomes even more complicated in the light of uncertainty about the future of public funding and ability of local government to support the existence and work of local CCI actors, as one of the interviewees mentioned in the interview:

“We actually don't know what will happen next, as there is certain uncertainty that comes from political system. If the government cuts the funds for cultural services then we are going to be in trouble. We don't know if there will be enough funds in the government to help and to continue to fund us, so it is of course stressful”;

Collected during the interviews responses indicate a strong presence of external locus of control within the believe systems and opinions that have been expressed by representatives of both public and private CCI institutions.

5.5 Fear of failure

Shifting from institutional level to individual level, interview questions referred to personal experience as well, in search for deeper meanings and more personal perspective. A common theme that emerged during interviews was fear of failing or rather uncertainty about personal ability to accomplish certain tasks (in our case innovate, network, engage with the professional network, experiment and try new ways of achieving ones' goals). Anxiety about the possible negative consequences of ones' actions prevents CCI actors in both private and public sector to innovate, experiment and try completely new ways of tackling their day to day routines.

5.5.1 Bigger success is a bigger risk

For both public and private CCI institutions that took part in the research daily routines turned out to be most hard to break, forming a set list of activities that organisations take in order to maintain their operations. Implementation of innovations is perceived as a risky activity and is considered less likely to be performed. Even those innovations that seem to possibly increase productivity or effectiveness of organizations are approached with caution, as one of the interviewees from the private CCI sector mentioned:

"It was actually the first time ever we announced it publicly and right after that we got a lot of response and people wanted to come and they were asking. Around 20 people started working right after that. We were actually laughing ourselves here in the office, like: "Is it that easy, we can just ask?". ;

Public institutions seem to take possibility of growth and expansion with a bit of caution as well. When talking about ambitious plans for organisational growth and possible expansion one of the interviewees mentioned:

"Bigger success means bigger risks and it takes time to grow to such level".

Opportunity for growth and expansion is viewed as a risky business and is perceived with caution. Such tendency has been especially well observed in public CCI institutions that receive stable governmental funding.

5.5.2 We don't dare to think big

Bound by regulations public CCI institutions are required to report to the national government, municipal authorities and are less independent in terms of program design, compared to the private CCI institutions that have less obligations to report to the state authorities. Such dependency of public institutions, leaves less room for innovations or experiments, quick adjustments to the trends on the market due to the fact that most of the programmes in such places as theatres, museums, orchestras are planned well in advance. Sports services have been frequently identified as such that take most of municipal attention, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

"Jyväskylä identifies itself just as a sports city. It is very obvious, and culture is not valued. We feel that our role on the national level is diminished and nobody expects anything from us. I don't know why. Of course we can make our own projects but they have to be in the "locker", we can't do much on our own.";

Based on the analysis of the public CCI, cultural services get less attention compared to social security and healthcare services as well as sport services when it comes to funding or subsidies from the municipality. When approaching public CCI institutions asking about major obstacles on the way to even greater development, infrastructural issues were mentioned as one of the reasons:

"The space doesn't fit for events that we want to organise. There is no café, auditorium and workshop room is too small and I think that we also don't dare to think big. Sometimes you need to think big and then maybe someday your vision can come to life. It is a problem for all these organisations (art and cultural institutions)".

5.5.3 Someone has to help

On individual level independent artists and also cultural institutions find it sometimes difficult to sell their own work, which has been also confirmed by the numerous references to financial struggles of creative sector practitioners in several interviews including municipal authorities as well as independent CCI practitioners. In one of the interviews we got to hear about real financial struggles that some independent artists face due to the absence of knowledge and practical experience in selling their own work, as one of the artists mentioned:

"I think the main challenge is combining artistic processes (creating new art) and business. I find it hard to place a price on my work and I think I work too often for free. I am not very good at selling my own work. And like I mentioned before, I would benefit a lot from a manager or someone selling my art and promoting my gigs. ";

Seeking for additional expertise in either business or marketing has been seen as a common theme for many interviews. Need in renovation, search for

new premises have also been indicated several times throughout the interview process:

“Many of the cultural institutions in this town need their spaces to be renovated or even completely new space for their work and in our project we are trying to find ways how we could solve this problem.”.

A key theme of not “daring to dream big” has been directly or indirectly discovered throughout the dataset of interviews collected from both public and private CCI institutions and has been interpreted as a fear of failure.

5.6 Data ignorance

One of a common problems for public and sometimes private CCI institutions in Jyväskylä is lack of data collection processes. General statistics on number of events is not always conducted as well as there is almost no data collected about the customers of these institutions. There has been no studies conducted in regards to the economic impact of CCI infrastructure in Jyväskylä, except for one annual event that gathers information even about the traffic in the town during the event, so that the management could know from where and when people are coming as this information is quite important for the outdoor activities that this event holds, attracting thousands of locals as well as guests of the town. However, in general there have been no CCI mapping conducted, nor even a general estimation made as for what is the exact impact of the local CCI infrastructure.

5.6.1 No statistics collected

When approaching public CCI institutions the data that is collected refers to number of events in best case and almost doesn't provide any customer insight as for who are these customers, how often they visit specific cultural organisation or join certain cultural event. Surprisingly, some private CCI institutions similarly lack basic data about their customers, as one interviewee mentioned:

“We host tens of events annually, but we don't really count them and we don't keep track of how many people attend, because these are mainly free events.”;

Major excuse of not collecting any customer insights data is that cultural events are often free of charge, thus there is no point of interest as for who and why is attending these events. Such approach has been observed through the series of interviews with representatives of both public and private CCI as well as municipal management. It has been also revealed that some CCI institutions

lack attention of the municipal government and sometimes the latter doesn't possess relevant information about activities of certain CCI institutions, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

"Because, we have so loose connections with the municipality. So we met, because I was worried that nobody actually knows what we are doing. Even the [...] who is the head of the cultural things and while talking with her it seemed as she had no idea about how all this (organisation) is working".

5.6.2 We don't know who they are

After conducting a series of interviews with representatives of both public and private CCI we discovered that connection between the municipality and cultural institutions is sometimes loose not only on the municipal side but also on the cultural institution's side, with inability to communicate directly with the decision makers, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

"We even don't know who is making decisions. We don't have connection with the decision-makers. We wish we could communicate with them directly but after reorganisation we lost the connection with them completely. We wish this could have been different.";

Lack of communication is also observed between CCI institutions and their customers. Often cultural organizations don't have precise psychological portrait of their customers and as a result better understanding of the needs of customer groups, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

"We collect the information about how many tickets we sell but we don't really know who buys them or what is their age";

For a long period of time the data collection in the cultural sector has been neglected due to the fact that cultural organizations are not seen as profitable, with large number of free events and thus, according to the CCI actors it is not necessary to collect data and conduct customer insight research of the subject matter.

5.7 Bureaucracy

One of the frequently emerging themes throughout research interviews became - reporting and slow speed at which decisions are made within the public CCI infrastructure. Often times, reporting takes a bigger part of the schedule, which takes time away from creative work and turns into monotonous routine. At the same time reporting is mandatory routine for those organisations which receive governmental funding and are obliged to regularly update authorities about how received funding was allocated. According to the interviews collected,

one of the frequent themes related difficulties related to reporting and decision-making, thus this chapter will focus on issues of bureaucracy.

5.7.1 Reporting takes 60% of all time

When discussing major limitations and challenges in the daily work of public and private CCI one of the common themes turned out to be extensive reporting. The major challenge becomes disproportionate amount of time allocated for filing the documents instead of executing “direct responsibilities”, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“We talk so much about these new technologies and how they can impact our life in the future, but I would really like to see it here where we need it. It would be great to have an artificial intelligence fill in all the documents and endless reports that we need to make before we even can hope to get started with our direct responsibilities.”;

It has been revealed that reporting itself is not a burden, but rather the amount of time that has to be spent for reporting. When we tried to assess the average amount of time spent on reporting, one of the interviewees mentioned:

“If I am to give you very rough estimation of how much time I need to spend on reporting it would be approximately 60% of my working time. I wish I could have time to go there and be with my students and partners, and meet with people and establish new connections and discuss ideas with my colleagues in the industry and bring new opportunities. We simply don't have time to innovate or meet other people due to extensive bureaucratic work”;

Such tendency has been observed in both private and public CCI institutions. Especially sensitive this theme becomes for organisations with smaller teams (2-3 people).

5.7.2 Decisions are hard to make

Another challenge that was more explicitly mentioned during the interviews by representatives of public CCI institutions is lack of independence in decision-making process when it comes to implementing new ideas or projects into reality. All projects and new ideas are supposed to be agreed upon together with higher level authorities within the municipal government infrastructure. Sometimes it takes longer for certain ideas to be implemented due to the nature of decision-making process that has to go through several stages before it returns to the institutional level, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“If we want to implement some changes in this town we need to think about our decision-makers and take into account that they are older people and some processes are slowed down and if we want to do a bigger progress, we need to do it in small steps”;

It has been revealed that higher level of restraints and extensive bureaucratic routines on a larger scale affect the ability of public cultural institutions to perform efficiently and allocate desired amount of time on execution of their direct tasks on a day to day basis. Based on the interviews collected, general feeling of inability to act independently lowers the motivation and sows down these CCI institutions overall, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“We cannot do much on our own, it all has to be “locked” in the upper management and maybe then something will happen, but we are limited in what we can do ourselves”.

Bureaucracy as a combination of restraints and delays in decision-making process combined with extensive reporting responsibilities take creative energy away and consume a large part of the time that could have been used for generating new ideas, establishing new partnerships, exploring new professional opportunities.

5.8 Generation gap

Interviews with representatives of public and private CCI institutions revealed that for the most part, majority of public cultural institutions attract older generation to attend their events and activities, whilst youngsters are rarely attending events where majority of the audience is of an older age. This has been seen as a “generation gap” issue and desire for younger generation to be different in their tastes, beliefs, political and cultural preferences, and values. The subject matter has been studied as “Sociology of generations” (Mannheim, K., 1928) in the essay “Das Problem der Generationen” (The Problem of Generations). In this study Karl Mannheim argues that societies and individuals are largely influenced by socio-historical environment through a combination of historical events that shape the attitudes of individual age groups (especially youth) based on the shared experiences that they go through, which leads to development of social cohorts that in their turn shape the future. It was in the same study where Mannheim defined generation, as a cohort of individuals of same age, who have experienced noteworthy events within a certain period of time (Pilcher, J., 1993). An important aspect of the theory is connected with the term “generation in actuality”, which basically describes an importance of socio-historical context for a social cohort to shape its social consciousness and perspective, especially reaching maturity (Willis, J., 1977).

As we questioned our interviewees about their experience catering services to different age groups, we discovered that in most cases young people are

more likely to attend cultural events if those are mostly appealing to their interests and less interested in attending public cultural events where majority of the audience are people of an older age.

5.8.1 Lack of cultural offering for the young people

When talking about different age groups and target audiences for public and private cultural institutions and what measures they take in order to attract these audiences we found out that in general it is harder to attract younger people, especially if the majority of visitors of the cultural events are older people. For some public CCI institutions visits by youngsters have been regulated by the school curriculum and were part of their educational program more than a matter of their personal choice. When talking with private CCI institutions tendency was slightly different, as they are trying to attract youngsters by crafting cultural events that would most probably be of an interest for youngsters, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“For example, rap and hip-hop are very popular among youngsters. Few years back there were many metal bands who attracted youngsters but now this audience grew up. Of course, the young people don’t want to like the same things their parent do like. So, it is like a generation gap. So the next generation can go for something else.”;

At the same time it has been admitted through the series of interviews that in general there is a lack of cultural events suitable for younger people, at least within the public cultural sector, where dominant position in decision-making belongs to the municipal government, as one of the interviewees put it:

“It is a bit strange, because Jyväskylä is such a huge student city, almost half of population actually and it seems that on the City Hall level it is not thought about. Seems they think about something else. It is forgotten that it is young’s people city actually. All the decisions are about how to take care of old people and business decisions and things like that. It seems like it is invisible that there are 30 000 students here, who should like to live here. Everybody knows it is good for the future if they like to live here and want to stay here and create new things, but it seems that it is not appreciated enough”.

According to the interviews collected the dominant group of public cultural events consists of people of an older age, with their dominance as an audience within the infrastructure of public CCI institutions. It has also raised concern for the management of these organisations as the future of their operations doesn’t seem to be clear in case there will be a little or no interest from the side of younger generation to visit these cultural institutions and attend cultural events that they offer.

5.8.2 Unknown face of future audience

Public and private CCI institutions are equally concerned about the future of their operations and if their services would be needed. It has been acknowledged that it is harder and harder to attract younger generation, though some attempts are made for this, however there seem to be no centralized solution or guideline implemented within public or private CCI institutions, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

"I think nowadays the risk for us is that young people find interest in music, internet, and so we don't know if they would like to come to us in the future, which is a big question. As one of my colleagues once mentioned: "Our biggest enemy is sofa", and we need to think about it well if we want to make sure we are needed in the future". ;

Internet entertainment consumed on such platforms as Facebook, Netflix, Instagram, Tik Tok distributed through smart devices, has been named as primary competitors for conventional offline cultural events. Idea of going out for a cultural event has been gradually replaced with an idea of a "cozy" time spent at home on the "worst enemy" – sofa, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

"I don't know how it will go with the "worst enemy - sofa", but if young people don't come back in time it can create a real problem in the future. We can't think that it is all good now and we have a good audience. We constantly have to think what would be the next thing, how could we attract new people."

Such ideas have been expressed as a result of observations made by several cultural institutions in both public and private CCI sectors. Young people follow modern trends and are distancing themselves from older people, choosing their own entertainment, cultural activities preferences, make different decisions and if this tendency is not recognized in time by the current cultural CCI establishment it can lead to diminishing of their role as cultural service providers as there would be no audience to use these services. Issues discussed in this fragment of thesis are collected and referred to as "generation gap", as it illustrates on practice the established sociological theories developed in the midst of previous century (Mannheim, K., 1928; Pilcher, J., 1993; Willis, J., 1977).

5.9 Entertainment over art

Through a series of interviews we were able to identify that culture and sports services are in a somewhat rivalry for attention of the audience as well as municipal funding, especially if we look at public CCI institutions and their sport counterparties. It has been claimed that sport organisations receive larger funding in comparison with cultural institutions and that public authorities pay more attention to the sport industry rather than supporting the cultural sector. When

looking for answers and asking why such situation has become a case, both private and public CCI managers acknowledged that sport organisations and sport events are able to generate more income for the municipality compared to cultural institutions. Public CCI institutions claim that most of their events are free of charge, thus general public got accustomed to receive cultural services for free, at the same time, situation is very different for sport organisations running sport events with well developed system of paid events. One of such sport events that take place in Jyväskylä on an annual basis is “Neste Oil Rally Finland”.

To put these claims into statistical perspective we could look at the numbers. Conducted by Sports Business School at JAMK University of Applied Sciences in 2017, study on the economic and social impact of Neste Oil Rally Finland, collected insights from local businesses, locals, visitors and tourists and presented a general overview of financial impact of the event on the local economy. Direct impact of the event on Jyväskylä area has been estimated at €14.4 million with at least €1.2 million invested to local companies and enterprises by the event’s organisers AKK Sports Ltd. and at least €20.2 million spent by the event visitors and participants. Among local businesses as much as 72% admitted positive effect of the event on increase of sales (Neste Oil Rally Finland Impact assessment, 2013). In comparison, in the year 2017 public CCI institutions representing both culture and sport institutions earned around €8.8 million combined, with €4.3 millions earned by all public cultural institutions combined (Jyväskylän Kaupungin talousarvio 2017). General assessment of the social and economical impact of the local CCI (for both public and private institutions) hasn’t been conducted to date.

It has also been claimed that it is easier to attract general public to attend sport events compared to cultural events. These tendencies received their reflection in this part of the thesis and are referred to as “entertainment over culture”.

5.9.1 Sports attract more people than culture

Both private and public cultural CCI institutions acknowledged that they would like to increase their income. For many public cultural institutions it is hard to do independently as a large number of events organised by them in Jyväskylä are free of charge. The expectation of public cultural events to be free has been cultivated in the minds of general public as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“I think that citizens and people here expect events organised by the city to be free. We have this kind of history, that people think that: “Ah, it is organised by the city, so it must be free”. We have this kind of attitude and it probably changing a little bit in the area of sport, much more rapidly than in the area of culture”;

When discussing rivalry between sports and culture locally, representatives of CCI mentioned general tendency of sports being more attractive as a form of entertainment for a general public, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“To be honest we need to admit that culture is not as “sexy” as Rally and motorsports for the audience and it is easier to attract people to see a car that drives fast rather than an artistic content”;

5.9.2 Sport brings money, culture – takes

According to CCI actors, sports events get much more attention not only from the side of general public but also from the side of municipal authorities. Reason being is that sport events generate comparatively higher income for the local budget. This argument is backed by numbers and can be validated by comparing annual earnings of sport organisations and cultural organisations from the municipal annual balance report (Jyväskylän Kaupungin talousarvio). CCI managers admit themselves that sport attracts more finance than culture, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“Historically it has been known that Jyväskylä is more like a sport city with the University and sport education, etc. Authorities more interested in sports rather than culture and because sport events do bring so much money to the local budget it is of course obvious that sports get so much attention from the side of the authorities. If I were to make decisions in this town I would definitely take advantage from this situation and would be interested to benefit from this” ;

Historically Jyväskylä has been known for its University and first and only sports faculty; educating sports professionals. Myriad of sport events attract tourists and visitors. Neste Oil Rally Finland alone attracts around 270,000 spectators (visitjyvaskyla.fi), contributing to the local economy with millions of euros of investments into local businesses and service providers. Municipal government is also aware of the ability of both sports and cultural services to generate income, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“For example when sport people are knocking on my door, they are coming in, they have a good idea: “we want to have this kind of facility or this kind of new event”, and I am asking: “what are you bringing in?” and they are ready, they have it in their back pocket (slaps the table), - “Here is our idea, we can handle this”, and I say: “Oh, sounds nice, lets see what we can do”. But at the moment when the “cultural people” are knocking on my door, they are coming in here, and they are waiting what I am going to bring from my back pocket. I think that sport people are more ready at the moment to make their own money and how they can finance their idea, and how can they be a part of financing this new idea, but the cultural people are still waiting the city to finance the cultural events, and that is really different at the moment between the sport and culture people.”.

