

KUULTO AND TAMPERE TOGETHER: ACTION RESEARCH AND SYSTEMIC THINKING AS TOOLS FOR IDENTIFYING SPILLOVERS AND UNDERSTANDING THEIR GENERATION AND SUSTENANCE

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Executive Summary

The research team in Cupore tested and developed a qualitative approach and method based on action research for the evaluation of spillovers produced within participatory cultural projects. The research was based on already implemented projects (KUULTO & Tampere Together) and added a new round of analysis on selected cases to enable a longitudinal study of the spillovers. The selection of the analysed cases was based on the knowledge that they had involved cross-sectoral collaboration and participation. The focus was especially on the sub-categories of network and knowledge spillovers (cf. TCFE 2015) based on the nature of the projects. The research examined what kind of spillovers investment (public and private) in cultural projects generated and what mechanisms and conditions foster (or hinder) the emergence of spillover effects. As a policy-oriented development work, this also meant reflection on the consequences of spillovers, on how to foster (or even prevent) spillovers and how to render spillovers visible in the political agendas of city/community development. This endeavour to recognise spillovers was concurrently further organisational development of the work started by the projects and community organisations. Below, we summarise our research questions and key findings.

What kinds of spillovers of their respective projects do the cultural actors and researchers recognise in retrospect (after the closure of the actual project)?

- A diverse group of spillovers was mutually recognized by the local actors and researchers (report table 1). Many of the spillover sub-categories are interconnected in multiple and complex ways. However, it was sometimes difficult to make a distinction between spillovers and project outcomes.
- Certain spillovers may function as prerequisites for the emergence of other types of spillovers and many spillovers come together with others rather than appear alone. Especially knowledge but also network spillovers can be requisites for many of the ‘industry’ spillovers. Cross-sectoral collaboration is important for both the production of spillovers and the potential to recognise them.
- Only through a holistic approach can the wide spectrum of spillovers be captured. Diverse angles have to be combined to get a holistic view of the phenomenon. It is difficult for individual actors to become aware of all the developments, interdependencies or connections, let alone the causalities, that a cultural project may produce.

Which kind of elements and processes make cultural projects successful in a way that they produce spillovers?

- We need to understand social and cultural factors and community development to understand the evolution of spillovers. Also the roles of civil society/third sector, the private sector and public administration should be evaluated. Action research allows mutual learning and research findings to emerge without the restraints imposed by top-down structured methodologies.
- Participatory solutions increase cooperation between the public sector, the third sector and/or private firms. For example, participatory administration models give a face to public sector actors and bring new knowledge for administration to develop its services. Community artists function as developers of participatory processes and mediators between different environments.
- Cultural actions benefit from comparative discussions between different programmes and action plans in distributing and diffusing best practices. Opportunities for discussion and feedback and cross-sectoral meetings are needed on a regular basis. The participants should include also “atypical” actors. Such forums also provide an evaluation platform for spillovers and can be a way to generate spillovers per se. It is important to include people of varying backgrounds and from different positions in different organisations in the evaluative actions.

What kinds of obstacles and barriers restrain the emergence of spillovers?

- Negative and resistant attitudes, prejudices and biases are major obstacles for achieving positive spillovers. Defensive attitudes towards other sectors and their actors can hinder potential wider spillover effects from cultural projects. When the cooperation and movement of people (knowledge, new ideas, openness) between sectors is not working, a major obstacle to spillovers can arise. Also uncertain situation with (public) funding can form an obstacle to project spillovers.

- Unclear distinction between collective/public (societal) and private/individual benefits of the spillovers may create an obstacle for recognizing and exploiting spillovers. More reflection on the interconnections between the vertical/horizontal categories of spillovers is needed. For example, the TFCC diagram does not recognise softer “community economies” which would have been needed to embrace the economic or industrial aspects of our cases.
- Key themes such as different spillovers may be obscured, reframed or left invisible because of the preconceptions in the data collection and data analysis procedures imposed by the investigators.

How would the recognition of spillovers change the administration and organisation of cultural services?

- As we gain knowledge about the spillovers that artistic and cultural activities generate, it becomes easier to point out the importance of art and culture to societies. Systemic knowledge about the emergence of spillovers can also be used to argue in favour of public spending on art and culture. It brings the longer-term societal effects and the deeply rooted (implicit, latent) role of culture in the flourishing of regions/cities/communities into light. Spillover-related thinking, evaluation and action research and analysis of project spillovers in relation to organisation development could bridge the gap between technocratic accountability and responsive evaluation, and also contribute to the instrumental/intrinsic debate.
- Meetings with experts and representatives of other fields and other projects generate important knowledge and network spillovers through new ways of thinking and working methods. In many places the cultural projects succeeded at activating citizens, which eventually worked towards the general development of the respective municipal organisation and funding arrangements.
- Exploitation of spillovers requires multidisciplinary research to capture the variety of spillovers and the mechanisms through which they are generated: soft and hard approaches, both cultural research, economics and statistics, preferably hand in hand. Economic measurement alone is insufficient for understanding spillovers, but it can be applied complementary to action research (and other qualitative methods). Measuring the non-economic effects (for example subjective well-being) is also important.

Statement on Methods

We combined multiple methods (**systemic thinking, action research, mini-Delphi and logic model**) for recognition and development of spillovers stemming from participatory and local-level cultural projects.

Systemic thinking illuminates how the evaluation of spillovers through action research is inevitably connected to understanding the interconnected elements of the system that makes the emergence of spillovers possible. Systemic awareness grows from understanding the context and boundary conditions: conceptualisation of the system is produced through conversations and actions of those involved. Systems are taken to describe the interconnections between people, processes and the environment within which they are situated. The cultural projects (or other creative, artistic and cultural activity) always have a social context and historical background within which they operate.

Action research proceeds from the idea of working collaboratively with local actors as fellow researchers. The starting point is to address issues and solve problems recognised mutually by the actors together with the researchers. Through conceptualisation and previous research on the subject matter and by analysing local information and conditions, researchers take part in the situation undergoing change. Action research is an approach that endeavours to induce change in social practices and to study these changes and the processes that have led to successes or failures in bringing change into effect. The research is a systematic dialogue between practice and theory aimed at solving a practical problem. Action research paired with organisation development is based on a collaboration between the researcher(s) and the people from the organisation on exploring issues related to the development of the organisation.

Empirically we draw upon two Finnish projects (KUULTO action research and ERDF-funded Tampere Together) that fostered citizen activation and participation. The study utilised a large scale action research project KUULTO that was conducted in Finland during the years 2011–2015. KUULTO was targeted at increasing cultural participation in small, distant localities where the level of municipal cultural funding was low. The research team also identified spillovers of an ERDF funded cultural development project “Tampere Together” that was carried out in the city of Tampere from 2008 to 2013. To identify and analyse the diverse spillovers deriving from these projects, we employed local actors (ten local experts from seven localities) participating in them as co-researchers to design a methodology that emphasises micro-level observations, qualitative aspects, reflexivity and mutual learning processes. The participating experts had acted in the projects as administrators, cultural entrepreneurs and civil society activists. Each of them had long experience with cultural projects. The local actors have provided both the material and

embedded a large part of the methodology of this experimental study on spillovers.

We deployed an additional round of action research on the effects of earlier culture projects for longitudinal perspective. Both the Tampere Together and the KUULTO project have already been documented and analysed in light of the goals and aims of the local cases. This research was conducted approximately a year after the closure of the implementation of the original KUULTO action research program and three years after the closure of Tampere Together. The main idea was that the researchers (Cupore) and the stakeholders from the selected communities (KUULTO projects) would begin analysing spillovers together. The urban Tampere Together was an interesting complementary case study for KUULTO that we wanted to include in the research to render the contemplation on spillovers more diverse. Through interviews, context analysis, preliminary questionnaire, reflexive group work and mini-Delphi discussions the research team analysed the selected cases to develop an evaluation model and give recommendations for the future spillover-oriented action research.

Following the ideas of action research used with organisation development, the gathering of the new empirical data during the spillover research comprised the following stages, or “cycles of examination”, in 2016: (a) the results from the interviews (similar to KUULTO) carried out in Tampere in June, (b) the answers to the preliminary questions (e-mail) prepared for the mini-Delphi sessions in August, (c) the material produced by a group of local actors in Tampere Together and KUULTO by applying the mini-Delphi method in September and (d) the feedback from the local actors on our spillover matrix in November. The mini-Delphi discussion (September), as well as the preceding questionnaires (July), were dialogic and interactive. The same applied to the feedback discussion via email (November) following the mini-Delphi. The ideas of action research gave us a model for a dialogic evaluation of spillovers mixing practice (local actors), theory (researchers), dialog (mini-Delphi) and self-evaluation (feedback).

The Delphi-method was already used in the actual KUULTO action research to gather material from an expert group. Our approach built on this background and called for an additional estimation round. A mini-Delphi was selected as a research method/platform to bring together the empirical knowledge established in the original action research (KUULTO) and possessed by the stakeholders (6 KUULTO cases & Tampere case), the expertise from the researchers (Cupore and JyU) and the concept/definition of spillovers (stemming from TFCC). Together with the local actors from the chosen cases, we have also discussed how the identification of spillovers might change the organisations and in which ways the identified spillovers initiated by and within the cultural projects affected the community organisations and the further development of the cases. Moreover, the process included cross-fertilisation of ideas between the representatives of the two projects and finding ways to create awareness and complementary viewpoints. The diversity of the mini-Delphi group and the participants’ experience on cultural projects and collaborative working models contributed to understanding the quality of the spillovers and the mechanisms that produce or prevent them. The question of whether the individual projects had reached their original goals was of less importance. Throughout the meeting we encouraged the participants to be critical and constantly rethink the made choices and categorisations.