Based on the interview insights from both representatives of private and public CCI institutions as well as municipal government, cultural institutions would largely benefit by learning from their colleagues in sports industry in terms of attracting additional resources and establishing new partnerships and collaborations for their projects. This way, with additional resources on their hands they can also expect more significant support from the municipality in their aspirations.

5.10 Crisis of cultural identity

As we got further into conversations with CCI actors some deeper themes emerged. With realisation of sports sector being better equipped with practical knowledge of commercialization of the events that is hosts as well as connecting different stakeholders and establishing productive collaborations with private sector, business and local government authorities, it became more obvious that this experience is something that cultural institutions have to learn from. Following paragraphs feature theme of cultural identity crisis. The term “identity crisis” appears for the first time in the work “Identity Crisis” (Erikson, E.,1970) and refers to the failure of achieving ego identity during adolescence. Term “Cultural identity” refers to self-perception or self-identification with a certain social group based on shared ethnic, social, religious, generational or geographical background (Moha, E., 2005). In this section of our findings we will discuss the merge of both phenomenon and how they find their reflection in the research interviews.

5.10.1 Culture as a secondary service

When asked to ideate and share their opinion on reasons that prevent even greater development of cultural institutions and services within Jyväskylä and Central-Finland region, CCI actors brought in ideas related to “cultural identity” (Moha, E., 2005) and “identity crisis” (Erikson, E.,1970) and how they effect relationship with culture for the general public, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“There are historical reasons of course, because this” Keski Suomi” it is not actually a historical area. There has been this “Savo” and “Hamme” historical regions around Central Finland, but “Keski Suomi” is formed from the parts of these larger historical areas, so there are questions about this local identity and they are difficult because people came here from so many different directions, and they form a community, yes, but it is kind of average Finland identity and it works in a way but how could we use this for actually empowering the cultural processes, it is an open question.”;

Differentiation of the general public according to the geographical regions and thus justification of lack of unified cultural identity has been claimed to be a socio-historical component of the issue. Comparatively young social infrastruc-

ture of Central-Finland might require a longer period of time to develop a coherent unified cultural unity in the society, as was claimed by the interviewees. It was also indicated that cultural heritage sites and in particular architecture of the 19th and 20th century require more support from the side of the municipal government, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“We made several attempts to engage the authorities in this town to join us but it seems that they indeed don't see the value in preserving it (architectural heritage).”

5.10.2 Lack of business model in public CCI

According to the results of the series of interviews, cultural and sport services, in public sector, account for only 5.5% of the municipal budget and is something that is less paid attention to, compared to other services, like healthcare and social services on the municipal level, as one of the interviewees stated:

“We have some decision makers who are interested in cultural services but not the majority. If you visit the City Council meetings you would see for yourself that they talk about social and health services and then maybe 1 person talks about sport and cultural services. Cultural and sport service's budget is only 5.5% of the municipal budget, and it is quite a minor thing at the moment. Maybe in the future if the decision makers will understand that it is actually cheaper to prevent people from getting sick with the help of sport and cultural services rather than treating them in the hospital when it is very expensive, maybe then they can pay more attention to the cultural and sport services.”;

Ability to save money by subsidizing prevention of diseases rather than paying for after the fact treatment is seen as one of the ideas that can attract more attention to the needs of cultural and sport service providers. In general, CCI are not yet seen as such that has to be given more attention by the authorities, due to the current inability to generate sufficient income, and respectively, smaller part in the municipal budget plan, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“Decision makers are not interested much in cultural events as they don't bring much money and so they are much more interested in millions of Euros to spend to the healthcare, education etc.”;

Attention of public authorities is allocated to strategic sectors of local socio-economical life that occupy a larger portion of municipal budget plan. Sport organizations and sport events, unlike cultural events are less dependent on the state support as they more used to establish partnerships in private sector, attract additional channels of financing their activities and more actively engage with their stakeholders. For CCI institutions on local level it manifests in a need for being more active themselves and learn from their colleagues in sport sector to be able to support themselves and innovate, find new ways of engaging their audiences and provide an incentive for the municipal authorities to pay closer

attention to the sector. In general, efficiency and performance of cultural services have to be re-examined as well as their value for the public wellbeing, highlighting the long-term importance of CCI activities and value that they provide to the general public, getting more attention and support from the local authorities.

5.11 Intrinsic motivation

For many respondents in this research the research questions helped to verbalize deeper meanings and pointed out the “intrinsic motivation” (Deci, E., 1971) behind their day to day activities within CCI sector. In a nutshell intrinsic motivation manifests in interest and individual drive and satisfaction in perusing or engaging in activities exclusively based on internal factors and not relying on external reward, without a need for external validation or consideration. In the earlier studies on intrinsic motivation a set of experiments has been conducted to observe the animal behaviour, which made it evident that natural motivation for some activities do not require or involve rewards and was revealed to be a crucial component of social, physical and cognitive development (Ryan, R., et al., 2000).

5.11.1 Individual initiative as a driver for change

When asked about motives and reasons for their work 100% of respondents didn't refer to financial reward as a primary goal of their activities. Providing quality service or enhancing the life and wellbeing of the regular citizens and providing value with cultural and artistic products, protection and preservation of cultural and artistic heritage were the dominant reasons for the interviews organizations to exist and function in the first place, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“We want people to have opportunity to see music that they like, even if it is not commercial or even if it is not so popular, if it only attracts minors for example, or if it is not appropriate even...We have quite wide programme for such small city and we want people to be able to see it here and not travel far away to see their favourite music. It can't be about money, even if people don't have much, or are not working, or studying and don't have a lot of money they still have to be able to see these concerts.”;

The desire to serve the community has been another strong motive for many organisations' function. Social value and ability to impact people were more important for the respondents than generating income, despite the fact that for the majority of cultural and art institutions the monetary problem has been essential. Despite the fact of having little to no money or budget many projects seem to attract a lot of attention, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“We just got this idea and decided to host “City of Digital Art” in the museum and it turned out to be a success. We had 1500 visitors in just 3 days. Older people, children, students, adults – many of them came to the museum for the first time and they loved it. Museum couldn’t believe we managed to get such response. On average there are 100 people max. visiting there over the weekend. We were not even sure what we were doing but we just took action and it worked”.

In many cases the respondents’ individual initiative turned into a successful event or a project (in terms of societal impact), providing cultural and artistic value to the audience and attendees of such initiatives.

5.11.2 Culture as a personal mission

For many respondents the activities related to providing cultural services reach far beyond the regular categories of work. As we proceeded with interview collection, a higher sense of mission has been identified throughout several interviews related to rendering cultural services, even at the cost of personal finance, time and effort, without asking for any external help or support, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“This is the duty of my life and I don’t want anyone to influence or have an impact on decisions that I am making (preservation of heritage);

Ability to maintain one’s independence in decision-making has been seen as strength of an organization and can be traced within private cultural sector, whereas in public cultural sector decision-making process is regulated by the authority body, often concentrated in public institutions, like local and national governments. For the cultural organizations that are not able to make their own decisions the ability to pursue their cultural mission has become an ultimate goal, as one of the interviewees in the public cultural sector mentioned:

“Regardless of how unpopular it might seem at this point but we try to keep the message: culture is important as such. Optimism is limited but will and the hope - are not”.

Despite the fact that cultural sector is considered such that brings less income on the local municipal level and often is more regulated with less power to execute their own decisions, cultural actors stay focused on delivering cultural services as their mission. Regardless the amount of monetary compensation they get for their job. It has become obvious that respondents are driven by “intrinsic motivation” (Deci, E., 1971) and see their activities as a higher priority despite the limitations or lack of financial stimulation.

5.12 Overcoming inertia

Defined in organisational theory literature as the “inability of organisation (-s) to adopt internal change driven by external opportunities” – Organisational inertia (Gilbert, 2005), describes relationship between “resource rigidity” and “routine rigidity”. Term describes unwillingness of organisations to adjust to changing environment of the market, which manifests in inability to change processes within the organisation, often related to rejection of investment of time and resources into establishing new routines, structures, which in return results in development of resource and routine rigidity. According to Gilbert, in order to survive organisation has to “overcome” its inertia. Threat perception (of discontinuous change) in this case, becomes a catalyst of change, leading towards: contraction of authority and amplification of routine rigidity; reduced level of experimentation that amplifies routing rigidity; focus on existing resources that amplifies routine rigidity (Gilbert, 2005). For public CCI institutions organisational inertia has been solidified by the municipal government that continuously provides resources for the public cultural organisations and at the same time imposes limitations and strongly regulates the functioning of these organisations, limiting their ability to adjust to the fast-changing environment. In private sector, organisational inertia is less rigid, however also present in the form of long-lasting established routines that these organisations follow.

5.12.1 Stepping out of comfort zone

A “comfort zone” – term that describes psychological state of mind, in which one experiences little to no anxiety or stress, where both: environment is familiar and strong feeling of control is present, which creates incentives for optimal productivity (Alasdair, 2009). Operating in an “anxiety-neutral position”, we assume we would be safe and have access to all the required resources, minimizing scarcity and vulnerabilities (Bardwick, 1995), while maintaining perceived control over our environment (Tugend, 2011). During this research an idea of a “comfort zone” has been traced throughout several interviews and especially can be seen in the activities and policies undertaken by the public cultural institutions. Stable governmental support provides ability to operate with a certain level of stability as financial recourses and programme planning are known in advance.

Discomfort brings engagement and change. Discomfort means you’re doing something that others were unlikely to do, because they’re hiding out in the comfortable zone.” – a quote by author and previously business executive Seth Godin can best describe some of the experiences that interviewees of this research has undergone by changing the routines under the external pressure, which in return led to positive outcomes, as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“Last month I went to this event in Bergen and though everyone was forced to be there but once we met we had to share what we were doing and after that meeting I got 4 new ideas and we were discussing them later here. So if there would be something like that, maybe on a smaller scale it would be helpful.”

Describing personal experience of overcoming routine and inertia of institutional life from operational standpoint, interviewee indicated importance of constantly exploring new ways to challenge ones' way of thinking and being open to new ideas, meeting new people and bringing diversity to the life of organisation, which resulted in a generation of new solutions for the improvement of the organisational functioning. Stepping out of a “comfort zone” has been also seen as productive way of developing the cultural sector in general on a macro level and is seen as a strategic advantage as one of the interviewees mentioned:

“If we want to get more things done we need to reach outside of Jyväskylä and probably engage Ministry of Culture, we need to network better and don't rely just on the municipal government. We can think about opportunity to engage National Government or maybe get an EU funding and maybe collaborate with Sweden or Estonia, because we have good partners and twin-cities there too. That might be another opportunity.”

It has been emphasised throughout several interviews that encouraging of cross-organisational and cross-institutional cooperation in the creative sector might significantly increase chances of the sector to improve its performance, yet very few participants of the sector are engaged and even less are initiators of such collaborations due to the number of reasons, which are motivated by lack of time, high intensity of daily operation that disable initiation of new activities as well as general organisational inertia within the sector, which prevents new collaborations and new opportunities for the development of the sectors' infrastructure.

5.12.2 Collaboration as a driver for positive change

By nature creative sector and cultural organizations through their activities and events engage a large number of outsiders, however, on operational level these organizations are rather reserved and seldom in initiating a collaboration or reaching out to their partners in the sector, focusing more on day to day routines in both public and private sector. Implementation of changes or testing new approach in work happens infrequently, however they bring fruitful results, according to one of the informants:

“One girl approached me and asked if they could arrange their show here and she looked competent, so we took the risk and helped with organisation. It turned out to be a real success. There were a lot of visitors and we have done it twice already. It has been something completely different from what we do and the audience was completely different from the one that we are used to have. Everyone said that our place works well for these kinds of things too. We happen to meet with this girl by accident and it turned out to be something beautiful and new. These kinds of things would happen more often if we meet

more often. But these kinds of things are impossible to think of when you are on your own. It is only thanks to meeting new people. ”.

Though in cultural sector opinions differ from organisation to organisation it has been acknowledged by most of the informants that individual efforts by individual organisations are not enough in order to survive in a rapidly changing environment. It became obvious that new opportunities might come with the realisation of collaborative projects as well as active communication between the sector’s representatives, as one of the informants mentioned:

“I think we start understanding that we can’t do everything by ourselves”;

Majority of informants agreed on the idea of importance of collaborative projects and more active communication between the participants of the cultural sector. Prominent results of such collaborations between representatives of both public and private cultural organisations demonstrate high level of validity of such approach.

5.12.3 Making vs overthinking

Based on the interviews collected in this research, private cultural institutions possess a higher level of flexibility in decision making process, especially when it comes to financial management and allocation of funds for certain projects. If public cultural institutions are highly regulated by the government and have a stable financial plan and lower level of independence – private organisations on the other hand have no external pressure regarding how generated income has to be allocated, thus giving them more independence in decision-making, especially when it comes to allocation of funds and establishment of new activities, as one of the informants mentioned:

“And we are used to think that if we don’t have enough money for something then we have to do it for less. Even if we have just 100 euros we would still do it, maybe in another way but still we would do it. But usually people thinks that if they don’t have enough then they don’t even try, and it is really a different kind of thinking in this way.”;

If public cultural organisations are restricted with budget spending due to the functional nature of public funding, private cultural organisations have more freedom in the way they allocate their resources, which provides additional opportunities along the way. Innovation as a driver of change has also been referred to as driver for future opportunities in cultural sector, as one of the informants mentioned:

“Economic changes in a post-material world with development of intellectual products: games, VR, AR, mean that there is a need for us.”;

Focusing on innovation and adoption of new technologies might potentially bring new opportunities to the cultural sector of smaller cities like Jyväskylä, located further away from the major cultural hubs like Helsinki, Turku, Rovaniemi, for example.

Digital technologies and internet in the eyes of creative industry professionals might give a chance to boost creative economy of Central Finland and offer new opportunities for cultural organisations regardless of their geographical location, opening way to global markets of digital products and services, providing employment opportunities for younger generation.

5.13 Future prospects

Despite a number of complications and problems in cultural industry of Jyväskylä, there are positive perspectives related to better understanding of strengths and weaknesses of operational styles as well as institutional practices and boundaries in both private and public cultural sector. Informants have emphasised desirable path for development of cultural industries and shared their vision for what should be improved in their opinion to provide more opportunities for all participants of the sector and improve efficiency of every individual organisation. This vision implies improvement of communication between cultural organisations as well as innovation and creating more collaborative plans for the future.

5.13.1 Understanding of collaboration value

It has become more apparent to cultural organisations in Jyväskylä that collaboration and better communication between public and private cultural institutions would immensely improve efficiency of all parties and that through collaboration and better communication all parties have higher chances to engage audience and reach their mission, as one of the informants mentioned:

“I feel that it would be nice to do smth with someone, even though it is a risk and might cost a lot we want to try”.

Taking risk and exploring new opportunities has been more acceptable style of project management in private cultural organisations and less in public sector. Agile smaller teams within private cultural organisations are more likely to succeed adjusting to the market and this mindset might bring value to public sector in the form of collaborations and cooperative projects. Practice of experimenting and innovation helps organisations better adjust to the changing environment and leverage their strengths regardless of the current state of affairs. New opportunities come from adopting new behaviours and this becomes more apparent for more cultural actors within both public and private sectors, as one of the informants mentioned:

“For our future development we definitely would like to get new partners and sources for funding”.

Stronger communication between participants of the cultural sector, as well as establishment of new connections and expanding professional networks are both seen by informants as beneficial in a long term perspective. In the situation when most of sector actors find themselves self-isolated, working on their own and not communicating between each other it becomes more apparent that those organisations that do practice collaborations have more chance to land on productive and fruitful collaborative projects.

5.13.2 Adjusting to the market as a new strategy

As the Global Pandemic outbreak in March 2020 demonstrated – cultural organisations in both public and private sector are both highly dependent on Governmental regulations and under such unpredicted conditions are forced to follow the executive orders and implement social distancing and lockdown measures, which means – cancellations of live events, absence of visitors, thus eradication of core sources of income and as a result – inability to provide cultural services in a traditional manner. For most of cultural organisations that have no savings or stable governmental support this situation becomes a real challenge and requires ability to innovate and adjust to the new reality of post Pandemic world, shifting away from traditional events with physical presence of visitors to digital audiences and ability to provide cultural services digitally, as one of the informants mentioned:

“Maybe we don’t need to have the concert hall or a national theatre here in this town, but most probably modern technologies such as (AR, VR) can bring global culture much closer and benefit local cultural scene.”

Conducted in 2018, this interview clearly foreseen the importance of new technologies and ability to adopt them in order to stay relevant to the moment, and not being dependant on situational changes of regulations, and geographical location. 2020 also demonstrated that following the “old ways” and consistently relying on existing business models might not be feasible in a long term in the face of unexpected and unplanned changes in Global financial, social and political changes. Ability to think long term and focus on future opportunities might be a solid insurance policy against unexpected changes on the market, as one of the informants mentioned:

“We need to think what is going to happen with us in the future, we can’t just stay in Jyväskylä and wait until someone comes to us. We need to take action.”

Being pro-active and constantly innovating, looking into new opportunities might help cultural industries as a whole with its individual players in particular be better prepared for the changes on the market, being able to preserve their core existence.

5.13.3 Building plans for the future

It has been acknowledged by the informants that cultural managers have a lot to learn from their colleagues in sports industry, especially when it comes to acquiring resources, networks and managing income sources. At the time when most public cultural organisations provide a wide range of free events for its visitors (often creating a certain attitude among public towards cultural events and perceiving them as free by default), sports organisations on the other hand have a solid grip on monetization of their own events and demonstrate higher flexibility in terms of resource management, as one of the informants mentioned:

“Most probably cultural managers have to learn from sports managers: they have to be more open minded, look for possible cooperation with different businesses”.

Based on collected during interviews data perception of sports management is closely related to entrepreneurial mindset with higher level of flexibility in operation, better communication with local municipal government and larger economical impact on the region compared to events of those by cultural organisations. Another important aspect of development of cultural industries in Jyväskylä is ensuring high level of engagement of young people who would like to stay in Jyväskylä and take active part in development of cultural industries locally, as one of the informants mentioned:

“If we want to see some development in the cultural life in this town, we need to make sure we create new opportunities for young people to study and work here”.

Thus apart from technical and communicational issues in cultural sector we also encounter a demographic issue which inevitably will dictate the future of creative industry in Jyväskylä, thus a set of strategies has to be adopted in order to preserve interest of young people to consecutively take over and continue building creative economy of the region.

5.14 Summary of the findings

To conclude this chapter, I will briefly summarize the findings. Creative industries in Jyväskylä are represented by both public and private cultural institutions (museums, theatres, libraries, orchestra, concert venues, festivals, non-profit organizations and foundations etc.) that struggle to reach a desirable level of financial impact on the region compared to that one of sports industry. A series of interviews with representatives of top management of cultural organizations revealed a series of issues that have to be addressed in order to ensure future development and preserve cultural life in Jyväskylä.

For both public and private cultural institutions scarcity of time, financial and human resources is a real problem that creates uncertainty of the future as

well as undermines chances of new players emerge on the scene as available resources, especially in public sector, has been already allocated between major players.

Lack of communication between cultural organizations as well as local and national governments develops isolation of individual organizations, encouraging them to deal with their own problems on their own, preventing new collaborative projects, leaving opportunities for growth and development on the table.

Organizational inertia dictates focusing on established routines, and rigid organizational boundaries, leaving little to no space for innovation or flexibility to adjust to the changing conditions of the market. Common approach is to keep things as they used to be, avoiding experimenting or introducing new practices into the internal eco-system of organizations. Studies organizations seldomly get involved in "boundary work" or "practice work".

External locus of control and lack of believe in themselves stimulates organizations to look for solutions to their problems from the outside environment, hoping to find solution in governments or external parties, neglecting organization's own capabilities engaging in a boundary work which would create conditions for introducing new practices that could address their current problems.

Fear of failure prevents cultural organizations (especially in public sector) from experimenting and engaging in practice work, establishing new practices and routines. Fear of "dreaming big" prevents organizations from conducting ambitious projects and reaching to other organizations for help or cooperation.

Many organizations (except for a few) in both public and private organizations don't render statistics or another data concerning their customers, often not knowing who is their audience and as a result being unable to craft a relevant proposal to their audiences, missing opportunity to retain and attract new customers.

Rigid organizational practices with a high level of bureaucracy and slow nature of decision-making procedures (especially in public sector) deprives cultural organizations from maneuvering and adjusting to the rapidly changing market environment, spending up to 50% of working time on reporting and additional procedural measures instead of building and implementing new operational practices and strategies.

A big issue for many cultural organizations in Jyväskylä (especially in public sector) is aging audience with a little increase of younger audience, making future of these organizations questionable if this situation wouldn't find appropriate resolution in next 10-15 years.

When it comes to relationship with the audience and municipal government, cultural organizations find that both authorities and audiences by large number favors sport events more than cultural events, often overlooking their importance as a large number of especially public cultural events are free of charge, thus becoming less interesting to local government as such that don't produce sufficient income and have smaller impact on the local economy compared to sport events and facilities. Sport management seems to also have bigger experience working with external parties like sponsors and partners, leveraging these connections to facilitate their revenue and attract larger number of audience.

As a result of a low revenue generating capacity cultural organizations are often overlooked by local public (taking them for granted) as well as neglected to a certain degree by local government as cultural organizations (especially in public sector) are incapable at this stage to provide for themselves covering their own basic expenses and generate sufficient income for the region, which in a highly regulated structure of public funding disables cultural organizations to innovate and come up with more feasible business models.

Despite the complications in their work and early mentioned problems that cultural organizations face every day there is a high level of motivation and a feeling of mission as well as a big dedication to this mission by management and employees of cultural organizations to continue their work. Often driven by individual initiative of cultural organizations (especially in private sector) experiments and new collaborations do take place, bringing fruitful results for their participants.

Cultural organizations recognize the weakness of their operational styles and agree that more communication between cultural units has to be encouraged as well as higher level of resourcefulness has to be accounted for. Stepping out of "comfort zone" and adopting more innovative practices is seen as potential way to move forward. Studies organizations need to get involved in "practice work" and "boundary work" to establish new efficient practices and effective boundaries.

Accounting for future perspectives as well as adopting new technologies and attracting young people is another concern of cultural organizations. Better understanding of future might help organizations to reduce internal pressure and take adequate steps towards retaining and attracting new audiences as well as adopt new technologies, making it easier for them to withstand the challenges of unpredictable changes like of those taking place in 2020-2021.

6 FAILURE OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE WITHIN CCI OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

In this chapter, analysis provided in the previous chapters is synthesized in order to create theoretical model that would portray a dynamic relationship of key CCI actors as well as their boundaries and practices in both public and private sectors in Jyvaskyla as well as failure of institutional change within local CCI environment.

Fundamental concepts of the study are presented through a 13 second order themes as well as more generalized overarching dimensions. In this study, we are interested to reveal relationships between creative industries institutional boundaries and practices, and how they affect boundary and practice work of the creative industries actors in both public and private sectors.

To reiterate the position of this thesis in the field of creative economy and institutional work, a creative economy as well as institutional boundaries and practices are studied. We can assume that previously identified factors contribute to the researched process in various ways.

Furthermore, I propose that the previously understudied interplay of boundary work and practice work effect failure of institutional change . During the research investigations it became clear that unlike private CCI actors, public creative industries institutions struggles to engage in efficient boundary work and practice work to drive successful institutional change.

It is important to understand reasons behind this failure from the institutional and psychological perspectives. Essentially, this thesis aims to provide an explanation of how institutional boundaries and practices within public and private creative industry institutions were challenged in the process of development of creative industry, which consequently resulted in the failure of CCI institutional change and inability of some of the creative actors to engage in efficient boundary and practice work.

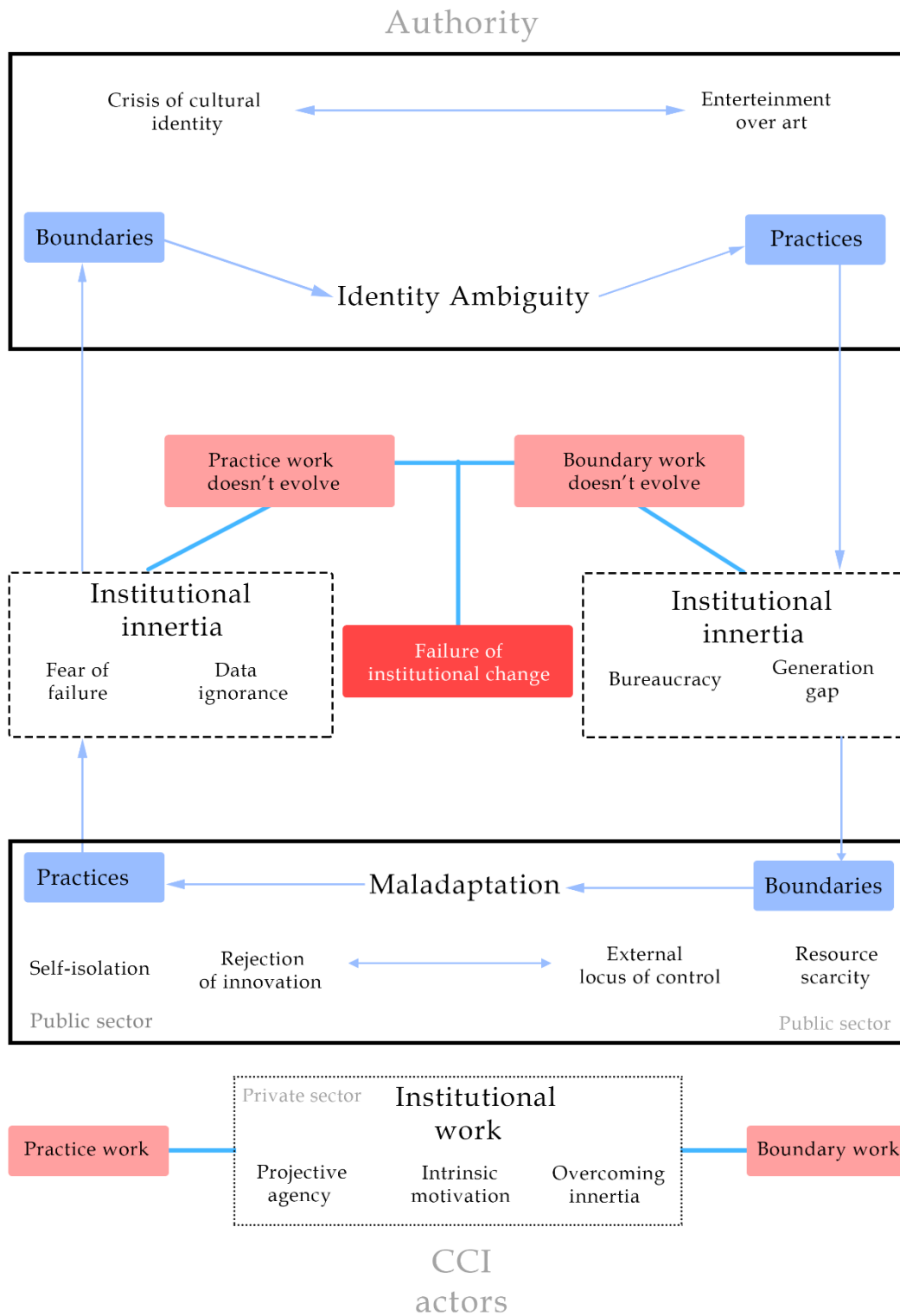


Figure 4. Developed theoretical model for failure of the institutional change within CCI landscape of Jyväskylä.

Collected in this research data supports the idea that institutional change depends on combined effect of both boundary work and practice work. Previous research suggests that boundary work and practice work can influence the evolution of institutions (Kellogg, 2010). Institutional stability or change are impacted by interplay of boundary and practice work. This line of thought originates in earlier research on institutional work. Interplay of boundary work and practice work, however were largely understudied. Findings of this particular study point towards importance of better understanding of such interplay. By analyzing practices and boundaries, within the CCI institutions as well as municipal management, I was able to map obstacles preventing effective institutional change through institutional work. Therefore, current boundaries and practices as well as lack of boundary work and practice work may be attributed to the discovered failure of institutional change.

This explanation rooted in theory provides an in-depth look at the CCI institutions in question. Additionally, the model has a potential to explain similar situation in different municipalities within the same CCI sector across private and public creative institutions. The developed theoretical model is presented in the Figure 3. In the model one can observe a recursive model of communication between cultural institutions in both public and private sector as included within the local municipal power hierarchy with municipality authority being at the top of the decision-making chain.

Theoretical model presented in this chapter will be better explained in the following sections. CCI sector in Jyväskylä is represented by a number of actors in both public and private sector. Municipal government is presented in the top section of the developed theoretical model, while both public and private cultural institutions are subordinately located on the lower bottom of the model, representing a hierarchical structure of a decision-making process. Since public cultural institutions are directly dependent on public funding and are reporting to the municipal government on their spending, we can identify a clear connection between these two elements of the model. Private cultural institutions act mostly autonomously and thus have very little connection with the authority as can be seen in presented theoretical model. Caught in the infinite loop of institutional inertia from bottom to up which is rooted in a more complex crisis of cultural identity, current state of practices and boundaries causes inadaptation and prevents CCI actors from engaging in a productive practice and boundary work. The next section provides insights into causes and effects of maladaptation among CCI actors and its influence on the field, followed by dissecting institutional inertia and a more fundamental core element as identity ambiguity that together contribute to the failure of institutional change within local CCI.

6.1 Maladaptation of CCI actors towards institutional change

The path towards institutional change lies within the interplay of boundary work and practice work channelled towards stimulating institutional work. If seen un effective, practices are to be disrupted and dismantled along with cognitive, normative and regulative mechanisms supporting them (Lawrence, et. al., 2006). In the same fashion, boundaries can be disrupted and re-formatted, to allow emergence of new practices within cross-boundary connections (Kellog 2010). Institutional work resides on interplay of boundary work and practice work: “equivocal instances of agency that, although aimed at affecting the institutional order, represent a complex mélange of forms of agency – successful and not, simultaneously radical and conservative, strategic and emotional, full of compromises and rife with unintended consequences” (Lawrence et al., 2011). For a number of reasons, observed CCI environment in the public sector has been established within a certain rigid and rather strong boundaries that over time caused formation of a certain adaptation behaviours, with repetition formed into practices that prevent observed CCI actors from engaging in productive institutional work. Amongst others, a common practice within the local creative industry became an absence of active interaction between creative institutions, which developed fixation on their own operations, internalized their communication and prevented them from establishing new practices and cross-boundary connections. Therefore, a following proposition has been formulated:

Proposition 1a: Self-isolation of CCI actors as a maladaptation mechanism, inhibits cross-boundary connections and prevents individual actors from communication and engaging in institutional work.

Lack of communication between cultural units was openly admitted by the majority of the research participants, with emphasis on lack of time and initiative to engage in such activities. Focused primarily on their own tasks and challenges, creative actors are disengaged and often times are unaware of the opportunities that lay outside of their own organizations. Rigid boundaries and absence of individual initiative by public cultural actors prevents them from exchanging ideas and finding new creative ways of solving common for all the creative institutions challenges.

Strong boundaries within fields lead them towards isolation or makes them unresponsive to changes in their external environment, creating contradictions between practices and norms accepted in fields as well as those legitimate in the broader society (Seo et. al., 2002). Such contradictions may result in a radical shift, however the processes through which contradictions can lead to change

are less understood. At the same time, preserving boundaries prevent engagement of actors in practice work or boundary work. Public CCI institutions dependant on public funding can be seen as such that maintain unproductive practices, which involves policing of already existing as well as developing normative, regulative and cognitive structures that underpin them in a few ways: “ensuring adherence to rules systems” (Fox-Wolfgramm, Boal, Hunt, 1998) as well as “reproducing existing norms and belief systems” (Zilber, 2009). Rejection of alternative new ways of solving well known challenges may point towards such tendency within public cultural institutions observed in this research, thus another proposition can be formulated:

Proposition 1b: Rejection of innovation as a behavioural strategy leads towards conservation of practices and boundaries, as well as prevents effective institutional work.

Common practices and familiar routines within observed cultural institutions seem to cultivate strong boundaries within these institutions. Alternative or different solutions to existing challenges are not considered. Some of the interviewed actors pointed to the fact that autonomous and independent innovative initiatives might not be welcome within the hierarchy of the sector, some actors acknowledged that new practices are not immerging, since the old ones are more common and thus there is no need to alter common ways or implement any innovations. At the same time during interviews, research participants openly discuss importance of innovation (technological, strategic, service-oriented) and new ways to approach existing challenges, however these remain just as personal opinions and not transitioning into strategic priorities of representative cultural institutions or call to action.

Individual’s belief about the extent of control that they have over their life and choices they make are known in social sciences as locus of control (Rotter, 1966). Described already in the previous century instance of locus of control can be reviewed in its dichotomy – external locus of control and internal locus of control. According to psychological research, people who demonstrate internal locus of control believe that they are in charge of their lives as well as decisions that they get to make. They are typically self-confident and self-sufficient. On the contrary, external locus of control are more common for people who believe that their lives are pre-determined, and usually seek for solution of their problems from the external environment (God, destiny, authority, etc.). Within the course of this research a strong division between public and private cultural institutions laid within the realm of locus of control, where representatives of public cultural institutions demonstrated stronger external locus of control tendencies, which inspired following proposition:

Proposition 1c: Internal locus of control within top management of CCI institutions downgrades their ability to insight institutional change.