The mini-Delphi meeting clearly illustrated how cultural projects often have multiple effects that go beyond (both in time and in scope) the articulated project goals and initial action plans. To analyse and evaluate the spillover process of cultural projects in a systemic framework we drew upon the Logic Model that allows us to depict how change occurs and to illustrate how actions (or sometimes inactions) cause social and economic outcomes and wider impacts. With the help of the logic model, we analytically separated the goals, inputs, implementation and direct results of the cultural projects from the spillovers. Spillovers can generate from the beginning of the individual projects without direct relation to the actual project goals. The emergence/continuation of networks and the level of cooperation within them should be evaluated from the beginning of the cultural projects, and followed up on at regular intervals during and after the project. Thus, spillovers may also spill over into the wider economy and society without directly rewarding those who created them (cf. TFCC 2015). However, even a project output (or even different stages of implementation) can develop into a spillover if it benefits different (even surprising) groups in society.

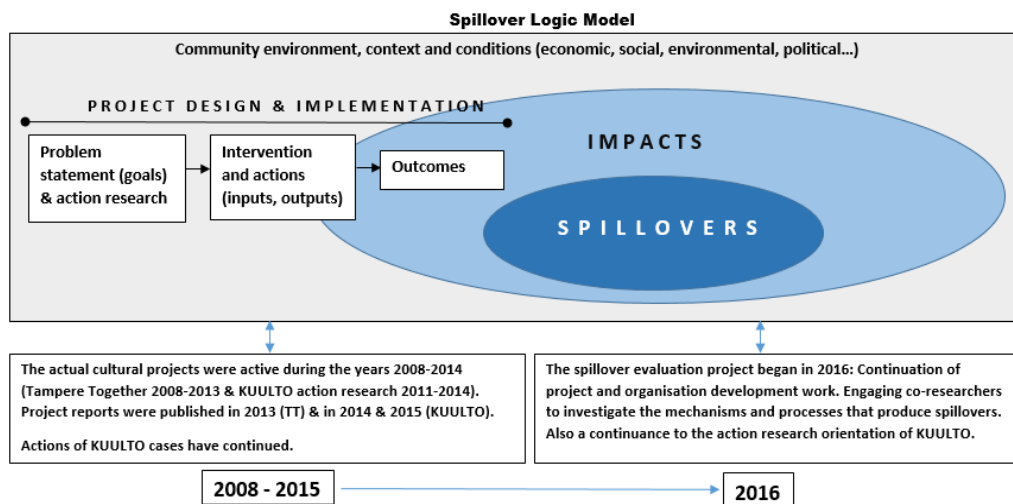


Figure 3. Spillover Logic Model for KUULTO & Tampere Together spillover research.

Action research is a feasible method for analysing the emergence of spillovers. The “mini action research” described in the report was conducted on a broad action research project (KUULTO) and an ERDF-funded development project (Tampere Together). The results demonstrated the usefulness of action research as a tool for identifying and fostering spillovers. Using action research in the evaluation of spillovers enables dialogue with local actors already in the planning of cultural projects. Based on the experiences and knowledge gathered during this small-scale research project, a following recommendation is given for a future spillover-oriented action research process and a clarification its phases. One has to take into account the resources and the relatively long time span needed for this type of research.

- 1) **Diagnosis** refers to detection of a societal/organisational/communal problem and a need for change that the action research is aimed to provide a solution/solutions for. It is crucial that local actors (people of varying backgrounds and from different positions) are co-researchers from this stage on. During this phase, a logic model can be deployed to illustrate the problems, goals, actions and expected outcomes (in relation to possible spillovers).
- 2) **Action plan** refers to the framing of the goals and constellating the agreement on the actions.
- 3) **Action** refers to the actions taken according to the action plan.
- 4) **Analysis and interpretation** (1st round) refers to the achieved and unachieved goals.
- 5) **Reflection** (specified round of diagnosis with the local actors) refers to the analysis of the achieved results in relation to the detected problems, target groups and operational context. Also a mutual identification of spillovers and possible new actors related to the achievement of the project goals.
- 6) **Improved action plan** (version 2.0) refers to the interplay between achieved and unachieved goals and spillovers. Improving the action plan includes the evaluation of the meaning of spillovers for the achievement of the actual project goals and a re-framing of the responsibilities of the (original and newly identified) actors according to the mutual, reflective evaluation.
- 7) **Action** (2nd round) refers to the revised actions, including the possible new actors.
- 8) **Analysis and interpretation** (2nd round: achieved goals, unachieved goals and spillover interlinking/relations).
- 9) **Reflection** (with the local actors).
- 10) **Improved action plan...** etc.

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Testing innovative methods to evaluate cultural and creative spillovers in Europe - Case studies 2016



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Introduction

In this report our aim is to combine **systemic thinking, action research, logic model** and **mini-Delphi** for recognition and development of spillovers stemming from participatory cultural projects. Empirically we draw upon two Finnish projects (KUULTO and Tampere Together) that fostered citizen activation and participation. Their objective was to also make the municipal cultural organisations change their practices and develop new working methods, which they could assess together with the researchers. To identify the spillovers deriving from these projects, we employed local actors participating in them as co-researchers to design a methodology that emphasises micro-level observations, qualitative aspects, reflexivity and mutual learning processes. As Rosenstein (2014, 8) states, “[e]valuation is akin to action research in that both fields promote learning about and from our actions, which can be used to improve our actions”.

Action research proceeds from the idea of working collaboratively with local actors as fellow researchers. The starting point is to address issues and solve problems recognised mutually by the actors together with the researchers involved. Through conceptualisation and previous research on the subject matter and by analysing local information and conditions, researchers take part in the situation undergoing change. Action research is an approach that endeavours to induce change in social practices and to study these changes and the processes that have led to successes or failures in bringing change into effect. The research is a systematic dialogue between practice and theory aimed at solving a practical problem.

Our goals have been to (1) recognise the spillovers that cultural projects generate and the mechanisms through which they emerge and; (2) scrutinise the role of organisation development in this process. The approach is in line with recent attempts to develop participant-led evaluation (see, e.g., Hope 2015; IMLS 2017). Action research paired with organisation development (e.g. Coghlan 2014) is based on a collaboration between the researcher(s) and the people from the organisation on exploring issues related to the development of the organisation. We have additionally deployed systemic thinking to illuminate how the evaluation of spillovers through action research is inevitably connected to understanding the interconnected elements of the system that makes the emergence of spillovers possible (see Ison 2011). To deepen our understanding of spillovers, we have engaged actors from the grass root level in our research. We have been interested in finding ways to detect spillovers that may take time to become seen on a more general level. Most of the participating co-researchers had also taken part in the KUULTO action research (2011-2015), which offered a feasible ground for a collaborative constellation in realising our research.

Together with ten local experts we have identified and analysed diverse spillovers that were generated by the two Finnish cultural projects. The research was conducted approximately a year after the closure of the implementation of the original KUULTO action research program (actions 2011–2014, first report 2014, second 2015) and three years after the closure of Tampere Together (final report 2013).¹ The participating experts acted in the projects as administrators, cultural entrepreneurs and civil society activists. Each of them had long experience with cultural projects. We chose the analysed cases also based on knowledge that they had involved cross-sectoral collaboration and participation among different groups. This gave us a reason to hope that we could detect many kinds of spillovers.

¹ These projects are described in more detail in the case studies chapter.

In spring 2016 we selected six interesting cases from KUULTO to participate in the spillover research. One criterion for selection was that the established measures and actions had still continued after the closure of the initial action research. The main idea was that the researchers (Cupore & JyU) and the stakeholders from the selected communities (KUULTO projects) would begin analysing the spillovers together. Tampere Together was an interesting complementary case study for KUULTO (the starting point, funding of the project and the urban context were different from those of KUULTO), which we wanted to include in the research to render the contemplation of spillovers more diverse.

Our researcher group represented a high level of expertise in action research and the evaluation of cultural projects. The group of co-researchers (ten people)² had experience and knowledge on cultural projects and different development projects both in rural and urban areas. The group of co-researchers included experts with different backgrounds.

KUULTO

Cultural producer/entrepreneur x 2
Civil society activist
Cultural manager
Cultural secretary
Civil society activist/cultural producer
Producer at production centre for professional art
Director of library services

TAMPERE

Director of culture and youth services
Purchasing manager for promotion
of culture & quality of life

Especially social cohesion and remodelling of collaborative organisational structures stood out as their expertise areas. The co-researchers came from seven different localities. We selected cases that were known to have generated new kinds of activities and organisational changes, to guarantee that we would be able to find some kind of spillovers (not knowing yet what in what types and volumes they might appear).

This report presents an outcome of the discussions, through reflection on the experiences of the co-researchers against previous research on the topic (and vice versa). Based on this collaborative work, we have defined various categories of spillovers and considered both what produces them and how they are interconnected.

Based on our goals, **our hypothesis is that the actions of organisations change once they become aware of the spillovers they can generate.** We are interested in the organisational and contextual factors that produce spillovers. In particular, we aim to understand the **change that recognition of spillovers could bring** in the organisation of cultural projects. Instead of limiting ourselves to the spillover categories identified in the TFCC report (2015), we have chosen to draw upon the experiences of local-level actors in line with the “grounded” approach. With our team of co-researchers we have discussed the factors that foster (or hinder) spillovers and how they could work as a positive changing force in society. We also ask how the favourable effects of spillovers could be sustained.

² In Tampere we also interviewed (see Appendix 1) a project coordinator for Tampere Together and a coordinator for cultural services and associations. They did not participate to the preliminary questions, mini-Delphi sessions or feedback round.

Our research questions have been:

- What kinds of spillovers of their respective projects do the cultural actors and researchers recognise in retrospect (after the closure of the actual project)?
- Which kind of elements and processes make cultural projects successful in a way that they produce spillovers?
- What kinds of obstacles and barriers restrain the emergence of spillovers?
- How would the recognition of spillovers change the administration and organisation of cultural services?