When it comes to identifying who is responsible for infighting institutional work in order to address existing challenges for creative institutions majority of research participants from the public sector within the framework of this research demonstrated a strong believe that solution to their problems is in the hands of authorities or external 3rd party organizations, that are expected to suggest a solution from outside, rather than attempting to engage in a boundary or practice work by the representatives of these very public creative institutions.

As a result of maladaptation practices researched creative institutions face consequences in the form of lack of financial or human resources. Expecting solution to arrive from outside (external locus of control), paired with lack of communication within the sector and desire to preserve status quo and not implement any innovations, studied cultural institutions experience lack of resources, which helped to formulate following proposition:

Proposition 1d: Lack of resources (financial, human, etc.) is a consequence of several factors, including: self-isolation, external locus of control and rejection of innovation.

Generalized view over the studied CCI institutions in the public sector demonstrated strong need in additional resources, that are hard to gain without adjusting behavioural and believe patterns that prevent these institutions from engaging in practice and boundary work.

6.2 Institutional inertia as a state of a local CCI environment

Researched CCI public sector follows a specific hierarchical logic that comes out subordination relationship between CCI actors and authority body, which is a municipal government in our particular case. Communication within the hierarchical structure is determined by the established boundaries and existing practices, which in essence is an interplay of boundaries and practices between different organizational levels of the same hierarchy. Figure 3 provides insight into how this interplay occurs and how it affects both sides of the hierarchy. Boundaries and practices exist in a relationship where practices enact and support existing boundaries, whilst boundaries delimit the legitimate scope of practices in a recursive pattern. (Zietsma, Lawrence, 2010). Theoretical model in

this chapter demonstrates a recursive model of communication where influenced by own boundaries, authorities' practices impact boundaries of CCI actors, which in return shape their practices what come back in a loop towards preserving authorities' boundaries. In this system, where no party seem to engage in a boundary or practice work, recurring challenges remain unresolved. Sociological and anthropological research suggests that strong boundaries lead to increase in surveillance as well as enforcement mechanisms in communities (Gusfield, 1975; Collins, 1981). One example of enforcement mechanism applied as a practice that is brought from the top to the bottom is bureaucratic machine that has a very solid and strong boundaries on their own. Based on collected data in the research, the following proposition has been formed:

Proposition 2a: Rigid boundaries of bureaucracy limit potential practices of CCI institutions, shifting their attention towards preserving boundaries, rather than infighting institutional work.

According to the collected interviews by the CCI actors in the public field, extensive reporting and paper work may take up to 60% of work time, that limits potential of CCI actors to focus on their immediate responsibilities, leaving a small proportion of time towards executing actual strategy of their own institutions. In this way, effectively there is no time left for discovering new ideas and engaging in institutional work. Paired with the general low level of interest towards creative sector on behalf of decision-makers, it creates a situation where rigid boundaries are protected and unquestioned across the entire hierarchical structure. One of the factors that contributes to this situation is a general age gap between decision-makers and their field of interests and the needs of the population where at least 30% are young people in quality cultural services. Inspired by this situation comes the following proposition:

Proposition 2b: Generation gap between decision-makers and recipients of cultural services, creates lack of quality services and slows down effective boundary and practice work in the local CCI.

As described by the numerous participants of the research, despite the fact that at least 30% of Jyväskylä population is represented by student population and younger people, the cultural strategy of the municipality is oriented mainly on older people. Museums, municipal theatre, symphony orchestra and other public cultural institutions mainly cater to the needs of the younger older population. Additionally, cultural services occupy not more than 5% of general time allocated for strategy and policy making inside municipal government gatherings, with at least 90% of time dedicated to decisions on public health and social services. Inability to identify cultural needs of younger generation and match the demand may lead towards loss of potential audience for the majority of public cultural institutions in the future. Absence of relevant cultural offering for the younger audience can be explained by the fact that cultural institutions don't have enough data about their customers as well as no research has been made on

needs and trends that would help to design a relevant cultural offering for the younger audience. From here derives following proposition:

Proposition 2c: Lack of understanding of customer needs derives from data ignorance (data collection and analysis).

Creative institutions don't have developed mechanisms of analysing their customer base as well as research of demands and needs of potential customers. Without knowing what customer wants it is nearly impossible to satisfy their needs and may lead towards loss of this customer segment in the future. Battle between the "couch", social media, television, video games and public cultural institutions is unequal, due to the fact that the latter don't fully know or understand their younger potential customers. Strong boundaries within CCI institutions and lack of engagement in institutional work on a socio-psychological level can be seen as a result of adaptative behaviour and lay foundation for the following proposition:

Proposition 2d: Fear of failure limits ability of CCI actors engage in an effective institutional work

Fear of dreaming big was indicated as one of the factors that prevented public CCI actors from taking action, engage in practice or boundary work. Assuming that nobody expects anything significant from them only reinforces strong boundaries and prevents effective institutional change. Fear of failure contributes to the recursive model of institutional change failure through a loop of maladaptive practices and boundaries that conserve institutional inertia. In other words, we can observe a certain level of internal constraints that derive from the very nature of institutions as major components for socially reproduced formations and the role of mental models therein (Rosenbaum, 2021).

6.3 Identity ambiguity as a barrier towards building strong CCI

Informants of the research have indicated strong boundaries within the public CCI domain as well as in the higher levels of municipal hierarchy. Effectively, actors engaged in boundary work aim to establish these boundaries to defend prestige, autonomy and control of resources (Gieryn, 1983). To a certain degree CCI public sector has been resilient towards institutional change, which is at the core of adjusting and adapting to the rapidly changing environment. Internationally, change has been identified as a crucial factor in the lives of organizations and their members, which lead to the creation of a number of ways for testing and systematizing various approaches towards organizational change (Armenakis and Bedeian, 1999; Robertson, Roberts, and Porras, 1993; Van de Ven and Poole, 1995; Weick and Quinn, 1999). Public CCI traditionally have been

viewed as a part of municipal services and often are offered free of charge for the audience, which created certain expectations from the public towards the sector. Free events don't generate income for the municipality, thus with time they received less attention from decision makers. According to the informants of this research, CCI matters account for least than 5% of overall time spent by municipal government during their official gatherings, with at least 95% of time being allocated for healthcare services and public welfare. Sport events on the other hand received better traction within the municipal government, providing recourses to the local budget by organizing numerous events, engaging private business and attracting tourists to visit Central Finland (Neste rally annual event). This situation has caused shift in attention and interest from CCI towards welfare and spots, which inspired following preposition:

Proposition 3a: Lack of sufficient business model for local CCI impacts rising interest towards sport and entertainment industries from the utilitarian, strategic, municipal development perspective.

It has been acknowledged by the informants of this research, that sports services bring recourses to the municipality, while cultural services spare them. Absence of effective business model for the local CCI together with rigid boundaries within public cultural institutions, perpetuate loop of maladaptation and institutional inertia prevents field actors from engaging in a quality institutional work, innovate and introduce new practices that would facilitate resource autonomy and help cultural institutions attract new customers. One of the factors, acknowledged by the informants that prevent development of unified cultural policies, might be caused by a sense of identity ambiguity. On the organizational level identity refers to actors' reaction towards introspective questions regarding what is fundamental to their organization's existence, such as "Who are we as an organization?" or "Who do we want to be as an organization?" (Albert and Whetten, 1985). Unless answered with confidence, unresolved identity questions might cause general lack of strategic planning and clear vision for the future of a cultural policy, which provides grounds for the following proposition:

Proposition 3b: Ambiguous boundaries of cultural identity undermines consolidated CCI policy within public institutions.

According to informants' own words Central Finland as a cultural entity has been shaped not so long time ago (after the Winter War) with migration of a large number of people from previously Finnish Karelia and other parts of Finland. A large number of people with diverse backgrounds and cultural identities gathered in the area, forming a new social environment, which can be compared to a process of a spin-off, when a part of a larger company separates and shapes a new company with a new identity. Talking these questions might provide grounds for engaging in institutional work and help public CCI sector develop sufficient strategies and up to date business models that would allow for further

development of the sector, adopting effective practices and forming new boundaries.

6.4 Institutional work blueprint by private CCI actors

Analyzing interview data from research informants gave a good perspective on differences between approaches of public and private CCI field actors. Differences occur not just in visible organizational structures and hierarchy, operational activities, sources of funding but also in the mindset and attitudes, psychological coping mechanisms and general consciousness of organizational boundaries and practices. Significant element of discovered differences lied in the approach towards boundary work and practice work, performed by public and private sector CCI actors. Boundary work has been studied as an continuous attempt of actors to create, shape, and disrupt boundaries (Gieryn, 1983, 1999). Being aware of the limitations and actively engaging in boundary work by the private CCI actors, helped to set them apart in this research and provided additional insights to the possible blueprints that could be adopted by public CCI actors.

Unlike public creative industry institutions, private sector actors are focused on adjusting their practices according to the changing environment. Realization of practices as shared routines (Whittington, 2006) and boundary structure helps private CCI actors engage in what is called - institutional work. The notion of institutional work determines more conscious forms of action (based on continuous introspection and analysis of the environment) that are aimed at intentionally affecting institutions (Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca, 2009). When combined together boundary work and practice work can influence development of institutions, however empirically identifiable configurations of boundary work and practice work that co-occur were less studied (Kellogg, 2010). Private creative industries actors demonstrated high capability of looking into the future and ask questions related to development of their organizations, which helped to formulate next proposition:

Proposition 4a: Projective agency empowers boundary and practice work within private CCI institutions and contributes to effective institutional work.

Future of private CCI institutions is a big concern for the field actors, especially when it comes to attracting new young audience. Adjusting the cultural services and doing market research, better understanding of needs and wants of a specified target audience helps private CCI actors stay relevant to the age group. This comes down to adjusting the products and services these actors develop and offer to the market, sometimes at the cost of re-organizing their established practices and adjusting existing boundaries. Conscious work of actors on adjusting

boundaries and practices, among others, involves “projective,” oriented into the future agency (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998) – the type of agency present in the discussions of institutional entrepreneurship (DiMaggio, 1988; and Lawrence, 2004). Often referred to as a stressful and tedious process, institutional work within respective creative institutions is focused on overcoming regulations and limitations of the rigid boundaries established by their environment, especially when it comes to engagement with decision makers outside of the private actors’ own boundaries, which support the following proposition:

Proposition 4b: Overcoming institutional inertia as a by-product of systematic institutional work provides flexibility and creates new opportunities for private CCI actors.

Stepping out of the “comfort zone”, adopting the internal locus of control and focusing on targeting current issues a hand developed a certain adaptive mechanism that can be also referred to as “habitual” agency, which in essence is a combination of certain already established routines, which can also be identified as “practical/ evaluative” agency, with a primary goal of focusing on addressing the “dilemmas, and ambiguities of presently evolving situations” (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). Cross-institutional collaboration, establishing new practices and innovating helps private CCI actors achieve effective institutional change. One of the core elements of work in the private sector became intrinsic motivation which was manifested in the form of mission or calling, as referred to by the informants of the research, which inspired following proposition:

Proposition 4c: Intrinsic motivation provides grounds for engaging in effective institutional work despite limitations of rigid boundaries and outdated practices.

Formed within the framework of social sciences, specifically social psychology, the notion of “intrinsic motivation” (Deci, E., 1971) determines conditions of mind of an individual or a group of people which instigate internal motivation within these very individuals as opposed to the external motivation driven by external factors (external validation or approval). In the previous studies on intrinsic motivation a set or various experiments has been conducted to observe behaviour of research subjects, which made it evident that natural motivation (internal) for some activities do not require or involve rewards and was revealed to be a crucial component of social, physical and cognitive development (Ryan, R., et al., 2000).

One of the key features of private CCI actors became a drive for active adaptation towards changing environment, which is motivated by the internal feeling of “mission” and “work of life” to engage in developing and providing quality cultural services and products. A need to drive boundary work and practice work

is motivated by the internal locus of control and taking accountability for ones' actions as well as projective agency that helps to maintain a long term "big picture" ahead, while being agile and flexible and adjusting to the changing environment, actively engaging in boundary and practice work.

6.5 Inhibition of boundary work

The CCI institutions participating in this study, especially within public sector have been caught in between rigid boundaries and habitual practices that prevent these institutions from engaging in quality boundary work, essential for empowering positive institutional change. As shown in the Figure 3, developed maladaptation of public CCI which manifests itself in a external locus of control behavioural patterns, resource scarcity, self-isolation and rejection of innovation became a result of recursive patterns of institutional inertia between public CCI institutions and decision-makers on the municipal and national government levels.

In other words, we can observe a recursive relationship pattern between inefficient practices suggested from the top to the bottom of the theoretical model (Figure 3) and boundaries on the bottom, shaped by these practices, which in tern impact CCI actors maladaptive practices and lead towards reinforcement of this recursive relationship and preserving it, inhibiting efficient boundary work.

CCI actors in the public sector shared their concerns about the future of their institutions if nothing changes, however these changes, according to them have to occur from the top to the bottom, reallocating responsibility for these changes on the shoulders of decision-makers, expecting boundary work to being instigated externally.

When it comes to the very core of the maladaptation practices learned by the public CCI actors, the "habitual approach" or performing actions in a certain before-hand determined manner in a rapidly-paced and constantly changing environment becomes a major obstacle for quality boundary work as well as general institutional change that faces repeated challenges due to the very nature of the boundaries that it has been preserving over an extended periods of time.

On practice this can be observed through routines (practices) that public CCI perform, specifically allocating at least 60% of time on reporting, which creates lack of time for executing their activities on acquiring new resources and communication with other members of the CCI network, paired with preservation of own boundaries and rejection of innovative ways of tackling existing challenges and supported by the external locus of control creates a negative impact of these institutions, mainly through inhibition of boundary work, which provides grounds for the following proposition:

Proposition 5: Recursive relationship between learned maladaptation and institutional inertia within CCI hierarchy prevents effective development of new boundaries, cross-boundary connections strategies, boundary breaching and inhibits boundary work overall.

In essence, boundary work represents the attempts of actors to create, shape, and disrupt boundaries (Gieryn, 1983, 1999). Until today, three major types of boundary work have been recognized. At first, we can look as establishing boundaries to protect autonomy, prestige, and control of resources, which is dominant within social sciences (Gieryn, 1983; Burri, 2008) as well as the sociology of professions (Abbott, 1988; Suddaby and Greenwood, 2005).

Furthermore we look at strategies to manage cross-boundary connections studies, which have focused on the boundary objects (Star and Griesemer, 1989; Bechky, 2003;) as well as of boundary spanning actors (Kellogg, Orlikowski, Yates, 2006) as well as Hargadon and Sutton, 1997; Bartel, 2001, which include processes and artifacts that “work to establish a shared context” (Carlile, 2002).

Organization tools such as project management software and design drawings can enhance coordination across departments as well as groups (Carlile, 2002, 2004; Bechky, 2003). Respectively, boundary organizations (Lawrence and Hardy, 1999; O’Mahony and Bechky, 2008) are utilized to coordinate groups while preserving their distinct identities (Miller, 2001). Alternative example of boundary work is represented by boundary breaching, studied in the social movement literature (Zald and McCarthy, 1987; Schneiberg and Lounsbury, 2008).

In attempt to overcome this obstacle, public CCI actors may adopt an internal locus of control and take responsibility in their own hands, by instigating boundary work, establishing cross-institutional connections, coordinate with other members of the creative network and communicate their requests clearly to the representatives of decision-making authority body within the CCI infrastructure, integrating these practices within the social structures of these institutions.

6.6 Inhibition of practice work

The reasoning behind inhibition of boundary work has been already presented, linked with the inability of public CCI actors to engage in either establishing new boundaries, managing cross-boundary connections or breaching existing boundaries. Caught in the perpetual loop of protecting existing rigid boundaries and engaging in less efficient practices contribute to another problem – inhibition of practice work.

In essence, practice work refers to actors' attempts to affect the recognition and acceptance of various sets of routines, instead of engaging in those routines (Zietsma, Lawrence, 2010). Informants of the study have indicated that current practices within the public CCI institutions are lacking flexibility and also need to be adjusted to increase efficiency as well as obtain new resources for the respective creative institutions. However, fear of failure as indicated in the theoretical model (Figure 3) alongside with the lack of understanding of their own customers, being disconnected from major decision-makers got caught in the behavioral patterns that inhibit practice work. Once again, general expectation of the public CCI actors is to receive help instead of organize it for themselves by establishing cross-boundary connections, engaging in community networking and utilizing successful experience of CCI actors from other municipalities around the world. Absence of effective boundary work reinforces rigid boundaries and prevents formation of effective practice work, which helped to formulate following proposition:

Proposition 6: Inhibition of boundary work along with maladaptive practices within public CCI institutions prevents effective practice work from evolving.

Creative institutions in the public sector choose to maintain same sets of practices and disengage from participation in effective practice work. Ideally, new practices have to emerge alongside with mechanisms for their implementation. Institutional research literature has accounts of multiple studies on actors' efforts to create practices and build mechanisms to facilitate their usage as a part of institutional entrepreneurship and innovation (DiMaggio, 1988; Hargrave and Van de Ven, 2006). To change existing practices public CCI actors have to engage in what is called "disruptive" approach. Disrupting practices involves dismantling the normative, cognitive, and regulative mechanisms supporting them (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006).