The report *Cultural and creative spillovers in Europe: Report on a preliminary evidence review* stresses that **longitudinal intervention studies** “which last beyond the life of a particular programme would be especially beneficial [for the development of methodologies for measuring spillovers] as the effects of cultural participation and engagement may be felt over a longer term” (TFCC 2015, 50). This is a fundamental starting point in our research, in which we have deployed an additional round of action research on the effects of earlier culture projects. The preliminary evidence review (TFCC 2015) also notes (10, 46) that **action research** can and should be used to evidence spillovers. We draw upon multiple methods within the overall methodology of action research to identify spillovers of local-level culture projects. The TFCC report also highlights the importance of understanding the **complexities in how spillovers interrelate and the mechanisms by which they operate**. The report suggests further research where “spillovers should be seen as flows which can occur in multiple directions, involving a complex network of partners, collaborators and co-creators.” (TFCC 2015, 24.)

In this research, we have focused on cultural and creative spillovers that relate to social capital, cross-border collaborations and networks. We base our insights on observations and discussions with participants and stakeholders in cultural projects who are active members of their respective communities. As a group, we have reflected upon the change that awareness of spillovers might generate within their particular organisational environments. A common definition of social capital³ as “the capital accumulated by individuals and groups through their social interactions that can be used to smooth cooperation among people and foster collective action” (Ferragina & Arrigoni 2016, 2) is in line with our emphasis on the importance of (system-related) networks and collaborations for the emergence and sustenance of spillovers from cultural projects. As the preliminary evidence report states, new guidelines are needed on how public funding can best be directed towards the generation of arts and cultural activities that stimulate social capital.⁴

Our approach to the evaluation of spillovers is inspired by the **systemic approach** to action research (see Flood 2010; Ison 2011; Burns 2014). We have aimed to position the two target projects, KUULTO and Tampere Together, in their context, making visible the structures that frame them and finding ways to create

³ Social capital is by no means an unambiguous or apolitical concept. Some critical views argue that the neoliberal political agenda is incompatible with the aim to generate social capital (see e.g. Ferragina & Arrigoni 2016).

⁴ Social capital formation can include for example social connectedness, social reconstruction, community identity and multicultural understanding (Jeannotte 2008, 7). The impact of volunteering is believed to be particularly strong in generating social capital (TFCC 2015, 28). Especially in Tampere Together volunteering was one of the key elements through the actions of the city district associations. Within the limits of this research project we're unable to examine the generation of social capital in detail as we focused mainly on the organizational/community level developments.

awareness and complementary viewpoints (Flood 2010, 277–280; also Thomas & Parsons 2016). Similarly to “cultural valorisation” (cf. Petrova 2016, 2), this approach builds on the participants’ perspectives and values. Theoretically, we draw upon the idea that **systemic awareness** grows from understanding the context and boundary conditions: conceptualisation of the system is produced through conversations and actions of those involved (Ison 2011). This way “systemic thinking may become the source of a common reflective competence of professionals and citizens” (Ulrich 2000, 251). Here systems are taken to describe **the interconnections between people, processes and the environment within which they are situated** (Burns 2014, 5).⁵

In complex adaptive systems many agents (who are free to act also in unpredictable ways) are continually interacting with each other. They are adapting to one another but also to the environment as a whole. In these social systems we find coexistence of cooperation and competition as well as interdependence and independence. From an evaluation point of view, one has to be aware that, besides predictable outcomes, unexpected patterns and outcomes can emerge. (Thomas and Parsons 2016, 7.)

Via action research we can detect various aspects that are crucial to the generation, identification and maintenance of spillovers: reflective practice (individuals reflect on their own practices), action learning, science and inquiry (group process to support individual reflection), co-operative inquiry (group reflection on group endeavour), participatory action research (community-based generation of knowledge for community action), and systemic research (system-wide learning) (Burns 2014, 4).

To analyse the spillover process in a systemic framework we need a methodological tool that allows us to depict how change occurs and to illustrate how actions (or sometimes inactions) cause social and economic outcomes and societal impacts. We have deployed and developed the logic model in the evaluation of the spillovers. A mini-Delphi was selected as a research method/platform to bring together the empirical knowledge established in the original action research (KUULTO) and possessed by the stakeholders (6 KUULTO cases & Tampere case), the expertise from the researchers (Cupore and JyU) and the concept/definition of spillovers (stemming from TFCC).

In this paper, we outline a novel approach to the evaluation of the conditions and mechanisms that create spillovers. The systemic approach also helps us to understand why causalities behind spillovers are often difficult (if not impossible) to describe in detail: systems are dynamic beings that change all the time at multiple levels (see also Sacco & Crociata 2013). Our viewpoint is also in line with public policy research, where the evaluation of public sector via “the system view”, i.e. viewing the public sector as a system, is common (see, e.g., Vedung 2006, 397).

Our understanding of spillovers

The concept of ‘spillover’ has a manifold and complicated history. It involves a broad range of subjects from the geo-politics of industrial development in European integration and the impact of media on social

⁵ In other words: “A system is a perceived whole whose elements are ‘interconnected’. Someone who pays particular attention to interconnections is said to be systemic...” (Ison 2011.) See also Sacco et al. 2014 for systemic effects and systemic coordination in culture-led development.

behaviour to the more recent ‘effects’ of creative and cultural industries policy and practice.⁶ Due to the heterogeneity in its uses and definitions, ‘spillover’ is by no means an easy concept for cultural research. It has been widely used in different spheres of inquiry and for a multitude of purposes.

The current dominant use of the spillover concept derives from economics and cluster theory (see Jacob, 1960; Porter, 1990), where it has conventionally been used to point to industrial and economic development (see also Sacco et al. 2014). Often, it has become diluted as a near synonym of externalities.⁷ This, according to Vickery, has made many cultural researchers averse to ‘spillovers’. The economic emphasis became only recently (May 2015) manifest in the meeting of the Education, Youth, Culture and Sport Council of the Council of the European Union, where spillover was referred to as “cultural and creative cross-over” (Vickery 2015, 7–10). At times the term is used interchangeably with such terms as e.g. ‘cross-over’, ‘value-added’ or ‘subsumed within a wider set of outcomes, impacts or values’ (TFCC 2015, 14).⁸

Spillovers cross over conventional borders and can have the capacity to generate new conditions for change or stimuli for shifting perceptions. For example, the framework of spillover has been used in identifying how patterns and forces of integration in some industries generate multiple causal motions in other industries. This has attended to the impacts of cross-border and multi-sector collaborations. As a term used in human psychology research, spillover might involve complex human interaction and multiple variables in ways that cannot easily be modified by one policy area or directive or one agency. The term is also used in media theory. (Vickery s.a., 8–10.)

More empirical research is needed to understand the full potential of culture for the whole society. To cover the full range of potential spillovers, this should be achieved without approbation of the “intellectual imperialism of economics” (see Dekker 2015, 314). According to Vickery (s.a., 11), we should “differentiate spillover from the pervasive effects of the ‘culture industries’ and identify specific spheres of professional or market activity into which ‘spill’ generates value”. Spillovers need to be approached from a broad perspective to analyse the role of culture in its very essence: making meaning as embedded in a broad range of societal activities. As Vickery (2015, 9) writes:

“While using the prevailing economics lexicon of policymakers is obviously practically necessary, – , our research arguably needs to locate the capabilities and propensities of culture itself as a means of addressing the rank deficiencies of other, particularly the economic, realms (after all, where economics hanker after innovation, new ideas, and even creativity, it is not from economics they derive these concepts, but culture).”

The case of spillovers is not just a question of identifying the spheres *where* value is generated, but also – and even more importantly for our inquiry here – *how* activities “spill” to generate value. The British Cultural Value Project (2016) makes inspiring observations on the role of culture in society and economy, emphasising seemingly minute and soft impacts, many of which could be defined as spillovers.⁹ As the final

⁶ http://blogs.warwick.ac.uk/ccpsresearch/entry/final_report_meeting/

⁷ See also Pigou 1932 & Buchanan 1962 on ‘externalities’. In economics, an externality is “the cost or benefit that affects a party who did not choose to incur that cost or benefit.” https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Externality#cite_note-5

⁸ See also O’Hagan 2016 on societal benefits and outcomes of art and culture in relation to “economic spill-over effects”.

⁹ <http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/research/fundedthemesandprogrammes/culturalvalueproject/>

report of the project notes: “[s]ome of the most important contributions of arts and culture to other areas are embedded in individual experience: perhaps not economic impact but rather the capacity to be economically innovative and creative; perhaps not urban regeneration driven by large new cultural buildings but rather the way small-scale arts assets and activities might help communities and neighbourhoods...” (Crossick & Kaszynska 2016, 7.)

Related to the idea of individual experience, one interesting area of studies deploying also the concept of spillover is a statistical/quantitative research that explores the relationships (correlation of variables) between engagement in arts, culture and sport, and subjective well-being (SWB). This empirical research deploying large-scale data can focus on measuring spillovers between the different “domains” of life (“domain spillovers”). This means, for example, spillovers from arts, cultural and sporting activities into job satisfaction. Using SWB data allows non-economic impacts to be analysed. (See e.g. Wheatley & Bickerton 2017.)¹⁰

Spillover is not just a process that needs explaining, but a series of situations that require management and a strong rationale for the actors involved. There are also other values than economic values at stake here (see, e.g. Petrova 2015; Throsby 2010). For cultural policy actors, cultural and creative spillovers promise new arguments for the case of culture; spillover research could provide a means to mainstream culture. The final report of the *Cultural Value Project* (see Crossick & Kaszynska 2016) contained a meta-analysis of previous research on the topic, and dealt also with the concept of spillover in relation to the different components of cultural value. The report concludes that “rather than working on a simple trajectory of an isolated intervention causing easily delineated effects, art and culture often create conditions for change through a myriad of spillover effects.” (Ibid., 159.)

There are two main areas of cultural value where spillovers are discussed in more detail in the report. The first concerns “the engaged citizen” and the claim that participation in art and culture fosters civic engagement. Arts are seen to generate a variety of spillover effects that can increase social capital and community capacity. This part of the report also notes that art and culture do not so much affect direct changes but rather create conditions for change. (Crossick & Kaszynska 2016, 58–70.)

The *Value* report secondly discusses spillovers in relation to the economic contribution of art and culture. This relates to the growing interest in the so-called “creative industries”, and includes the cultural sector’s ability to generate spillover effects across the economy as a whole. The discussion is seen driven above all by political need for attention – to support public policies and funding. Culture, economy and spillovers are also dealt under such topics as “agglomeration and attractiveness”, “creative industries and innovation”,

The project looked into the question of why the arts and culture matter, and how we capture the effects that they have. The project had two main objectives: 1) to identify the various components that make up cultural value, and 2) to consider and develop the methodologies and the evidence that might be used to evaluate these components.

¹⁰ In the research conducted by Wheatley and Bickerton, the dependent variables analysed comprised life satisfaction, amount of leisure time, job and a measure of general happiness. These depended variables were regressed against variables measuring engagement with the arts, cultural and sporting activities. Control variables were selected based on findings drawn from other SWB research and included personal characteristics such as gender, age, disability, working hours and overtime, relationships, including whether a person has dependent children and what age they are. Control variables also included level of education and economic activity. See <https://www.ukdataservice.ac.uk/use-data/data-in-use/case-study/?id=214>

“cultural sector innovation and the rise of co-production” and “nurturing talent and ideas”. (Crossick & Kaszynska 2016, 87, 92–96.)

The economy-oriented discussion centres on the question of how “innovation is fostered through network, knowledge and talent spillovers from creative sector to the broader economy” (Ibid., 153). On the other hand, arts, culture and engagement “also bring value to individuals and society by creating conditions for change; a myriad of spillover effects that include an openness, a space for experimentation and risk-taking at the personal, social and economic levels, an ability to reflect in a safer and less direct way on personal, community and societal challenges, and much else” (Ibid., 159).

We refer to the TFCC report (2015, 8), which defines spillovers to be “**the process by which an activity in one area has a subsequent broader impact** on places, society or the economy through the overflow of **concepts, ideas, skills, knowledge and different types of capital**. Spillovers can take place over varying time frames and can be intentional or unintentional, planned or unplanned, direct or indirect, negative as well as positive.” This broad definition allows many kinds of approaches. It aptly suits our aim **to understand the diverse, yet interlinking, action levels and interconnections that have effect upon the emergence of spillovers**.

The discussion on the effects of cultural activities is dominated by economic reasoning. The broader societal impacts and especially the small-scale social changes that may induce wider effects have been neglected. In this research, we have been particularly interested in knowledge and network spillovers. According to the TFCC report, **knowledge spillovers** refer to the new ideas, innovations and processes developed within arts organisations and by artists and creative businesses that spill over into the wider economy and society without directly rewarding those who created them. **Network spillovers** relate to the impacts on and outcomes to the society and economy that spill over from arts and/or creative industries in a specific location. The benefits are particularly wide, ranging from economic growth to regional attractiveness and identity. Negative outcomes are also common – e.g. exclusive gentrification of urban areas. (TFCC 2015, 8.) These definitions provide a starting point, but we have not however limited the analysis to the categories of the report. Through our case studies (both rural and urban) we aim to critically reflect the spillover categories presented in the TFCC-report.

Research material and methodology

Case studies: Tampere Together and KUULTO

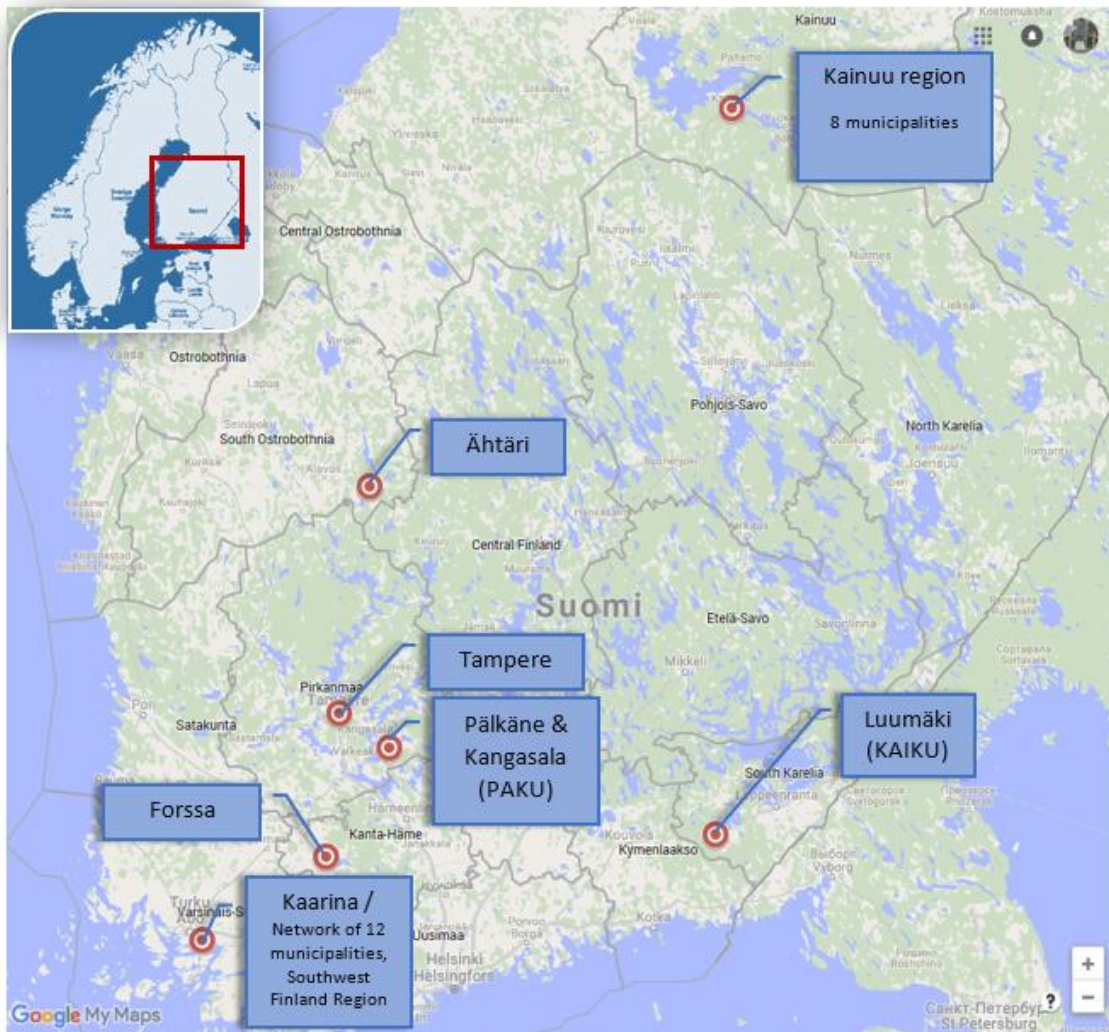
We have analysed an ERDF¹¹-funded cultural development project “Culture for City Districts - **Tampere Together**”¹², which was carried out in the city of Tampere from 2008 to 2013 (the whole project is here analysed as one case) and six individual cases from a large-scale action research project, **KUULTO**¹³, **which** was conducted in several localities in Finland between 2011 and 2014. (See the Map 1 below).

¹¹ European Regional Development Fund.

¹² <http://www.tampere.fi/english/culturalaffairs/citydistricts/tamperetogether.html>

¹³ <https://www.jyu.fi/ytk/laitokset/yfi/oppiaineet/kup/tutkimus/tutkprojhank/kuulto>

Both the KUULTO cases and Tampere Together strongly emphasised cultural/citizen participation, but in some respects the cases differ and thus complement each other. Tampere is the third-largest city in Finland and the largest inland centre in the Nordic region,¹⁴ whereas the KUULTO action research analysed citizens' access and participation to cultural services in those municipalities in Finland where cultural funding remains very low.¹⁵ Tampere Together was also targeted at districts facing various challenges (such as unemployment, disadvantaged immigration and a growing number of elderly residents).



Map 1. Spillover case studies in Finland: KUULTO cases and Tampere Together.

¹⁴ There are nearly 250 000 inhabitants in the city and close to 400 000 inhabitants in the Tampere Region. Tampere is known for its active cultural life, institutions and attractions. The city has become a very popular target for internal migration in Finland because of its various opportunities to study and work but also due to its cultural and leisure services and activities.

¹⁵ See: http://www.minedu.fi/OPM/Julkaisut/2011/Kuntien_kulttuuritoiminnan_tuki-ja_kehittamispolitiikka.html?lang=fi&extra_locale=en

KUULTO

The aims of the **KUULTO action research** were to increase people's participation in cultural activities, remove various obstacles to participation and solve problems related to these issues, interlinking action and research. The obstacles were seen as connected to increasing inequality between regions or as caused by social and financial problems/factors in people's lives. Another important objective was to offer municipal residents opportunities to participate in decision making concerning cultural activities and services and in the development of cultural activities through different systems of feedback provision. KUULTO included 22 cases (carried out by associations and municipalities) covering a total of 44 municipalities.

In the KUULTO action research the approach of incorporating theory with practice was hoped to change conditions by developing new measures that would increase participation in culture. The starting point was to make the municipal cultural organisations change their practices and develop new methods, which they could assess together with the researchers. The work towards change was to be linked in with interaction with the municipal residents, hearing their opinions and enabling them to take part in the decision making within the development process (Kangas 2015). KUULTO was funded by the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture and conducted at the University of Jyväskylä by professor Anita Kangas. It was a 'laboratory' for local cultural policy and cultural work, which aimed to explore and increase participation in cultural activities. The individual KUULTO cases were designed at the local or regional level. According to their action plans, the local and communal activities (22 cases in total) received altogether 550 000 euro as subsidy from the Ministry of Education and Culture (there was additionally separate funding for coordination and action research activities and also self-financing from the municipalities).