Instead, public CCI actors preserve and follow existing practices, regardless of their understanding of lack of their efficiency. Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) in their study on practices and boundaries found that maintaining practices involves developing and policing the normative, cognitive, and regulative

structures : “ensuring adherence to rules systems” (e.g., Fox-Wolfgramm, Boal, and Hunt, 1998) and “reproducing existing norms and belief systems” (e.g., Zilber, 2009). What public CCI institutions should focus is engaging in boundary work and practice work, as within the interplay of both lays path towards institutional change. The interplay of boundary work and practice work has received less attention in the previous research, but is in focus of this master thesis.

6.7 Failure of institutional change within public CCI

In the previous chapters data and its analysis pointed to the realization that public CCI institutions, participants of this research in Jyväskylä have failed in engaging in effective institutional work, which led to failure of institutional change. At the time when public statistics on number of cultural events, number of visitors and new cultural projects and ventures wish to still get better, this research focuses more on actions or rather lack of actions by the public CCI actors, that led to the failure, as well as deep rooted psychological behavioral patterns that facilitated this situation.

To justify and validate such conclusion, a reference to the approach towards institutional work has been adopted: The target is to get a deeper understanding of institutional work on the institutional level, specifically arranged through specific behaviors, internal practices and boundaries within public CCI institutions, participants of this study as well as psychological factors that impact these behaviours.

To understand the reason behind failure of institutional change we should look at the conditions under which this was possible. Fundamental elements for institutional change is prior interplay of boundary work and practice work. Prior research has demonstrated crucial correlation between boundary work and practice work as primary contributors to institutional stability or change (Zietsma, Lawrence, 2010). In other words, if institutional change has not occurred we can assume the reason is behind unrealized boundary and practice work.

Through numerous interviews with the informants of this study it became evident that public CCI institutions operate within rather rigid boundaries and follow similar sets of practices, which set them up for a rather undesired position on the market of creative services. Unlike private CCI actors, public cultural institutions don't have same level of freedom for decision-making as their organizational structure and activities are heavily regulated and restricted by the size of public funding, provided by the national and municipal governments. Planning of events and services is done far in advance, which prevents public cultural institutions from being agile and adapt to a rapidly paced market environment, emergence of new competitors and innovative solutions, constantly entering the cultural market.

Following the consequential logic of cause-effect we can observe a rather maladaptive patterns in the public CCI actors' behavior. With a different level of diversity of their practices, they fall under a similar patterns, dictated by the restrictive boundaries and public policies in the field of culture. Lack of resources, both financial and human as well as time comes out of the fact that at least 60% of time, public CCI actors have to focus on reporting for the public funding to the national and municipal government. Paired with a rather ineffective communicational behavior and lack of cross-institutional collaborations, rejection of innovation and external locus of control, creates a perpetual loop which is referred to in a social psychological literature as "learned helplessness" (Maier, S. F., & Seligman, M. E. 1976).

In essence, learned helplessness manifests itself in fundamental belief of an individual that whatever actions they take, would not lead to a desired outcome, thus the "easiest" way out is to not take any action. This believe system is shaped under conditions of enduring, stressful situation, where individuals' actions didn't not lead to any positive outcome. As a result of a continuous exposure to similar events, individuals start developing the learned helplessness behavioral believes.

Operating under a pressure of learned helplessness, scared to fail and take risks, avoiding basic data collection and better understanding of their customers needs and pains led public CCI actors towards execution of repeated set of practices, that eventually led them to believe that their own actions won't make any difference and that institutional work has to be performed from outside, by a third party or decision-makers in government hierarchy. Meanwhile, decision-makers on the municipal level feel lack of initiative from the public CCI institutions and focus at least 95% of their time on welfare and social services. Rather rigid boundaries dictated by the significant difference in age between the desired target audience (young people, 30% of the municipal population) and decision-makers doesn't make it any easier.

From the general perspective of economical viability, sports industry on the other hand is seen as more attractive to the municipality, due to its ability to generate income for the region and local economy (Neste rally case). Most of public events are traditionally rendered free of charge, which prevents public CCI institutions from generating sufficient self-sustainable income, making them dependentt, subsidized and less attractive to the decision-makers. What we can observe here is a perpetual loop of detrimental institutional stability, where public CCI actors are not ready to engage in a productive boundary and practice work, consequently leading to desired institutional change. The novelty in the findings are based on the attempt to analyze and better understand interplay of boundary work and practice work as well as their impact on institutional change and stability as a product of institutional work.

7 DISCUSSION

This master thesis participates in the discussion of interplay of boundaries and practices of CCI institutions in the municipality of Jyväskylä (Central Finland) from the perspective of institutional work (practice work/boundary work). The motivation was to research the current state of cultural industry and involvement of its participants (actors within private and public sector) in institutional work as well as interplay of boundaries and practices within studied cultural institutions. The following section discusses the various potential useful applications this master thesis offers. The theoretical contributions are presented, as well as possibilities for future research in the discussed field. As current study was deeply rooted in practical issues, this section also provides suggestions for possible practical implications of the findings of the current study. This section provides discussion on the limitations of this study in the conclusion section.

7.1 Theoretical contribution

Involvement of CCI actors in institutional work is a complicated process that requires clear understanding of a need and importance of engagement in defining efficient and healthy practices and boundaries of cultural institutions these actors represent. The scarce literature that exists on this subject reflects how institutional work (boundary work and practice work) is utilized to provide stability and impact change within institutions, however the mechanisms of interplay of boundary work and practice work has been left unexamined to a larger degree. From previous research we know that practices and boundaries co-exist in a recursive relationship in which existing boundaries delimit the overall scope of practices, while existing practices enact and support boundaries in a model of any given institutional structure (Zietsma, Lawrence, 2010).

Dissatisfaction with existing practices may motivate actors to engage in practice work in order to affect existing practices directly, however if boundaries prevent from such action, actors might engage first in boundary work, in order to create conditions that would enable engagement in practice work. Both existing practices and boundaries may motivate practice work and boundary work. It has been identified that combined effects of boundary work and practice work can influence the evolution of institutions, yet little is known, whether there are empirically identifiable configurations of boundary work and practice work that co-occur (Kellogg, 2010).

In order to understand the level of engagement of studies CCI actors in institutional work and how it affects boundaries and practices within studied

cultural institutions, this thesis is facilitated by literature and previous research on the subject of institutional work. Institutional work serves as the foundation for the broader theoretical framework developed in this thesis work. The theoretical contributions of this thesis falls into these three fields: institutional work, practice work, boundary work. Based on these fundamental categories I have attempted to develop a theoretical reasoning behind failure of engagement of studies cultural institutions in institutional work and as a result - disruption and maintenance of creative industry in the municipality of Jyväskylä.

Current study sets to demonstrate interplay of boundary work with practice work or rather the failure of studied CCI institutions to initiate boundary work and practice work, thought acknowledging need to challenge the "status quo" and disrupt strong boundaries and rigid practices that slow down and negatively impact development of CCI in municipality of Jyväskylä. The contributions to various theoretical fields are presented in the chapters below.

7.1.1 Institutional work in CCI institutions of Jyväskylä

Research question 1: How boundaries and practices within key cultural industries institutions of Jyväskylä city are created, maintained and disrupted?

Following the previous discussions in this thesis, notion of institutional work has been researched within various fields of social sciences, highlighting presence of boundaries and practices as the key components of the concept. Due to the fact that creative industries as a subject of social studies research was brought to attention of research community only recently, there has been only a few studies on CCI from rather economical perspective rather than from the institutional perspective, highlighting several studies conducted in UK, Finland, Netherlands, South Korea.

The theoretical contribution of this master thesis in the field of institutional work within CCI institutions sits between discussion on boundary work and practice work as well as their interplay, which as noted earlier has been largely overlooked in the previous research. Previous literature indicates a vast number of sociological studies focusing on boundaries as categories of objects or activities (Lamont, Molnar, 2002) as well as boundary objects (Carlile, 2002), boundary spanners (Rosenkopf, Nerkar, 2001; Levina, Vaast, 2005).

Prior research within the realm of institutional work focused on defining boundaries and practices as distinct, interdependent features of groups that exist in a recursive relationship where boundaries delimit sets of legitimate practices, with practices supporting particular group of boundaries (Zietsma, Lawrence, 2010). Social sciences like sociology and anthropology show that strong boundaries lead to increase in surveillance as well as enforcement mechanisms in com-

munities (Gusfield, 1975; Collins, 1981) as well as encourage shared understanding of social obligations and norms. on boundary work or practice work separately, while missing the has not devoted significant attention to this topic, so this master thesis provides a fresh insight into the subject matter.

This thesis contributes to the expanding literature on institutional work by examining and studying functionality of boundaries and practices as well as interplay of boundary work and practice work in a completely fresh and largely understudied field of creative economy by presenting the implications of institutional work on the operational day to day level of selected cultural institutions – participants of the study. The recursive relationship model between boundaries and practices, practice work and boundary work studied in this master thesis corroborate these statements, which are discussed in the following section.

This thesis contributes to the growing literature on institutional work in the field of creative economy by presenting the implications of interplay of boundary work and practice work on a day-to-day operational level of studied CCI institutions. Rather than focusing exclusively on practice work over boundary work or the other way around, supporting the parallel study of both instances of institutional work, as it was done in previous research (Gieryn, 1983; Arndt, Bigelow, 2005 and Suddaby, Greenwood, 2005) I decided to focus on the interplay of boundary and practice work as well as recursive relationship between them. In a recursive model, boundaries and practices exist in a relationship where boundaries delimit the legitimate scope of practices, whilst practices enact and support existing boundaries (Zietsma, Lawrence, 2010).

Research data presented in this master thesis supports the recursive relationship model between boundaries and practices, boundary work and practice work suggested by Zietsma, Lawrence (2010), as we can see from the Figure 3 in Chapter 6 of this master thesis.

7.1.2 Institutional change and stability as a byproduct of institutional work

Research question 2: How does interplay of boundary work and practice work in studied CCI institutions impact institutional change and stability?

A wide scope of CCI institutions studies within the framework of this master thesis demonstrated different levels of readiness to adopt institutional change through boundary or practice work. Both public and private sector cultural institutions operate within a designated set of boundaries and practices with a rather strong boundaries and practices within public sector, with lack of flexibility and institutional independence based on the bureaucratic nature of the operational environment of any public agency based on annual planning, reporting, defined set of practices and general lack of flexibility when it comes to a need to quickly respond to a fast paced and swiftly changing environment.

Rigid boundaries and practices prevent public sector CCI institutions from freely engaging in boundary or practice work. Dependent on the governmental support to a larger degree. According to Gusfield (1975) and Collins (1981) strong boundaries facilitate surveillance and enforcement mechanisms in communities, which we can observe in a rather cumbersome reporting system, which according to several representatives of public CCI institutions might take up to 60% of work time. Same time could have been allocated to establish new meaningful partnerships or plan new projects that would provide new resources and opportunities for the institution. Instead public CCI institutions follow the predefined set of practices, maintaining unshaken boundaries as well as institutional stability as a result.

Cultural managers (main actors) of public CCI institutions experience need in engaging in practice work, however existing strong boundaries don't allow them to do so. Rather rigid institutional boundaries also are reinforced by lack of political will to change the current state of affairs due to the lack of profitability of public CCI institutions and thus lowering their priority in the greater scheme of local economic policy. Public policy attention is focused on more profitable and thus more "relevant" fields of local economy. Lack of personal initiative as well as disconnect between field actors and decision makers, lack of communication between CCI units, unwillingness to study their target audience prevents public CCI institutions from engaging in a quality practice work that would enable positive institutional change.

Following the fundamental notion of boundaries and practices we can find a large stream of work focusing on "actors' work" to create, maintain and disrupt institutions (DiMaggio, 1988; Oliver, 1991, 1992; Dacin, Godstein, Scott, 2002, Lawrence, Suddaby, 2006). In institutional research a large number of studies have focused on "embedded agency" (Holm, 1995; Seo, Creed, 2002; Greenwood, Suddaby, 2006). Agency's impact on institutional change at its finest can be observed by field actors in private CCI sector. Free from a duty of heavy bureaucracy, private cultural institutions demonstrate rather flexible boundary organization as well as practices.

Due to the higher level of independence and autonomy, smaller size of decision-maker pool and horizontal hierarchical structure, private institutions are able to adjust to the changing environment and engage in practice work or boundary work depending on a specific need, based on the current state of the market. Self-reliance comes at the forefront of private CCI institutions' operations, which entails rather flexible practice work and boundary work. Some private institutions are governed exclusively by 1-3 people, which provides additional layer of flexibility in decision-making, avoiding "unnecessary discussions and negotiations", some are governed by a board of members who select an operational manager or director with full power conducting operational policy single-handedly.

Efficiency in studied private CCI institutions is measured by number of tickets sold, number of people visited and number of projects organized. In this way, institutions have enough data about their customers, trends, social requests and needs that allows them to decide whether to engage in practice or boundary work, stimulating positive institutional change.

7.1.3 Boundary work and practice work as a precursor for institutional change

Research question 3: What prevents even greater success of regional CCI institutions and what can be done to support the future growth of the sector?

Both public and private CCI institutions researched on within a framework of this master thesis have demonstrated rather different models engaging in institutional work. Both public and private cultural institutions lack communication as well as exchange of ideas within the network, often ending up dealing with strategic issues by themselves and hoping for help, which can be seen as a desire to protect their autonomy. As it has been noted in earlier social sciences studies, by engaging in boundary work actors aim to establish boundaries to protect autonomy, prestige and control of resources (Gieryn, 1983; Burri, 2008).

As observed in social sciences each phenomenon and behavioral pattern might have both positive and negative effects. Strong boundaries within public cultural institutions help to coordinate work of a larger number of people, who receive a monthly paycheck. Spread between multiple departments, focusing on their specific tasks, they depend on long term planning and defined set of practices and boundaries within every given large cultural institution. Supported on the regular basis by the government these institutions have a privilege of not needing to quickly adjust to the needs of the market as their income mainly depends on the government rather than on customers.

On the other hand, these institutions lack flexibility and both engagement in practice and boundary work, demonstrate external locus control tendencies as well as avoid experiments or innovation, expect positive change to come from outside (external locus of control) rather than within the institutions (boundary work). Public cultural institutions seem to unwillingly “maintain practices”, which involves developing and policing cognitive, normative and regulative structures that underpin them in two main ways: “ensuring adherence to rules systems” (Fox-Wolfgramm, Boal, Hunt, 1998) as well as “reproducing existing norms and belief systems” (Zilber, 2009).

If some institutions manage to engage with other CCI actors for the mutual benefit, others are self-isolated to a larger degree by the rigid and rather inflexible boundaries. Isolated from colleagues, local government they end up in a stagnation state rather than working towards positive institutional change. While

occupations guard their core task domains from potential incursions by competitors (Bechky, 2003), they miss opportunities to collaborate, innovate and engage in positive institutional change.

Private CCI institutions on the other hand demonstrate rather flexible set of boundaries and practices, allowing them to quickly adjust to the needs of the market and engage in both practice and boundary work. Free from extensive bureaucracy, focusing on customer's needs, private cultural institutions attempt to engage in practice work and boundary work, depending on the current need of the specific market. This allows them to effectively impact institutional change.

A good example of such change is practice work around content of cultural events with regards to the customer's expectations as well as strive to increase number of customer target groups by organizing diverse events as well as taking financial risk and establishing new connections with other actors in the field. Previous research suggests that practices and boundaries exist in a recursive relationship, where practices enact and support boundaries, while boundaries delimit the legitimate scope of practices (Zietsma, Lawrence, 2010). Private CCI institutions, like in the support of the previous research literature demonstrate skillful interplay of boundary work and institutional work in order to stay relevant on the market and keep a flow of customers as well as expanding existing pool of target audiences. Despite communication with public sector and authorities still being a problem, private CCI institutions demonstrate higher productivity engaging in institutional work compared to their colleagues in the public sector.

7.2 Practical implications

This study examines how CCI institutions in both public and private sector operate within one Finnish city. Both practices and boundaries as well as interplay of boundary work and practice work were observed. All interviewed field actors and institutional cultural managers have indicated issues that require additional attention. Identified issues along with relevant findings that might be useful for CCI institutions if applied on practice are presented in this section. Though this study focused exclusively on one city, its findings and recommendations might be of interest for other Finnish municipalities, as all of them share similar organizational structure (division on public and private CCI institutions). Ministry of Education and Culture might as well find insightful ideas and practical suggestions based on the results of this master thesis.

The propositions formed as a result of this research study provide a starting point for a discussion on institutional change and stability, practice work and boundary work as well as other relevant organizational matters within the CCI institutions in Finland. No other prior studies in existing literature have focused

on institutional work and its implications within CCI institutions in Finland specifically from a behavioral or psychological perspective. This thesis, simultaneously, provides tools for not only understanding boundaries and practices of cultural institutions, but also attempts to analyze psychological factors that contribute to the formation of these boundaries and practices in the first place. Both public and private CCI institutions face similar set of challenges with a certain degree of difference based on their initial boundaries, thus following suggestions are reported in two separate categories (private and public). The essential implications for practice are as follows:

7.2.1 Resource scarcity

Public CCI sector – predominantly dependent on public (governmental) funding, secured by national tax policies as well as national lottery money collected by the government. Major concern of public actors is whether funding going to be reduced in favor of other industries at some point in the future. Traditionally culture as an industry has been affected among the first when it comes to reduction of governmental spending and “cutting” budgets. Provided that at least 50-60% of public cultural institutions’ budgets are secured by public money, it is a sensitive topic and cultural managers in the field are seeking for more security guarantees.