Our analysis here builds upon **six selected KUULTO cases**. Their summaries and main goals are presented below. The ministerial subsidies for these individual cases fluctuated between 14 000 and 59 000 euro. The researchers and stakeholders/actors had collaborated two years in the KUULTO action research: they had generated research data, examined it, developed action plans to address the issues, implemented these action plans and also evaluated the outcomes. This evaluation led again to further cycles of examination, planning and taking action and reflection. All of the actors involved engaged in the intended change (actions, means etc.), the reasoning and justifications behind it, as well as in the analyses on possible intended, unintended and even unwanted impacts of the actions.

Forssa.¹⁶ The Wahren Centre¹⁷ (which comprised of five operational units of the city's leisure time services: town library, museum, school of visual arts, music school and adult education centre) developed one of its events (Family Saturday) towards a tool for enhancing citizen participation. To strengthen the participation of citizens in the planning of actions and activities the actors in the Wahren Centre planned and applied a method called "culture probe" (*Kulttuuriluotain*). Information and wishes were gathered through the culture probe from the families living outside the town centre for the purpose of developing the event. These families were not actively taking part in the Family Saturday, or other cultural activities in general. The actors in the city units altered their actions concerning cultural content and ways to collaborate.

KAIKU¹⁸. A company (to which the community of Luumäki had outsourced the organisation of municipal cultural services) emphasised the hearing of inhabitants and associations in the planning and organisation of

¹⁶ ca. 17000 inhabitants.

¹⁷ http://www.forssa.fi/in_english/services/leisure_time_services/

¹⁸ Luumäki ca. 5000 inhabitants.

cultural activities. A new model was built to extend the number and range of actors organising cultural activities and to widen the cooperation. To reinforce participation, a new group called “Käskassara” consisting of representatives of the local residents (people active in voluntary associations) was developed. The Käskassara group both disseminated the residents’ opinions for the further development of cultural activities and also functioned as a coordinating inspirer for the collaboration among the different actors.

PAKU.¹⁹ Two established voluntary-sector associations committed themselves to the development of a new model for the production of municipal cultural services in distant localities (remote villages) and/or for activating elderly people living in nursing homes. The aim was to also regenerate co-operation between municipalities. Action research was used for organisational development around the new collaborative model. PAKU, as a professionally operating instrument, was described as an actor floating above the association, meaning that it could operate swiftly enough alone in a complex network of cooperation. Particular attention was paid to the participatory actions at the grass root level and to designing the services accordingly. In addition, the goal was to see to it that the model would ensure income creation for the participating associations as they collaborated with the public sector.

Kaarina. 12 municipalities networked to develop a working model, which aimed to bring art into the lives of individuals who had had only scarce opportunities to take part in artistic activities. Small children in family daycare in small localities were selected as the first target group of the activities: this group did not have the same range of facilities at their disposal as the public daycare centres and city/municipal centres could offer. Artists were hired as “coach artists” for selected groups of children and their family daycare givers. Their task was to produce participatory workshops and circulate them around the region. This created a relationship between the children and the artist, which could not have been achieved with one-off artist visits. The model demanded cross-sectoral collaboration between the municipalities to function properly.

Ähtäri.²⁰ The goal of the action research in Ähtäri was to increase the number of cultural services offered for different age groups and opportunities to use these services in the sparsely populated areas of the community. The target of the development work was a new type of model for basic local cultural services in collaboration with the communal cultural, library, youth and sport services, the school of music, the adult education centre, the third sector and the private sector. The development work was concretised as a “Culture Bus”, which used to be a library on wheels. The equipment and contents of the Culture Bus were developed in cooperation with the residents of the sparsely populated areas. The bus made it possible to bring concerts and theatre performances organised in the town’s cultural centre as well as various lectures, courses and workshops to these areas either in their entirety, as previews or as small-scale live performances. At the same time, the library card was developed into a cultural card application for rewarding the audiences with discounts and used for getting feedback from the residents.

Kainuu.²¹ The aim of the project in Kainuu was to take art and culture to localities where opportunities to enjoy culture are infrequent. Villages around the Kainuu region were turned into meeting places. A professional dance group,²² an amateur theatre group and a cooperative of artists used dance, theatre, music, cinema, and literary art to come together with the residents of the villages. The artists used the concept of

¹⁹ Took place in two municipalities: Kangasala ca. 30 000, Pälkäne ca. 7000 inhabitants.

²⁰ ca. 6000 inhabitants.

²¹ Kainuu region ca. 75 000.

²² <http://www.routacompany.fi/?lang=en>

“outreach cultural work” to describe the activities. At first, the professional artists set up workshops at the villages where active groups could be found. Then the actions expanded into all the municipalities of the region and created artist-led, participatory workshops for different age groups.

TAMPERE TOGETHER

Tampere Together was a partnership between the city of Tampere and voluntary organisations and non-profit associations. It was an experimental grassroots cultural development project that contained a total of 25 mini-projects²³ in different city districts.²⁴ Tampere Together was a project that addressed various forms of exclusion, fostering citizen activation and lowering thresholds of participation in communities in the different city districts. The mini-projects were approved and run by local associations and citizens. (See Council of Tampere Region 2013; AIEDL 2012b.) Tampere Together was also a coordination project which collected grass root projects into clusters to help them apply for funding from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). The call was initially open to all local non-profit associations. The activities promoted social engagement and cohesion under three headings: 1) activating people with an immigrant background; 2) activating people with various disabilities and diminished capabilities; and 3) enhancing social cohesion in the neighbourhoods (see AIEDL 2012b, 3). There were separate budgets for the coordination of the mini-projects and for the mini-projects themselves, totalling altogether approximately 360 000 euro²⁵ (self-financing was additionally required from the associations).

A preliminary analysis of the Tampere Together project was conducted by CUPORE in 2014 (see Jakonen & Mitchell 2014). In this report, Tampere Together was categorised thematically as a project of “culture and well-being”. In these projects culture was seen to enhance and promote “participation, communal spirit, creative everyday activities or environments” (see also Pekkala 2012, 9.) Tampere Together was also recognised as an experimental project for inclusive growth by the European Commission in 2013 (see European Commission 2013, 22; cf. “endogenous growth”, see Vickery 2015, 13).

Five selected examples of the Tampere Together city district mini-projects (for further information and more mini-projects see Council of Tampere Region 2013; AIEDL 2012a; 2012b) are presented below. One must note that we analysed Tampere Together as whole from the organisational perspective instead of individual city-district mini-projects.

Introduction to Russian culture. The aim of the mini-project “Privet” (“hello” in Russian) was to diminish

²³ The mini-projects had a wide-ranging approach to culture and they could contain multiple objectives, such as the organisation of various cultural and sports events as well as the development of training and the promotion of activities aimed at environmental improvement, sustainable use of natural resources, and the production of publications and other outputs (poems, visual and environmental art, city district histories etc.)

²⁴ All the mini-projects and their budgets can be found (in Finnish) at:

<http://www.tampere.fi/kulttuuripalvelut/material/tampereyhdeassa/vpcdM0EsL/budjetit.pdf>

²⁵ European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) projects typically combine both public and private activities. As the preliminary evidence report suggests, the use of EU funds and spillovers have a close relationship that has already been pointed out (TFCC 2015, 51). The structural funds are an instrument through which the EU implements structural policy, not cultural policy as such. The ERDF supports projects that develop companies, encourage innovation, boost networking and improve regional accessibility. Generally speaking, the activities of the EU structural funds and the implementation of different kinds of structural fund projects had a strong impact on the Finnish culture sector in the programme period 2007–2013 (see Pekkala 2012). In Tampere Together, 63 % of the budget of the coordination projects was funded by the ERDF, and 27 % by the City of Tampere. The excess share covered by the project operators was only 10 %.

prejudices towards and exclusion of schoolchildren of Russian background and to raise interest in Russian culture and language. A local non-profit Russian club organised cultural performances and interactive events in nurseries and primary schools. The project was implemented together with schools and daycare centres in three city districts. It was so successful that the Russian Club has adopted it as a permanent method, and the idea has spread to other parts of the city in the context of other cultures.

The Somali mini-project. The Somali mini-project was targeted at the Hervanta district where many of the city's Somalis live. During the project, the participating Somalis distributed information about Somalia and Somali history and culture at interactive events. The project turned out to be especially meaningful for the young Somalis themselves, living in diaspora with weakened ties to their original culture.

Tesoma community theatre. Tesoma is a suburb of Tampere that has a bad reputation due to a history of problems. The "Stories of Tesoma" mini-project was especially targeted at young people to help them see their neighbourhood in a new way. The project was implemented together with housing committees, school pupils, youth centres, voluntary organisations and a professional theatre group specialising in community-oriented theatre. The core group went to Tesoma and invited people to talk about their everyday life and tell stories about the suburb – in words, in pictures or in songs. With professional support, the stories were turned into a theatre performance, which was presented several times by the participants in building yards and at events held in Tesoma.

Art performances by mental health patients. "Searchers of Light" was a mini-project run by a foundation specialising in 'open care' (care in the community) for patients recuperating from mental illnesses. The activity resulted in a poem and a music performance tour performed by the patients themselves. They had been writing poems as part of their care process, and with Tampere Together funding and the encouragement of the coordinator, alongside professional help, the poem writing was transformed into a new service concept where the open care association and the patients went out to community events to perform their works.

Nekala community gardens. The parish of Nekala, where immigrants, unemployed people and pensioners are under the threat of exclusion, wanted to do something good in the community and restore the area. There was unused land that could serve as a meeting place right in the middle of the residential area. The idea that emerged combined community work and gardening. The parish organised together with an association for unemployed people, the residents' association and a nearby agricultural college a mini-project to create small 'city gardens' in certain parts of parish property. The concept brought people of different ages, both unemployed and employed naturally together throughout the year. Pensioners, young people, school children, families and immigrants engaged in planning in the winter, planting in the spring and weeding in the summer and had a harvest party in the autumn.

New round of analysis for lengthening the evaluation perspective

In Finland, the municipalities face the responsibility of providing cultural activities as a basic service²⁶, with designated people in charge of them. The analysed cases provide us insights into the kinds of measures the local-level actors wanted to develop and implement with the aim of increasing the municipal residents' participation in cultural activities and enabling their involvement in the development of the activities. The new practices created in the projects that we have analysed brought new focuses to the organisation of municipal cultural activities by hiring community artists and enhancing communal working practices, through new forms of hearing the residents and by acknowledging the necessity of cooperation with local associations and private enterprises. A great deal of proposals, recommendations, advice and ideas were produced as standards for the organisation of local cultural activities while aiming to remove (regional, social and structural) barriers that restrict participation in cultural activities.

Both the Tampere Together and the KUULTO project have already been documented and analysed in light of the goals and aims of the local cases (see Kangas 2017 upcoming; Kangas 2015; Kangas et al. 2014; Jakonen & Mitchell 2014; Council of Tampere Region 2013; AIEDL 2012a; 2012b). **Our research added a new round of analysis on selected cases to enable a longitudinal study of the spillovers** (see figure 1). We ask which measures became rooted and what kinds of spillovers emerged. Our cases were chosen on the grounds that they contain a promise of diverse spillover effects in terms of social capital, capabilities and knowledge. The idea was to learn from successful and long-lasting local-level projects aiming at organisational development.

A LONGITUDINAL PERSPECTIVE TO IDENTIFY SPILLOVERS FROM KUULTO AND TAMPERE TOGETHER

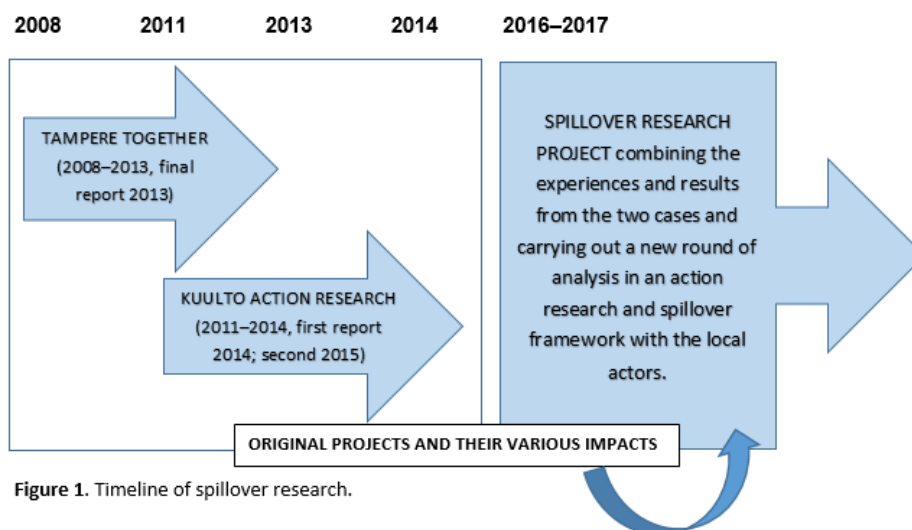


Figure 1. Timeline of spillover research.

²⁶ Municipal Cultural Activities Act (728/1992). See the Ministry of Education and Culture - Legislation on Culture: http://www.minedu.fi/OPM/Lainsaetaento/voimassa_oleva_lainsaetaento/kulttuuri/?lang=en

Prior action research complemented with a mini-Delphi round

The goal of our case study and its experiments with an action research approach has been to connect research with cultural practitioners whose position in the field allows them to work cross-sectorally (cf. Vickery 2015, 10). These local actors have had an essential role in the KUULTO action research: their actions have provided both the material and embedded a large part of the methodology of this experimental study on spillovers. As Ison (2011, 21) brings out in his notions on systems thinking and action research, methodology involves conscious braiding of theory and practice in a given context. A method depends on “many people working on it, developing and refining it, using it, taking it up, recommending it, and above all finding it useful” (Ison 2011, 22).

This explorative research on spillovers was conducted approximately a year after the closure of the implementation of the original KUULTO action research program (actions 2011–2014, first report 2014; second 2015; Kangas 2017 upcoming in English) and three years after the closure of Tampere Together (final report 2013). In spring 2016 we selected six interesting cases from KUULTO to participate in the spillover research. One criterion for selection was that the established measures and actions still continued after the closure of the initial action research. The main idea was that the researchers (Cupore) and the stakeholders from the selected communities (KUULTO projects) would begin analysing spillovers together. As described earlier, Tampere Together was an interesting complementary case study for KUULTO (the starting point, funding of the project and the urban context were different from those of KUULTO) that we wanted to include in the research to render the contemplation on spillovers more diverse.

A mini-Delphi was selected as a research method/platform to bring together the empirical knowledge established in the original action research (KUULTO) and possessed by the stakeholders (6 KUULTO cases & Tampere case), the expertise from the researchers (Cupore and University of Jyväskylä) and the concept/definition of spillovers (stemming from TFCC). One of the advantages was that the selected individual cases from KUULTO action research project were already familiar with cooperating with research.

One of the primary purposes of our research was to allow research findings to emerge without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies. Key themes may often be obscured, reframed or left invisible because of the preconceptions in the data collection and data analysis procedures imposed by the investigators. We wanted to avoid imposing the TFCC spillover diagram on our co-researchers “from above”. Accordingly, it was our task to translate the ideas of the local actors to the language of the spillover diagram and its structured categories. The concept and categories of spillovers as such were not introduced to the participants before the final mini-Delphi session. However, as our co-researchers were experts in the cultural field and projects, with a long track record in these areas, it was not difficult to achieve mutual understanding along the way.

We used interviews, e-mail enquiries and mini-Delphi sessions to identify together with the local actors in the selected cases which kinds of spillovers their respective projects have produced. In addition, we placed the analysed projects into their context to explain what kinds of factors can make a project successful (or be harmful) in terms of spillovers. Together with the local actors from the chosen cases, we have also discussed how the identification of spillovers might change the organisations and in which ways the identified spillovers initiated by and within the cultural projects affected the community organisations and the further development of the cases. Moreover, the process included cross-fertilisation of ideas between the

representatives of the two projects, contributing to our list of recommendations.

Following the ideas of action research used with organisation development (Reason & Bradbury 2008; Coghlan 2014), the gathering of the new empirical data during the spillover research comprised the following stages, or “cycles of examination”, in 2016: **(a)** the results from the interviews carried out in Tampere in June, **(b)** the answers to the preliminary questions prepared for the mini-Delphi sessions in August, **(c)** the material produced by a group of local actors in Tampere Together and KUULTO by applying the mini-Delphi method in September and **(d)** the feedback from the local actors on our spillover matrix in November. (Figure 2.) The mini-Delphi discussion (September), as well as the preceding questionnaires (July), were dialogic and interactive. The same applied to the feedback discussion via email (November) following the mini-Delphi.

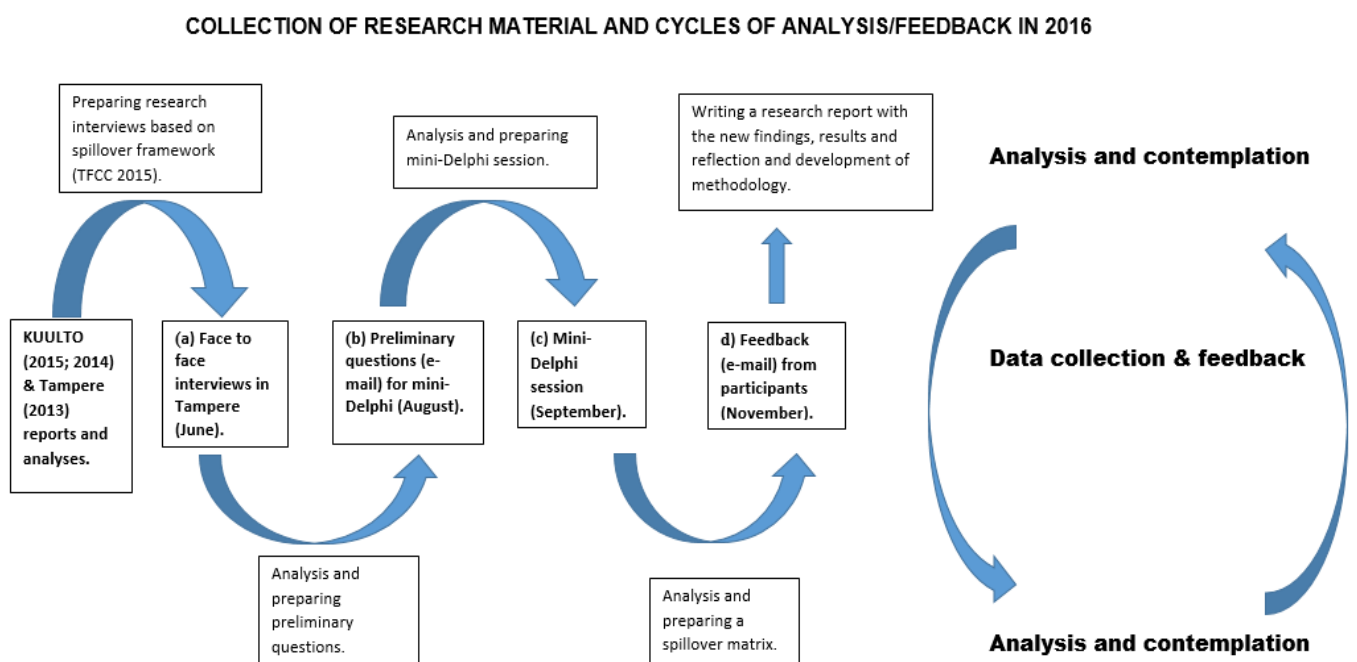


Figure 2. Collection of research data and cycles of analysis/feedback.