To resolve resource scarcity for public CCI institutions they might apply experience of their colleagues in the sports industry and introduce the practice of involving sponsors and partners for individual projects among private business actors. Long history of collaboration between brands and sport events has created large number of opportunities for both private business and sport events. Private funding, sponsorships and partnerships might secure additional resources for the public CCI institutions. A good example of synergy between private business and public sector in Jyväskylä is Nestee rally that on average brings around 14 million euros to the Central Finlands’ regional budget contributed by attendees of the event on an annual basis. Creating new attractive events and festivals might help collect financial resources from facilitating both internal and international tourism as well;

Private CCI sector – functions autonomously and received financing from selling tickets to their events as well as engaging investors. One of concerns of the private sector is lack of attention to their work from the municipal authorities, as well as limited public funding that doesn’t provide opportunities for “new players” and rather entirely focuses on supporting already existing ones. As any business, private CCI institutions have to rely on themselves and major concern for them might be lack of financial or human resources when it comes to periods when due to various reasons attendance of the event is impossible.

A good example of such situation became Covid-19 between 2020-2021 and introduction of regulations and restrictions that limited number of potential customers of private CCI institutions. For many small businesses it became a real challenge, whilst others managed to adjust and innovated, introduced new services in order to stay “afloat”. A governmental program for supporting small and medium sized businesses might be one of the possible solutions of this challenge. Alternatively, innovation and implementation of new services might benefit those organizations that have flexible boundaries and are able to engage in practice and boundary work in order to adjust to the rapidly changing market.

7.2.2 Self-isolation

Public CCI sector – is coordinated through municipal Sports and Cultural Services department of local government. In total there are 6-7 institutions that fall into this category including local museums, city library, city theatre, symphony orchestra, etc. Though cultural managers, representing these institutions, gather on a regular basis together with representatives of the municipal government there seems to be not enough communication or cooperation between them personally. Often occupied with internal practices and focused exclusively on their own projects these institutions lack communication and often don’t follow up with their colleagues’ activities, which leads to stagnation and lost opportunities. Extensive bureaucracy, contribute to the general lack of interaction between the public cultural units.

To improve this situation municipal government may establish new practices related to engaging public CCI institutions and encourage them to engage in new projects together. Some share of public funding may also be allocated for incentivizing cooperation in the sector and stimulate new projects, which would be curated by several public cultural institutions. A good example of such collaboration between public and private cultural sector actors became “The city of digital art” digital art festival, organized by Nordic Art Network ry together with Jyväskylän Taidemuseo (Jyväskylä Art Museum) and City of Jyväskylä in 2019. In just 3 days of the event, dedicated to VR and AR art, advertised by the event’s informational partner Keski-suomalainen newspaper, over 1500 visitors attended, which was a 15x times larger than a regular weekend audience attendance.

Private CCI sector – maintains flexible practices and can engage in boundary work when necessary. Some of them feel negligence and lack of general attention from the municipal government, otherwise they are able to experiment and initiate cross-institutional cooperation together with other private and public cultural institutions. One way to tackle lack of municipal attention might be initiation of collaborative efforts and establishing of new cross-institutional connections, engaging other public cultural institutions in join projects.

Expanding professional networks, involving new players on the market and initiation cross-institutional cooperation might facilitate work and efficiency of both private and public cultural institutions, contributing to the growth and development of CCI in the region. Labor unions in CCI sector might also contribute with organizing networking events or facilitate cross-institutional collaborations overall.

7.2.3 Rejecting innovation

Public CCI sector – demonstrates complete dependence on its boundaries, established by public policies in the field of culture as well as public funding procedures. Established a while ago, public CCI boundaries outline the scope of practices that heavily regulate the sectors' actor's behavior. General lack of flexibility for engaging in boundary or practice work results in passive attitudes and rather weak motivation to implement any changes or even experiment in the field. All together it has impacted development of a psychological state (external locus of control) which is wider described in the following section of this research. Successful examples of CCI management with less regulations and more freedom from other municipalities (Edinburgh) are well known to the local public CCI actors but strong boundaries prevent any action towards analyzing or taking action.

Lack of motivation to change anything is also reflected in opinions provided by the sector's leaders that expressed general unwillingness to implement any new practices, since those that are in place have been established long time ago and establishing of new processes or trying something new might not be successful, as a result existing outdated boundaries are continuously guarded and followed. One way to tackle this might be carefully studying experience of colleagues from other countries and analyzing what forms of boundary and practice work might bring desired result in obtaining new resources, creative freedoms and positive institutional change. Encouragement of cross-institutional collaborations and attracting private sector actors and businesses might bring new opportunities and fresh ideas. Active communication with municipal local and National governments in order to create positive grounds for institutional change might be of interest.

Private CCI sector – has more flexibility when it comes to engaging in a boundary or practice work. Generating its own revenue helps the sector to allocate resources where it is most needed in a given period of time. Cross-institutional collaborations are more common and are practiced more frequently. Where private CCI institutions could innovate still is engaging businesses and new partners outside of the cultural services realm. Private businesses and

brands have more flexibility when it comes to decision-making due to their constant touch with the market and need to secure their revenues from their customers. Adopting new communication technologies might provide additional insight and channel of communication with existing and new customers.

Implemented wisely such implementations may benefit both actors and their customers. A good example of utilizing new technologies became a online live virtual concert by Finnish rock project “Nightwish” in May 2021 during Covid 19 pandemic and high level of restrictions on any public cultural events. Together with a technological partner in virtual production, they were able to live stream one of their concerts to the record 150 000 viewers (remote online audience) just in the first day, generating a bit over 6 000 000 euros in gross revenue.

7.2.4 External locus of control

Public CCI sector – nurtured and heavily regulated, dependent on public funding, demonstrates rather strong boundaries and doesn’t intend to engage into a boundary/practice work, leaving out the responsibility for its own development into the hands of authorities or outsiders, demonstrating strong external locus of control (Rotter J.B., 1966) patterns. Lack of opportunities for local employment in the cultural sector, expectations of the authorities to take major role in implementing institutional change leads towards passive behavior and lack of initiative demonstrated by the public CCI actors.

To counterbalance this psychological pattern public cultural institutions, have to understand that institutional change is a responsibility of these very institutions and that there are their actions or lack of such lead to the current state of affairs within their organization. Taking responsibility and full accountability for its own future might inspire some cultural actors in the public domain to re-evaluate their situation and engage in a boundary and practice work. Focusing on what they can control instead of focusing on what they can’t control might facilitate and speed up this process. Starting small, establishing new cross-institutional connections and collaborations might lead towards more firm realization that institutional change is the result of actions taken by this very institution.

Private CCI sector – demonstrates rather strong external locus of control, capable of incentivizing institutional change. Depends fully on its customers and thus has to be flexible and engage in practice or boundary work, depending on the needs of the market. Major concern for cultural managers in the private sector is maintaining its customer base and attracting new clients among younger people. Modern technology and social media are seen as rivals for attention and thus cultural sector has to innovate and find ways to attract young people. Some cultural managers were concerned about a lack in quality events for young people organized by the city.

Despite being one of the student capitals of Finland and unofficially holding a name “Athens of Finland”, younger generation is underserved, when it comes to public events. According to some interviewees, it almost feels like municipal government is mainly focused on providing quality cultural services to the older population, despite young people being a large part of this community, especially before and after summer holidays. Increasing number of cultural events for younger people might help private CCI institutions accommodate needs of a large part of local community, generate revenue and invest in their growth as well as provide additional opportunities for employment in the cultural sector and stimulate young professionals to stay in the area, rather than leave towards capital area or Lapland in search for more reliable and various employment opportunities.

Rather than hoping for external help and support, private sector adapts fast and can make even smallest budgets work in favor of cultural events. Where some public CCI managers see lack of resources and refuse to take action, private CCI managers see opportunities and attract customers even with small budgets, relying mainly on themselves. Flexibility and ability to engage in practice work stimulates positive institutional change.

7.2.5 Fear of failure

Public CCI sector – is afraid to “dream big”, according to numerous interviews collected in the course of this research. Stepping outside of ones’ comfort zone and confront ones’ strong boundaries takes courage and initiative. Strive for practice or boundary work meets strong boundaries that no one in the public sector dares to challenge. Heavily regulated and controlled by the public funding and cultural policies, dealing with extensive bureaucratic procedures on a daily basis – public CCI sector is limited in its ability to engage in boundary work. Some institutions lack spaces, time for networking and resources for creating new projects. Long history of preserving ones’ boundaries creates an obstacle for engaging in boundary work.

To tackle this challenge public CCI institutions might benefit from analyzing experience of their colleagues in the private sector and utilize this experience in their own work. Initiating new collaborations and developing cross-institutional network might also bring unexpectedly pleasing results. A prominent example of such collaboration was a digital art and new media festival “City of Digital Art” back in 2018 that was organized by representatives of both public and private CCI institutions as well as local municipal government. Increase of engagement by 15 times as well as attraction of new completely new audience of various age, became an unexpected reward for an experiment and trust invested in cross-institutional collaboration.

Bringing new partners to the table as well as engaging with local businesses, utilization of new technologies might provide additional insights and opportunities to challenge existing practices and boundaries. Additionally, national government might benefit from revising and optimizing its own policies when it comes to regulation and funding of public CCI institutions. Experience of such countries like Scotland, where CCI contributes at least 5 billion euros to the countries' GDP annually, where creative economy is largely profitable might also provide insights and inspire growth of domestic CCI's in Finland.

Private CCI sector – appears to encourage field actors to take more risks and utilize limited resources to generate income. Relying fully on themselves, private cultural institutions tend to not expect help from outside, but rather focus on utilizing their own resources. Failure as a source of experience and knowledge is seen as a necessity and is easily handled by the field actors rather than feared or avoided. Heavily affected during lockdowns, social distancing policies and restrictions between 2020 and 2021, private CCI institutions suffered from financial losses and complete halt of their operations.

Limited public funding options available for independent artists and private CCI institutions provided minimal amount of support and mainly demonstrated unpreparedness of the sector for rapid changes in the environment, making current methods of adaptation obsolete. With some private field actors going out of business, some rose up and adapted to the situation by implementing new communication technologies and gained new share of the market. Ability to adjust to the fast-paced environment demonstrated by private CCI institutions might provide useful insights for all field actors as well as representatives of public CCI sector.

7.2.6 Data ignorance

Public CCI sector – in majority of cases does not analyze or even collect any data about its customers. Number of events are counted, but who attends those events, what is their age, what are their interests or motivation to visit are at large not known to the institutions providing cultural services in the public domain. While global technological companies invest billions of dollars in big data projects, collecting a vast number of personal data from interests and purchase behavioral patterns to such details as what browser systems customers use, which websites they visit and their personalized keystroke style (all in the name of more accurate targeting marketing), local cultural institutions have little understanding of their own customers. Being a supporter of individual rights for protection of personal data I find it unnecessary and in no way favorable for cultural institutions to start collecting customers' data at scale.

I find it reasonable, though for cultural institutions to pay closer attention to their customer base and try to study and understand its (customer audience) better. This could be done through open and public questionnaires on sight, suggested for visitors of cultural institutions to fill voluntarily in exchange for discounts and free tickets to various cultural events. Information about interests, motives to attend cultural events, wishes and needs of customers might provide additional insight for cultural institutions in crafting their offering and developing their cultural programs and events. One of the dominant excuses for not collecting any data is that majority of public cultural events are free of charge and do not generate revenues for the city.

In my humble opinion, based on the conducted interviews with field actors and personal observations of the sector within several years gives me grounds to argue that absence of clear understanding about who is a customer and what they want is one of the major factors that prevents cultural institutions in public sector to generate so desired for the municipality revenue. Lack of action in this case won't generate neither revenue, nor useful insights. Additionally, municipal government might benefit from mapping CCI infrastructure in Jyväskylä with including all cultural field actors in both private and public sector, utilizing experience of colleagues from the UK, South Korea, Netherlands. Collected and analyzed data from the field might provide additional insights for development of public CCI institutions further.

Private CCI sector - has slightly better understanding of its customers and strives to attract new segments of the audience (mostly younger people) by adjusting its cultural programs and collecting information about needs of its audience. Additionally, private field cultural actors might benefit from conducting more active discussions with municipal government and exchange information as well as engage in cross-institutional collaborations and organize joint projects. More dynamic communication as well as more active stand in the local cultural network might provide additional insights for the mutual benefit of both private and public CCI institutions.

7.2.7 Bureaucracy

Public CCI sector - is operating within highly regulated, strong boundary limitations, that all cultural public field actors have to comply with. Extensive reporting is named by majority of interviewees as a major limitation, that can take up to 60% of the working time. Dependent on public funding, cultural field actors have to comply with the regulations and allocate relatively small amount of time for execution of their direct professional responsibilities. Another concern of field actors is lack of autonomy and insufficient speed of decision-making within the municipal government.

Especially strong are concerns within smaller institutions whose core team consists of under 3 people. To improve efficiency of these institutions one can argue in favor of automation of reporting systems that would efficiently decrease number of hours spent on filling up the forms. Whether outsourced to software solutions (AI applications) or delegated to external audit firms, necessary changes are to be made in order to increase efficiency and productivity of public CCI institutions. Lack of autonomy in decision-making might be compensated by implementation of boundary and practice work, once necessary time for such would be spared from automated reporting routines.

Private CCI sector – experiences less dependency on bureaucratic matters as long as they don't receive public funding. However, as the recent events of 2020 and 2021 have shown, extensive limitations and regulations imposed by the government had direct impact on private CCI sector as well. Those left without customers, due to the governmental lockdown policies and restrictions had to apply public grant money support in order to survive. To minimize future risks and preserve institutional autonomy, private CCI institutions might want to engage in R&D efforts in order to research and analyze potential benefits of modern technological solutions (NFT and Web 3.0 crypto applications), as well as peer to peer communication with its customers and organizing alternative virtual events that have already proven to be feasible alternatives to live events, in both economical and logistical perspectives.

7.2.8 Generation gap

Public CCI sector – is experiencing a lack of a new, younger audience. Majority of public cultural events are focused primarily on older generation or families with children, even though, there are not that many public events where one can find alternative activities for children, outside of being together with their parents. Young adults, teenagers find themselves less represented in the typical audience of the public cultural event. Young people, mostly entertain themselves through various activities outdoor (skating, outdoor sports) or indoors (gaming, consuming social media, watching TV, attending night clubs and bars). With sofa being one of the “main enemies” of CCI institutions, according to conducted interviews it seems that they compete mainly with interactive technologies and less expensive (on average) and more accessible for younger people instant gratification entertainment options.

To ensure future attendance, CCI institutions in the public sector should study their desired audience now and develop projects that would target the essential needs of younger people in communication, social validation, peer approval, etc. Winning an audience over their core values is not an easy task and requires knowing and understanding them. To tackle such task CCI institutions might engage an R&D agency or alternatively conduct sociological research,

which might be coordinated by either University of Applied Sciences or University of Jyväskylä. Understanding new trends and emerging technologies might be an additional task of such research and would benefit cultural institutions in general.

Private CCI sector – strives to engage younger audience as well. Alternative events, cross-institutional collaborations, active search for new ways to attract younger audience are more common amongst private cultural field actors. From their point of view there is a big gap between catering to the needs of older generation and social services and providing quality cultural services to almost 30 000 students both local and international. Desire to close this gap stimulates private CCI institutions to engage in practice work and find ways to get to the younger audience, whether it is by lowering ticket prices or engaging artists that increase engagement level amongst the young audience. Facilitation of these, already existing trends along with research on modern technology and communication trends might help engage younger audience even more efficiently.

7.2.9 Entertainment over culture

Public CCI sector – accepted the idea that model of public funding is the major source of income for supporting cultural events and projects. Relying almost completely on public funding makes public CCI institutions vulnerable in the situation when municipal government has to allocate financial resources between culture and sports, as another field actor or else competitor for the customers' attention. Selecting between entertainment that generates revenue and art that mainly consumes resources creates a situation in which municipal authorities have to decide on how to allocate existing resources.

Traditionally cultural events by the municipality have been free of charge for visitors, while sport events sell tickets, which provides additional revenues for organizers. In a way, we can observe two different models: private and business model along with public models co-existing and competing over limited public resources and attention. It has been noted in multiple interviews that sport action events tend to attract more spectators than an artistic event. Additionally, no sociological research has ever been done on the economic impact of CCI sector on the region as well as its impact on well-being and mental health of the local population.

To improve current situation and provide additional opportunities for both field actors from CCI and sports, a cross-institutional collaboration might be seen as a solution. Well organized and managed sport events might benefit from inclusion of cultural services, whilst cultural institutions get new revenue streams and learn from sport events about work with private businesses and partners.