In Tampere we interviewed²⁷ the coordinator and two key members of the diverse steering group²⁸ to get a similar kind of basic understanding of the project as we had already gained from the KUULTO project. This

²⁷ See Appendix 1: Interview questions.

²⁸ For the line-up of the diverse steering committee, see Council of Tampere Region 2013, 25–26.

way we have been able to assess the overall effects of the projects in a comparable mode. In addition, we used this background knowledge to prepare the preliminary questions for the participants of the mini-Delphi-panel. In Tampere, although we wanted to know about the spillovers the project generated, we did not direct the discussion with the local actors to any specific spillover types from the TFCC diagram. Yet, the interviewees stressed effects that could clearly be classified as knowledge and network spillovers.

The Delphi-method was already used in the actual KUULTO action research to gather material from an expert group. Our approach built on this background and called for an additional estimation round. A mini-Delphi discussion was organised in September. It gathered together a group of local actors from both projects and our research team to analyse and identify spillovers. The diversity of the mini-Delphi group and the participants' experience on cultural projects and collaborative working models contributed to understanding the quality of the spillovers and the mechanisms that produce or prevent them. The question of whether the individual projects had reached their original goals was of less importance. The mini-Delphi brought into the discussion 10 local actors: two from Tampere and eight from six KUULTO cases²⁹ (sub-projects). Prior to the actual discussion, the participants answered a number of questions.³⁰ We coded their answers according to the spillover sub-categories (TFCC 2015) and analysed them. The answers were further discussed in a mini-Delphi-panel, a six-hour meeting where the participants were randomly divided into smaller groups to work with contents deriving from the preliminary questionnaires.³¹ After the meeting, we offered the participants the possibility to add ideas and insights. Throughout the meeting we encouraged the participants to be critical and constantly rethink the made choices and categorisations.

We draw upon a broad conceptualisation of the Delphi method (Linstone & Turoff 1975) where it is essential that:

- the group members can change their opinions
- the influence of opinion leaders is cut down by the arrangement of the discussion
- hierarchies remain low and also members who might feel pressured by their lower status outside the panel know that they will be listened to
- new ideas will be compiled from diverse perspectives

There are three main characteristics that have been fundamental in our “reduced-scale Delphi” approach, which was implemented as a face-to-face group meeting: anonymity, iteration, and feedback (Kuusi 1999, 71). We approached all the participants beforehand, and they delivered us first-hand impressions and ideas on their projects that were elementary for the planning of the actual mini-Delphi meeting. The identities of the participants were not disclosed prior to the occasion. Based on previous research, it is an advantage of face-to-face meetings that these kind of reduced scale Delphi studies provide more carefully considered viewpoints than single-round surveys. The idea being that a group of experts provides more accurate information than information gathered from unstructured informants. (Pan et al. 1995.)

²⁹ Two actors took part from two Kuulto cases and one from each of the other four Kuulto cases.

³⁰ See Appendix 2: The mini-Delphi pre-questions.

³¹ See Appendix 3: The mini-Delphi programme.

Spillover Logic Model

The mini-Delphi meeting clearly illustrated how cultural projects often have multiple effects that go beyond (both in time and in scope) the articulated project goals and initial action plans. Spillover is defined as “the process by which an activity in one area has a broader impact on places, society or the economy through the overflow of ideas, skills, knowledge and different types of capital” (TFCC 2015). We use a systemic approach to embrace all the spillovers; this means that phenomena, here spillovers, are understood to be an emergent property of an interrelated whole. Moreover, a systems approach entails modelling of the social systems, which can then be employed for purposes of research or decision making. (Flood 2010, 269-270.)

To analyse the spillover process in a systemic framework we need a methodological tool that allows us to depict how change occurs and to illustrate how actions (or sometimes inactions) cause social and economic outcomes and societal impacts. We felt that we needed an analytical scheme for positioning spillovers in the chains of actions and effects (a heuristic tool for separating the intended results of the project activities from the (wider/long-term) impacts, some of which can be regarded as spillovers). For this purpose, we have deployed and developed the logic model in the evaluation of spillovers. The logic model is a tool that is used widely in evaluation but scarcely in the arts and culture sector,³² let alone in research on spillovers.

Logic model can be described in terms of three components that can usually be presented graphically. The first component is the problem statement. The second component of the logic model is an intervention, or actions directed toward resolving a problem. Outcomes that are expected as a result of providing specific programming represent the final component of the logic model. Outcomes answer the questions “What difference does the project/program make? What does success look like?” They **reflect the core achievements you hope from your project/programme** (see Innovation Network). However, we can add a fourth component to the logic model, impacts. Impacts are long-term results that are observable at the community level. The logic model provides a feasible way to consider linkages between problems/conditions, activities, outcomes and impacts. This is one of the major strengths of the logic model as a planning and evaluation tool. (Julian et al. 1995, 335; s.a. McCawley) Logic models address the issue of complex, uncontrolled environmental variables because they describe the concepts that need to be considered when we seek desired (or undesired) outcomes. Logic models link the problem (situation) to the intervention (our inputs and outputs), and the outcome. Further, the logic model helps to identify partnerships critical to enhancing the process.

The questions of temporal dimension and level of analysis must also be dealt with (see, e.g., Kangas & Hirvonen 2001 on impacts of Structural Funds). According to the logic model, changes in conditions reflect longer-term results (economic, social, environmental, political etc.) of intertwined actions. Especially when we move beyond the actual project goals, it is also important to notice how institutional, community and public policies have (either supporting or antagonistic) effects on the projects. This requires investment of time in linking the medium and longer term outcomes of the evaluated projects to their institutional conditions. (McCawley s.a., 4-5.) This is also a point where we have to leave the frame of evaluating the goals of an individual project (or a set of projects) in order to identify their external influences and

³² <http://www.nesta.org.uk/publications/arts-impact-fund-insights-first-year#sthash.7r3KeJUhdpuf> One of the rare examples is the evaluation of Arts Council Ireland (*Value for Money and Policy Review of the Arts Council*, 2015). See: <http://www.ahrrga.gov.ie/app/uploads/2015/09/value-for-money-and-policy-review-of-the-arts-council.pdf>

relationships against the system that provides the working environment. In our case this means the community organisation (the KUULTO communities and the City of Tampere) which the projects aim to develop by means of participatory processes.

The suggested definition of spillover in the TFCC report (2015, 8) equates spillovers with impacts: “the process by which an activity in one area has a subsequent broader impact on places, society or the economy through the overflow of concepts, ideas, skills, knowledge and different types of capital...” With the logic model, we can **analytically separate the inputs, implementation and direct results of the cultural projects from the spillovers**. Impacts result from the accumulation of project outcomes (the core achievements you hope from your project/programme), but spillovers can generate from the beginning of the individual projects without direct relation to the actual project goals. Thus, spillovers may also spill over into the wider economy and society without directly rewarding those who created them. However, even a project output can develop into a spillover if it benefits different (even surprising) groups in society.

Julian et al. (1995, 340) emphasises that the logic model provides a mechanism for articulating the difficulty of achieving long-term community impacts. **Collaborations** are seen as important for achieving significant community impacts. Solving complex social problems at the local/community level requires a coordinated community effort and concerted actions. These efforts in turn require actions on the part of **key stakeholders** and other **community organisations**. We emphasise the importance of **system-related networks** and collaborations to the emergence and sustenance of spillovers from cultural projects. Also the TFCC report states that new guidelines are needed on how public funding can best be directed towards the generation of arts and cultural activities that stimulate spillovers. This is difficult to achieve without **policy-level understanding** of the emergence of spillovers.

Our **Spillover logic model** (see figure 3) **separates the actual project goals from the logic of spillovers**. The logic model can be used in both formative evaluations (during the implementation to offer a chance to improve the project/programme) and summative evaluations (after the completion of the project/program) (see Crossick & Kaszynska 2016). The model illustrates temporal dimensions and longitudinal interventions within the cultural projects in an overall context of system/organisation development. Short funding cycles are a reality of today’s world; the projects/programmes are often too short in duration to observe change at systemic level (i.e. spillovers) (see Renger and Titcomb 2002, 501).

Thomas and Parsons (2016, 2) note that many “hidden factors” can foster or constrain a project’s design, implementation and impacts. Longitudinal action research oriented intervention enhances and creates tools for recognising spillovers and the mechanisms that produce and prevent them from the beginning of implementation of cultural projects. It allows us to scrutinise the institutional conditions and organisation mechanisms as potential sources of spillovers from the beginning of individual projects. With the help of the spillover logic model we are able to analytically approach the whole process that generates actual project effects and spillovers, not just the planned effects. The identification of any significant unplanned or unanticipated effects or side effects arising from project implementation can be seen as an important evaluation task (Thomas 2006, 238). Miller emphasises the importance of articulating the historical, political, economic, geographic, community and cultural contextual issues in the project context. It is important to notice that organisations, projects, and policies operate within a larger ecology of resources and relationships. (Miller 2013.) This means that the generation of spillovers does not happen in a vacuum. The

cultural projects (or other creative, artistic and cultural activity) always have a context and historical background within which they operate.