A collaboration with mutual benefits would be the shortest way to satisfy needs of both sectors and bring about positive change to the common wellbeing. Engaging in both practice and boundary work would require well-coordinated efforts from all the participants. Additionally, a sociological research of the impact of CCI sector on well-being, including socio-economical factors would provide additional insights and clues as for how to better organize such cross-institutional collaboration.

Private CCI sector – has a better grip over its customers and defines its success by statistics and numbers. Engaging and learning from the sports events might provide additional insights for private CCI field actors as well as possible opening new avenues for attracting, previously hard to engage, audience groups.

7.2.10 Crisis of cultural identity

Public CCI sector – in its quest for new resources has to take into account the socio-historical and socio-economical factors that determine development and the very existence of the local community. Formation of a strong cultural identity is a question of time and CCI field actors are there to play the key role in formation of this unified cultural identity by providing quality services, engaging young people and forging this identity through the youth and its perception of this culture. To be more efficient in this process, public CCI field actors might utilize experience of its colleagues from sports sector by co-participation, co-creation and co-production for the mutual benefit of both institutional cultural units. Ability of cultural institutions to generate self-sufficient income as well as unite local audience will provide answers to the question of the Central Finnish cultural identity.

Quality of such process and effective methods of its implementation might be studied separately in a form of a longitude research. Additionally, it might help to provide access to City Council for representatives of a large part of the municipality – active youth, whose presence in the place where decisions for the municipality are made would ensure that needs and aspirations of the younger generation are also taken into consideration. CCI field actors have all the tools to engage in the quality practice and boundary work, all that is missing is an initiative from the bottom.

Private CCI sector - tackles issues with cultural identity crisis in its own ways. More flexible programs and involvement of younger people to form and shape relevant to the peer age group audience, creates a certain level of engagement that most definitely might be supported by the municipal government, would there be an initiative to engage in practice work from the side of private cultural actors.

7.2.11 Institutional change

Public CCI sector – highly regulated, dependent from the public funding, managed by municipal government and operates within strong boundaries, that to a large degree, determine approach of public field actors towards institutional work and specifically boundary work and practice work. Conditioned to follow strict norms and bear heavy bureaucratic weight, it developed a range of rigid beliefs and self-limiting psychological attitudes that prevent them to a full extent engage in practice work and boundary work. Comparatively insufficient revenues to cover their own expenses (up to 40%), drives public cultural institutions to seek public funding to cover other 60% of its expenses.

In a long term, such dependency might lead to shortages in personnel and dissolution of some of the cultural institutions, due to cuts in public funding and reconfiguration of national budgets with accordance to the needs of the nation in a specific time, for example defence expenses in the time of political and military instability in Europe. General lack of communication between cultural units and focus on their own issues, prevents institutions from exchange of ideas and new collaborations. Lack of ambition and opportunity to engage in boundary work leads to lower motivation of the personnel and lost opportunities.

Lack of data collection and analysis of this data prevents CCI institutions from better understanding its customers as well as their needs and as a result leads to inability of these institutions to adjust to the fast changes on the market, inability to craft timely and appropriate cultural service. Conditioned to believe that positive change can arrive only from outside and that main decisions have to be made by authorities only, developed an external locus of control, a behavioural pattern that drives public cultural field actors into a perpetual loop of institutional inertia.

To break the loop, public CCI institutions should realise the state of affairs and position these institutions are in, learn from their colleagues from the sport sector and take accountability for driving institutional change within their own respective institutions. Individual initiative does drive positive change as it has been observed from successful experience of conducting “City of Digital Art” virtual and augmented reality festival that was co-organized by Jyväskylä Art museum and Nordic Art Network ry (public and private CCI field actors) in coordination with the city of Jyväskylä. Started as an individual initiative from the private sector it got support by the public institutions and increased number of visitors to Art museum by 15 times, compared to the regular visitor count, attracting both younger and older audience.

Positive change required both stepping out of comfort zone of the public cultural institution, as well as taking risk, adjusting to the market and taking action in establishing new collaborations and attracting younger audience to the event, breaking out of the institutional inertia.

This experience might be useful for other public CCI institutions and provide some learning guidelines for driving practice work and boundary work in their respective institutions.

Private CCI sector – demonstrated readiness and sets example of success of individual initiatives as well as importance of communication with other field actors, stepping out of ones' comfort zone and adjusting to the changing market environment and building short term plans for their development. Heavily affected by the lockdown policies and restrictions for public gatherings, private CCI actors experienced critical lack of financial resources and had to apply governmental funding to survive, unable to generate revenue in the common for them fashion.

To prevent such scenarios in the future private CCI field actors might benefit from researching on modern communication tools (VR and AR events) as well as alternative methods of funding their own projects (NFTs, virtual events, online streaming, etc.) and other technologies enabled by the Internet 3.0 (crypto currencies, decentralized finance and block chain technologies). High level of flexibility and constant R&D efforts might provide additional help for those CCI actors, looking for driving institutional change through practice and boundary work.

7.2 Trustworthiness and position of the researcher

In order to maintain integrity of the research and present both data and findings, maintaining their validity, a researcher needs to ensure his or her subjective views, beliefs, opinions don't directly or indirectly impact the research process or at least minimize such impact, preventing research bias. Personal experiences, political views, ideologies might influence the position of the researcher (Berger, 2015). Thus, we can turn to the phenomenon of reflexivity, which attributes to reviewing oneself as a researcher within a determined research process (Berger, 2015). Researcher status of being an outsider or insider, gender and ethnicity are also elements of reflexivity, which are not seen as a "contaminant" of this phenomenon (Attia and Edge 2017).

Being actively involved with CCI from my previous diverse experience of involvement in several countries across Europe, North America and Asia, I find many similarities and also differences within local CCI field actors, with some aspects that affect my position as a researcher. Assuming the responsibility of the participation, a researcher identifies oneself as participating in the research (Berger, 2015).

Having been exposed for many years to CCI myself, I've had a number of assumptions and hypothesis that helped me craft research questions that participants of this research, active field actors, providing cultural services found relatable and important for discussion. After being actively involved in the local cultural scene, founding a non-profit cultural organization and arranging multiple events together with local both public and private cultural institutions as well as municipal government I've had an opportunity to observe and collect insights from the perspective of both insider and outsider.

Having worked previously with some of the interviewees on cultural projects I had a privilege of creating trust, which is essential in qualitative inquiry (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), as well as helped my interviewees feel more relaxed and allowed me to conduct an in-depth interview, collecting more meaningful and sincere answers. Detaching from existing preconceptions regarding studied CCI institutions was one of the prerequisites of conducting this research from the side of the researcher.

Coding of categories based on the collected interview data provides grounds for verification of the study (Creswell, 1998). The first-order categories emerged from the own terms of the interviewees. Collected data is verified via axial coding, where revisits to the data either deny or confirm the researcher's questions (Creswell, 1998), which in turn leads to theoretical saturation (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). A range of studies employing same research approach and methods, such as Nag et al. (2007) were organized in such a way that the study is conducted as a team effort by several researchers.

A team verifies coding of the categories as an individual work in coding. Individual researchers would then compare the categories. This master thesis was an individual effort in terms of data collection, analysis and coding of the categories. Presence of an additional coder would have naturally elevated the trustworthiness of the coding, however, as a researcher I have followed the guidelines of grounded theory respectively as well as paid attention to studies by Dennis Gioia in order to provide systematic discipline to the analysis. Gioia et al. (2012) methodology presents steps and foundational elements, which support development of a grounded theory. Those steps include research design, collection of data, analysis as well as articulation of a grounded theory. Both data analysis and grounded theory articulation as steps, differentiate the methodology from traditional grounded theory approaches. (Gioia et al.2012).

7.3 Suggestions for the further research and limitations

Regardless of time and space, team and resources, every research has its own set of limitations, and this master thesis has its own limitations as well. Empirical data (in-depth interviews) for this master thesis was collected among 14 local CCI institutions in both public and private sector in one of the municipalities of Finland. The study would benefit from inclusion of other CCI institutions from other towns and cities in a form of cross-institutional longitude research to provide even more generalized and comprehensive view on CCI in Finland. Whilst described phenomenon provides unique insights and is supported by the empirical data, validity of this research would have increased significantly by inclusion of more institutions, covering Finland and providing even more objective view, which could be implemented in the following studies dedicated to research of CCI in Finland.

Conducting along with comprehensive mapping of CCI field actors in both private and public setting as well as studies on socio-economic impact of cultural sector across multiple countries (for example in the Nordics, to begin with) would provide additional insights into uniqueness or commonality of issues emphasised in this master thesis on a greater international level. Conducting such research among other countries among multiple continents might be a step even further in better understanding needs and specifics of one of the major economy sectors of a post-industrial era.

One of the beneficial ways to develop this research endeavour would be inclusion of audience and most common CCI services customers into the research process. This way we could provide additional perspective on development of cultural sector not just from the perspective of field actors but also their customers, as a target audience for all of the CCI activities and projects. It would also be beneficial to conduct a socio-economic impact research of CCI institutions on local economies in the respective researched markets. Results of such research would provide additional grounds for decision makers in charge as well as help plan budgets and allocate resources by national and municipal authorities for the needs of local and national CCI institutions.

A good step towards facilitation of local and national CCI institutions would be a thorough research of other municipalities and their experience in arranging and developing local CCI sector. A good target for such research would be city of Edinburgh, where a myriad of cultural field actors arrange annual festivals on a monthly basis, attracting hundreds of thousands of visitors from across the Globe and largely contributing to the local economy, developing small and medium sized businesses as well as supporting local and international community.

Experience of such household names as Fringe festival and others, might provide useful insights into better understanding of how to coordinate work of public and private CCI field actors together with national and municipal governments and representatives of private business for numerous Finnish cities and towns.

The notion of practice work and boundary work has been emphasised in this study. Their importance in driving institutional change and institutional stability has been brought to light by numerous scholars (Gieryn, 1983,1999, DiMaggio, 1988, Abbott, 1983, Kellog 2010, Lawrence, 2010) , however there is a gap in the literature regarding interplay of boundary work and practice work. As I discovered, strong boundaries maintained and non-disrupted for a longer period of time prevent field actors from engaging in important practice work, following with a number of psychological believes and attitudes that prevent disruption of a status quo. In relation to institutional work there are also opportunities to reveal correlation between actors' agency and psychological preconditions that impact personal choice to engage in practice or boundary work.

8 CONCLUSION

Institutional change demands a significant amount of effort on behalf of institutions, particularly interested in such change (creative and cultural institutions, representatives of CCI in the case of this particular study). Lack of trust in oneself to make these changes may derive from the adopted psychological adaptation pattern as “learned helplessness” (Maier, S. F., & Seligman, M. E. 1976), which implies lack of self-believe and limits actors’ ability to engage in a productive institutional work, which has been researched on in a numerous previous studies (Gieryn, 1983; Arndt, Bigelow, 2005; Suddaby, Greenwood, 2005).

Focus of attention in existing literature regarding creative and cultural industries from the perspective of boundary work, practice work as well as their interplay is minimal, and institutional work as a field of research has not been deeply studied in the context of cultural and creative industries. Despite a numerous example of organizational literature on institutional change and stability, it has not been discussed in the context of cultural and creative industries. Rigid boundaries and preservation of existing practices within public CCI institutions have limited the ability of CCI to bring about institutional change, by the means of institutional work.

Previous studies have indicated that both boundary and practice work can occur in case individuals involved recognize a need for disruptions of existing boundaries and practices, however same literature did not pay enough attention to the psychological and habitual factors that prevent individuals from incorporating institutional work in their daily routine. Additionally, existing literature argues for the benefit of interplay of boundary work and practice work within organizational routines. Both of these types of work, however were not observed in the course of this study within the public CCI sector, whilst private cultural and creative institutions demonstrated high level of understanding and active utilization of both practice and boundary work. The fact that same market hosts actors with opposite approaches towards institutional work (public and private CCI) provides potential for learning and improving existing patterns of adaptive behaviour by establishing cross-boundary connections and actively communicating within the CCI network for representatives of public CCI. Following the examples of effective collaborations between public and private creative institutions (City of Digital Art 2018) may provide a blueprint for future development and improvement of public CCI actors’ approach towards institutional work.

The research on cultural and creative industries will benefit from studying interplay of boundary and practice work. The notion of institutional change is convoluted and is achieved through a number of stages, from identifying a need in such change to engaging in a boundary or practice work, which involve process of creation, maintenance and disruption of existing institutions (DiMaggio,

1988; Oliver, 1991, 1992; Dacin, Godstein, Scott, 2002, Lawrence, Suddaby, 2006). Such process has to be supported by the municipal and national government as they are the primary contributors to the formation and shaping of public CCI boundaries and practices. Co-dependant behavioural patterns of public CCI actors have to be replaced by the mutually beneficial forms of collaboration and communication between decision-makers and field actors. As a research finding, this observation contributes to the expanding number of organizational studies promoting significance of boundary and practice work interplay.

The novelty of this study is defined by the attention it attracts towards notion of institutional work within the cultural and creative industry field. Unlike public CCI institutions, representatives of private cultural institutions are more susceptible and adaptive towards institutional work, which can be to an extent referred their "embedded agency" (Holm, 1995; Seo, Creed, 2002; Greenwood, Suddaby, 2006). The contribution and adaptive, pro-active efforts of these organizations have to be recognized and widely supported for the general benefit of CCI development in the region. To incentivise adoption of institutional work by the representatives of public CCI, the cross-boundary connections and active communication between representative of creative network has to be facilitated.

While previous studies have widely discussed boundary work and practice work in isolation, this particular study aims to promote significance of research on interplay of boundary and practice work as well as their impact of institutional change and stability. Identification of common challenges that public CCI institutions face on a day-to-day basis, that prevent their greater success provides grounds of emergence of new strategies as well as behavioural patterns, focused on facilitating institutional work.

This study, though shares similar ground of previous organizational research of boundary work and practice work, presents, however an additional set of findings that represent not only potential of boundary and practice work interplay, but also strives to analyse deep-rooted psychological adaptive behavioural patterns that determine various approach towards institutional work by institutions with different (quite often opposite) boundaries and sets of practices. Therefore future studies might benefit from incorporation of research methods and tools from social sciences (psychology in particular) in order to better understand hidden motivation as well as behavioural patterns that either stimulate or prevent studies subjects from engaging in institutional work, facilitating research on institutional change and stability at the same time.

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10 APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Interview themes for representatives of CCI institutional leadership.

Understanding the **boundaries**:

5. Is your organization private or governmental owned?
6. How big is your organization (number of people)?
7. What the organization is mainly focused on (which type of activities/which markets)?
8. Who is your target audience?
9. Who are your major partner organizations?
10. What is the mission/goal of your organization?
11. Which organizations you see as your competitors?
12. What are the strengths of the organization? (internal factors)
13. What are the weaknesses of the organization? (internal)
14. What are the threats for the organizations' functioning? (external)
15. What are the opportunities for the organization? (external that can help to eliminate threats)?

Understanding **practices**:

- What type of events you usually organize?
- How do you reach your audience (physically/online/media, etc.)?
- Who is in charge for decision making and what is the process?
- How many events per year you organize and what is the financial impact (annual statistics)?
- How do you measure the effectiveness of your events (attendance/tickets sold etc.)?

Understanding **micro problems**:

What are the major challenges in the organisations work?

What prevents organization from even bigger success?

Understanding **macro problems**:

What are the major challenges in regional cultural landscape of Jyväskylä city?

What prevents even greater development of regional cultural landscape development in the city?

Understanding **micro solutions**:

What would you like to change or what can help to improve the situation and achieve even greater success of the organization?

Understanding **macro solutions**:

What would you like to change or what can help to improve the situation and achieve even greater success of the regional cultural development in Jyväskylä?

Appendix 2

Table x Dimensions, themes and quotations

Second-order themes and first-order categories	Representative quotations
<i>Aggregated dimension: Maladaptation</i>	
1. Resource scarcity	
A. How long the resource will last?	<p>A1. "The only danger our organisation encounters - we don't know as for how long our resources (financial) will last, as we don't receive any external support and we don't make any profits from the cultural sites that we maintain. Most of the events we host are free of charge."</p> <p>A2. "Especially in cultural field there are always organisations that are really in big trouble (financially) and they may have no place to operate in, and so on."</p> <p>A3. "The lack of a good concert hall for classical music is a big problem in Jyväskylä. We have to rehearse classical music in the space that is not meant to be used for music even. We play live concerts every week in the city theatre but acoustics there is also not meant for the symphonic music that we play. Also other problems and renovation needs about the performing spaces for art are a big challenge."</p>
B. Nothing left for the new ones	<p>B1. "It has been so that rally has been really important thing and sports have been really important here but in cultural field nobody want to let go of anything and so we have to have all the museums, we have to have the orchestra, city theatre, we have to have Jyväskylän Kesä and so on and on...so there is nothing left for the new ones... there should be more money from somewhere to take care of the new ones and also other ones, much newer than us and I am not sure there will be more money and people are getting older and sicker and so on, so there won't be more money I think. If I was a dictator in Jyväskylä I would make some choices. I think we should let go of something to make room for new things."</p> <p>B2. "There are limited people resources and a lot is at stake for our few employees. In example if someone gets sick it can affect us a lot."</p>
C. Lack of time.	<p>C1. "We have so many things we need to do and take care of all the time. We don't have time to develop it or think 5-10 year ahead. We always are managing day to day things. I think it is a problem because we don't have time to think about what we want to be in 5 years from now, where or what we could be doing other than this. This takes all of our energy and time."</p>

	<p>C2. "In our organisation we are a few people (3 people), and over 60% of my time is dedicated to reporting and bureaucratic things, which means I have only 40% of my time to spend on actual work and as a result I can't fit any extra curriculum activities to my schedule...Sometimes I bump into my colleagues in other cultural organisations by accident in the city and we talk about this problem that we don't actually have time to meet for a coffee and sit down to discuss our problems, though they are kind of similar and we know about them but there is just no time available for us to get together and decide what to do with it."</p>
<p>2. Self-isolation</p>	
<p>D. We don't ask for help</p>	<p>D1. "Strong side is that all decisions are made by 1 person without silly discussions and voting. This is the mission of my life and I don't want to let others impact my decisions. There were some attempts to engage other opinions but it didn't have much success."</p> <p>D2. "I am proud to not ask for help from anyone."</p> <p>D3. "Even nowadays there is nothing similar in Finland (like our organisation). Sometimes if we get some problems there is nearly nobody, I can ask for help from.... In Jyväskylä we don't have anyone. We are so big compared to all the others in Jyväskylä, so it has always been like we always help others. We give microphones and speakers and help in organisation but other way around we couldn't find equal partner."</p>
<p>E. Link with authority is missing</p>	<p>E1. "Few weeks ago I was in the city hall talking about our situation and there was (...) and she has been as the head of everything in that area for years and she knows everything about this town and she was arranging for the rally, but she is going to retire soon in 3 years and I think she is the only one who understands what we are doing here. Because we have so loose connections with the municipality. So we met because I was worried that nobody actually knows what we are doing. Even the (...) who is the head of the cultural things and while talking with her it seemed as she had no idea about how all this is working." ;</p> <p>E2. "Most probably they think we can manage ourselves. They don't think it is something they have to be worried about and probably they don't have to, so partially they are right. Especially In cultural field there are always organisations that are really in big trouble (financially) and they have no place to operate and so on. For the most part we can handle our problems by ourselves. We have a lot of resources ourselves. So they have other issues because there is always someone in trouble.";</p>

	<p>E3. "Neither national nor municipal governments take any action in supporting these (heritage) sights... They don't understand fully the importance of preserving cultural heritage... Main issue is the lack of interest in cooperation with us from the side of municipal government. Therefore, the operations of our organisation gradually decline over time. Municipal government management is mostly interested in sports and entertainment segments."</p>
F. Lack of communication	<p>F1. "In Jyväskylä there are many small theatres or many things on the grass root level. Everybody is doing their own stuff and there is not so much contacting. Maybe if we could have more possibilities to meet and plan and think and create some crazy things together that would be good. It seems it is very difficult to find resources for this thing."</p> <p>F2. "Though we live in a small town, we still are too busy with our own tasks and everyone is focused on themselves and on their activities, so there is not much of communication. Artists and creative organisations are trying to survive themselves and so there is not much time to think about our future and how we could engage more people in what we are doing."</p>
3. Rejecting innovation	
G. Nothing seems to change	<p>G1. "The general economic changes in the post-material world when ideas and immaterial content (art, games, programmes, VR and AR) and other changes mean that there is a need for us (cultural managers) because we are experts in these fields and we can connect these people (practitioners and doers) and we can't only produce paper machines in Finland and people need more and more of these cultural services. "</p> <p>G2. "It has been so that rally has been really important thing and sports have been really important here ... I think it is not wise that we can't let go of anything".</p>
H. Innovation is not welcome	<p>H1. " I remember back in the days (70x, 80x, 90x) it was so different from today. Then in sport and cultural services it was like: "you have to do what you did last year", - the idea was that you have to do the same thing as you did last year, nothing more. Don't do that, because you haven't done it last year.";</p> <p>H2. "We have been to Edinburgh some 4-5 years ago with our cultural units directors, and we were very interested in this "Fringe" model and they presented it to us and it is so big , and so famous, and it brings people from another countries and so on... Maybe someday in Jyväskylä. If we can handle this "Jyväskylän Sydän", and we are going to have something new, something special in Finland... maybe, something like that, but it comes in the future... We actually have this "Jyväskylän Kesä" which is the oldest urban festival in the Finland, but of course, they have many free happenings and some events have</p>

	more expensive tickets, and it is not a big money but still it is very important for Jyväskylä. ”.
I. Hard to be flexible	I1. “Our organization is funded by the public money. It is also a little bit slow (the movements), everything is planned 1-2 years in advance, so it is not easy to react to the things that are happening outside very fast. At least not on a big scale, maybe on a smaller scale it is possible”. I2. “Our decision-makers are a bit older people and so if we want some progress we need to take smaller steps”.
4. External locus of control	
J. We can't do much ourselves	J1.“It is very bad, that after this organisational change and merge with 2 other organisations we lost the independence in decision-making in managing our own resources. We lost the link with the decision makers and we don't know what is going to happen in the future. We can't talk directly to those people who make decisions in the town hall. We used to have direct link to these people, but now the link has been lost and we don't really know who they are...We can't do much on our own, we can't make big moves ourselves.”; J2. “Most of the cultural centres are around capital area. If you think, it is easy to go to Stockholm or Tallinn or St. Petersburg from Helsinki, but where would you go from here (Jyväskylä)? We tell our students who are about to graduate that: “you need to leave and go to Helsinki if you want to do fashion or you need to go to Lapland if you are into tourism etc. There are not many possibilities for cultural and creative employment in this area.”.
K. Solution should come from outside	K1. “I think the city could support local artists more. For example, I think it's great we got some amazing murals made by artist from other countries into Jyväskylä. And the city of light event brings several international artists into our town each year. However I cannot but ask that wouldn't it be more valuable and also cheaper (without having to pay for hotels, food, transportation) to also have locals bring their art and get paid for their work. I have organized art exhibitions at the city of light event three times and I have got none or very little financial support. At the same time I know the international guests get thousands of euros + expenses covered. Wouldn't it be better that the money also stayed in town? If the money stayed here more, it could develop the local artists and the art scene further.”; K2. “If we could get some visibility in the National media, that would be good. Then we would have some key persons who would be able to influence the climate of Jyväskylä city cultural life. They have to come outside, so that they (authorities believe them), but if someone from here says that we have done something good it is like nothing.”.

	<p>“We actually don’t know what will happen next, as there is certain uncertainty that comes from political system. If the government cuts the funds for cultural services then we are going to be in trouble. We don’t know if there will be enough funds in the government to help and to continue to fund us, so it is of course stressful”.</p>
<p><i>Aggregated dimension: Institutional inertia</i></p>	
<p>5. Fear of failure</p>	
<p>L. Bigger success is a bigger risk</p>	<p>L1. “It was actually the first time ever we announced it publicly and right after that we got a lot of response and people wanted to come and they were asking. Around 20 people started working right after that. We were actually laughing ourselves here in the office, like: “Is it that easy, we can just ask?”; L2. “Bigger success means bigger risks and it takes time to grow to such level”.</p>
<p>M. We don’t dare to think big</p>	<p>M1. “Jyväskylä identifies itself just as a sports city. It is very obvious, and culture is not valued. We feel that our role on the national level is diminished and nobody expects anything from us. I don’t know why. Of course we can make our own projects but they have to be in the “locker”, we can’t do much on our own.”. M2. “The space doesn’t fit for events that we want to organise. There is no café, auditorium and workshop room is too small and I think that we also don’t dare to think big. Sometimes you need to think big and then maybe someday your vision can come to life. It is a problem for all these organisations (art and cultural institutions)”.</p>
<p>N. Someone has to help</p>	<p>N1. “I think the main challenge is combining artistic processes (creating new art) and business. I find it hard to place a price on my work and I think I work too often for free. I am not very good at selling my own work. And like I mentioned before, I would benefit a lot from a manager or someone selling my art and promoting my gigs. “. N2. “Many of the cultural institutions in this town need their spaces to be renovated or even completely new space for their work and in our project we are trying to find ways how we could solve this problem.”.</p>
<p>6. Data ignorance</p>	
<p>O. No statistics collected</p>	<p>O1. “We host tens of events annually, but we don’t really count them and we don’t keep track of how many people attend, because these are mainly free events.”; O2. “Because we have so loose connections with the municipality. So we met because I was worried that nobody actually knows what we are doing. Even the [...] who is the head of the</p>

	cultural things and while talking with her it seemed as she had no idea about how all this is working”.
P. We don't know who they are	P1. “We collect the information about how many tickets we sell but we don't really know who buys them or what is their age ”; P2. “We even don't know who is making decisions. We don't have connection with the decision-makers. We wish we could communicate with them directly but after reorganisation we lost the connection with them completely. We wish this could have been different.”.
7. Bureaucracy	
Q. Reporting takes 2/3 of all time	Q1. “We talk so much about these new technologies and how they can impact our life in the future, but I would really like to see it here where we need it. It would be great to have an artificial intelligence fill in all the documents and endless reports that we need to make before we even can hope to get started with our direct responsibilities.” Q2. “If I am to give you very rough estimation of how much time I need to spend on reporting it would be approximately 60% of my working time. I wish I could have time to go there and be with my students and partners, and meet with people and establish new connections and discuss ideas with my colleagues in the industry and bring new opportunities. We simply don't have time to innovate or meet other people due to extensive bureaucratic work”;
R. Decisions are hard to make	R1. “If we want to implement some changes in this town we need to think about our decision-makers and take into account that they are more old people and some processes are slowed down and if we want to do a bigger progress we need to do it in small steps”; R2. “We cannot do much on our own, it all has to be “locked” in the upper management and maybe then something will happen, but we are limited in what we can do ourselves”
8. Generation gap	
S. Lack of cultural offering for young audience	S1. “For example, rap and hip-hop are very popular among youngsters. Few years back there were many metal bands who attracted youngsters but now this audience grew up. Of course, the young people don't want to like the same things their parent do like. So, it is like a generation gap. So the next generation can go for something else.” S2. “It is a bit strange, because Jyväskylä is such a huge student city, almost half of population actually and it seems that on the City Hall level it is not thought about. Seems they think about something else. It is forgotten that it is young's people city actually. All the decisions are about how to take care of old people and business decisions and things like that. It seems like it is

	invisible that there are 30 000 students here, who should like to live here. Everybody knows it is good for the future if they like to live here and want to stay here and create new things, but it seems that it is not appreciated enough".
T. Unknown face of fu- ture audi- ence	T1. "I think nowadays the risk for us is that young people find interest in music, internet, and so we don't know if they would like to come to us in the future, which is a big question. As one of my colleagues once mentioned: "Our biggest enemy is sofa", and we need to think about it well if we want to make sure we are needed in the future". ; T2. "I don't know how it will go with the "worst enemy - sofa", but if young people don't come back in time it can create a real problem in the future. We can't think that it is all good now and we have a good audience. We constantly have to think what would be the next thing, how could we attract new people."
<i>Aggregated dimension: Identity ambiguity</i>	
9. Entertainment over culture	
U. Sports at- tracts more people than culture	U1. "I think that citizens and people here expect events organised by the city to be free. We have this kind of history, that people think that: "Ah, it is organised by the city, so it must be free". We have this kind of attitude and it probably changing a little bit in the area of sport, much more rapidly than in the area of culture". U2. "To be honest we need to admit that culture is not as "sexy" as rally and motorsports for the audience and it is easier to attract people to see a car that drives fast rather than an artistic content";
V. Sport brings money, cul- ture - takes	V1. "Historically it has been known that Jyväskylä is more like a sport city with the University and sport education, etc. Authorities more interested in sports rather than culture and because sport events do bring so much money to the local budget it is of course obvious that sports get so much attention from the side of the authorities. If I were to make decisions in this town I would definitely take advantage from this situation and would be interested to benefit from this"; V2. "For example when sport people are knocking on my door, they are coming in, they have a good idea: "we want to have this kind of facility or this kind of new event", and I am asking: "what are you bringing in?" and they are ready, they have it in their back pocket (slaps the table), - "Here is our idea, we can handle this", and I say: "Oh, sounds nice, let's see what we can do". But at the moment when the "cultural people" are knocking on my door, they are coming in here, and they are waiting what I am going to bring from my back pocket. I think that sport people are more ready at the moment to make their own money and how they can finance their idea, and how can

	they be a part of financing this new idea, but the cultural people are still waiting the city to finance the cultural events, and that is really different at the moment between the sport and culture people.”.
10. Identity question	
W. Culture as secondary service	W1. “There are historical reasons of course, because this”Keski Suomi” it is not actually a historical area. There has been this “Savo” and “Hamme” historical regions around Central Finland, but “Keski Suomi” is formed from the parts of these larger historical areas, so there are questions about this local identity and they are difficult because people came here from so many different directions, and they form a community, yes, but it is kind of average Finland identity and it works in a way but how could we use this for actually empowering the cultural processes, it is an open question.”; W2. “We made several attempts to engage the authorities in this town to join us but it seems that they indeed don’t see the value in preserving cultural heritage.”.
X. Lack of business model in public CCI	X1. “We have some decision makers who are interested in cultural services but not the majority. If you visit the City Council meetings you would see for yourself that they talk about social and health services and then maybe 1 person talks about sport and cultural services. Cultural and sport service’s budget is only 5.5% of the municipal budget, and it is quite a minor thing at the moment. Maybe in the future if the decision makers will understand that it is actually cheaper to prevent people from getting sick with the help of sport and cultural services rather than treating them in the hospital when it is very expensive, maybe then they can pay more attention to the cultural and sport services.”; X2. Decision makers are not interested much in cultural events as they don’t bring much money and so they are much more interested in millions of Euros to spend to the healthcare, education etc..
<i>Aggregated dimension: Purpose reflection</i>	
11. Intrinsic motivation/Mission	
Y. Individual initiative as a driver for change	Y1. “We want people to have opportunity to see music that they like, even if it is not commercial or even if it is not so popular, if it only attracts minors for example, or if it is not appropriate even...We have quite wide programme for such small city and we want people to be able to see it here and not travel far away to see their favourite music. It can’t be about money, even if people don’t have much, or are not working, or studying and don’t have a lot of money they still have to be able to see these concerts.”;

	<p>Y2. "We just got this idea and decided to host "City of Digital Art" in the museum and it turned out a success. We had 1500 visitors in just 3 days. Older people, children, students, adults – many of them came to the museum for the first time and they loved it. Museum couldn't believe we managed to get such response. On average there are 100 people max. visiting there over the weekend. We were not even sure what we were doing but we just took action and it worked".</p>
<p>Z. Culture as a personal mission</p>	<p>Z1. "This is the duty of my life and I don't want anyone to influence or have an impact on decisions that I am making (preservation of heritage); Z2. "Regardless of how unpopular it might seem at this point but we try to keep the message: culture is important as such. Optimism is limited but will and the hope - are not".</p>
<p>12. Overcoming inertia</p>	
<p>AA. Stepping out of comfort zone</p>	<p>AA1. "Last month I went to this event in Bergen and though everyone was forced to be there but once we met we had to share what we were doing and after that meeting I got 4 new ideas and we were discussing them later here. So if there would be something like that, maybe on a smaller scale it would be helpful." AA2. "If we want to get more things done we need to reach outside of Jyväskylä and probably engage Ministry of Culture, we need to network better and don't rely just on the municipal government. We can think about opportunity to engage National Government or maybe get an EU funding and maybe collaborate with Sweden or Estonia, because we have good partners and twin-cities there too. That might be another opportunity."</p>
<p>AB. Collaborations as driver for positive change</p>	<p>AB1. "One girl approached me and asked if they could arrange their show here and she looked competent, so we took the risk and helped with organisation. It turned out to be a real success. There were a lot of visitors and we have done it twice already. It has been something completely different from what we do and the audience was completely different from the one that we are used to. Everyone said that our place works well for these kinds of things too. We happen to meet with this girl by accident and it turned out to be something beautiful and new. These kinds of things would happen more often if we meet more often. But these kinds of things are impossible to think of when you are on your own. It is only thanks to meeting new people." AB2. "I think we start understanding that we can't do everything ourselves";</p>

AC. Making vs overthing- ing	AC1. "And we are used to think that if we don't have enough money for something then we have to do it for less. Even if we have just 100 euros we would still do it, maybe in another way but still we would do it. But usually people thinks that if they don't have enough then they don't even try, and it is really a different kind of thinking in this way."; AC2. "Economic changes in a post-material world with development of intellectual products: games, VR, AR, mean that there is a need for us."
13. Future prospects	
AD. Understand- ing of col- laboration value	AD1. "I feel that it would be nice to do smth with someone, even though it is a risk and might cost a lot we want to try"; AD2. "For our future development we definitely would like to get new partners and sources for funding".
AE. Adjusting to the market as a new strategy	AE1. "Maybe we don't need to have the concert hall or a national theatre here in this town, but most probably modern technologies such as (AR, VR) can bring global culture much closer and benefit local cultural scene."; AE2. "We need to think what is going to happen with us in the future, we can't just stay in Jyväskylä and wait until someone comes to us. We need to take action."
AF. Building plans for the future	AF1. "Most probably cultural managers have to learn from sports managers: they have to be more open minded, look for possible cooperation with different businesses"; AF2. "If we want to see some development in the cultural life if this town we need to make sure we create new opportunities for young people to study and work here".