The individual project contexts were embedded in this evaluation by the mutual discussions with the project experts and stakeholders from Tampere and KUULTO. In the preliminary questionnaires and mini-Delphi session the participants expressed their viewpoints on the context of the each project: factors that fostered or constrained a project’s design, implementation and impacts. Earlier reports and research from the Tampere and KUULTO projects also added to the context analysis. One of the researchers in our team was a long-time expert on KUULTO cases. In addition, Tampere Together had been evaluated earlier on by one of the researchers. It has to be noted that the participants from Tampere and KUULTO were also experts on matters related to their local communities and the factors that affect actions in these contexts. Our research team included people with long-time expertise especially on KUULTO cases and communities.³³

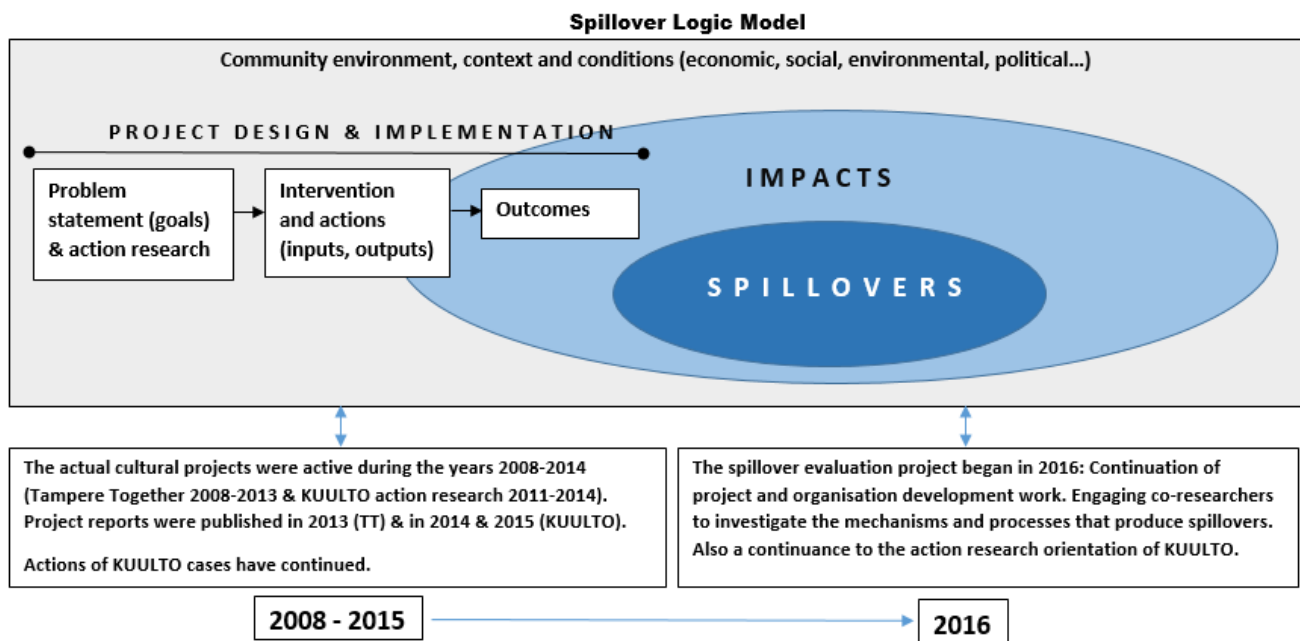


Figure 3. Spillover Logic Model for KUULTO & Tampere Together spillover research.

³³ In this research project the context analysis made by the researchers was not as comprehensive as it could have been if the resources and timetables had allowed more document searching and interviews with different stakeholders, also with actors from different levels of administration in the communities (top administration but also associations). Context analysis benefits also from high-quality statistical and comparable data related to the problem at hand.

Spillover matrix: spillovers identified from Tampere Together and KUULTO

The following matrix (see table 1 below) summarises the findings and breaks down the spillovers that we identified from the KUULTO and Tampere Together projects together with the local cultural actors as co-researchers. The matrix is based on a diagram of spillover categories and subcategories presented in the preliminary evidence report (TFCC 2015, 9). The numbering follows the logic of the original diagram but we have added the category “other results” at the end of each category, since we could not place all of our findings into the existing framework. We have also made note of interesting links between different spillovers which our fellow-researchers pointed out (e.g. 1.1. → 2.2). Following the spillover definition (TFCC 2015), our focus has been on illustrating **processes where an activity in one area leads to broader impact(s)**. With the help of the matrix we aim to answer the first research question: *What kinds of spillovers of their respective projects do the cultural actors and researchers identify in retrospect (after the closure of the actual project)?*

Table 1 summarises our observations concerning the spillovers from the two case projects. All the spillovers recognised and listed in the matrix derive from the mutual exchanges between the local actors and researchers. The local experts were requested to keep their focus on the two projects, and they tended to give very detailed statements. Thus ‘broader impact’ was understood to be something spreading outside the original scope of action and actors, still often remaining within the field of culture and/or in the same locality. The spillover logic model is a feasible model for recognising spillovers, but it cannot be deployed without understanding the context and having knowledge about the original project goals, beneficiary groups and invocation of the “spin-offs” that the projects might have generated. To gain its full potential, spillovers should be detected from the beginning of the projects. It was sometimes difficult to make the distinction between spillovers and project outcomes, as the projects were often expected to produce lasting effects and models to be applied elsewhere.

On the whole, the list of spillovers presented in Table 1 should be seen as tentative and would need to be investigated further via complementary data and methods. Our methodological experiment here aims to show the potential of action research as a heuristic, contextual, participant-based and reflexive means to bring light on the huge variety of spillovers that may derive from any successful cultural project over time and on the mechanisms that may be involved.

Table 1.

Main results from the KUULTO and Tampere Together projects: spillovers identified together with the local cultural actors.

1. Knowledge	Tampere	Forssa	Kaarina	Kainuu	Paku	Kaiku	Ahtari
1.1. Stimulating creativity and encouraging potential	New associations and societies became visible and recognised. This stimulated voluntary work.	.	New working models to invigorate employees were adopted in the health care sector	Cross-sectoral actions enhanced the motivation and self-confidence of the residents in the area, including immigrants and rural young people, creating a base for development of professional abilities (→ link to 1.4). New appreciation for local resources created new ideas for cultural tourism (→ 2.6).	Engagement of cultural actors in a collaborative professional working group created enthusiasm among and appreciation between professions.	Public-private partnership stimulated local cultural (and other) associations to plan and execute new actions for new groups of people.	
1.2. Increasing visibility, tolerance and exchange between communities		The project resulted in a photography exhibition that was taken to the different villages of Forssa, creating new interaction within the local communities.	Knowledge of and feedback from different parts of the community were adopted by artists and communicated with the governance.	The actions generated new collaboration models with marginalised people, immigrants and Romani people.	Collaborative working methods broadened the boundaries of professional thinking, including knowledge on special groups.		The Culture Bus increased a sense of togetherness in the villages in relation to the city governance. Unexpectedly, the bus proved important for communication about all city sectors and services.
1.3. Changing attitudes in participation and openness to the arts		The project actions produced new activating and empowering cultural events.	The participants in the activities became aware of the potential of community art. This inspired organisations to take further actions, which generated new skills and knowledge for recognising new audiences.	An improvisation theatre concept engaged new groups in community development.			Residents in villages were able to influence the contents of the Culture Bus. Still, cuts in the services of other sectors created tension and critical attitudes towards the experiment (“is the bus replacing other services?”).

1.4. Increase in employability and skills development in society		Spread knowledge about the skills of the staff of art and culture organisations has strengthened their invocation in city planning.	Inter-municipal cultural activities generated new collaboration methods that have created new possibilities to hire artists.	Documentation of the activities created knowledge capital available to the local actors. The artist facilitators found employment in the area.	Members of the work group developed their skills and ideas and found employment in the area. This transformed the activities of the third sector towards more professional working models.	The project created job opportunities for workers of a private cultural company. The role of the company has generated impacts in the area.	
1.5. Strengthening cross-border and cross-sectoral collaborations	Associations from the social and health care sector learned new ways of cross-sectoral collaboration.	Cross-sectoral cooperative models between culture and leisure departments and city planning have become established.	Inter-municipal collaboration was introduced during the project activities. Currently, it is becoming rooted successfully (yet in an unexpected manner).	New models for collaboration between social and health care and cultural sectors were created and have since been enhanced throughout the area.	Collaboration between municipalities (public sector governance), the new private actor (PAKU), voluntary associations, the regional training centre, and the social and health care sector has been generated.	Establishment of public-private partnership.	New kind of collaboration beginning between the central administration of the city, the cultural actors, and the health care and social sector.
1.6. Testing new forms of organisation and new management structures	The importance of local actors in the generation of welfare and quality of life resulted in a re-thinking of the role of the city. Recognition of marginalised groups resulted in new (bottom up) governance models, developed to hear the people themselves (→ 3.2 & 3.1). New, small scale policy instruments (funding), developed to react faster to local-level needs.	The use of new working tools (the culture probe, in particular) strengthened the role of the coordinating organisation and brought new approaches to governing. Essentially, it was a working tool to map citizen opinions. Currently, the probe is deployed to upgrade the city strategy. The use of more participatory approaches has now spread to many places within the city organisation.	Cooperation between the different municipalities in the area has evolved and become established. This includes clarifying the leadership roles and the allocation of resources and responsibilities.	Organisations have started to change their attitudes towards mutual collaboration. Readjustment of the role of the public authorities has taken place. The municipalities in Kainuu have started to grant more power to other actors in the production of cultural services. One of the new means is a public discussion forum for cross-sectoral and public-private interactions.	New means to reduce bureaucracy were tested and developed but continuation of the activities turned out to be difficult. It is infeasible to allot an individual company a permanent role in publicly funded activities. The entrepreneurs now however continue the activities as private individuals.	The production of the services has been outsourced. A new model to organise and manage actions has been adopted. The private sector (a company) now collaborates with cultural associations (civil sector) in a working group focused on the content and production of cultural services. The group also compiles feedback from the residents, who can take part in the planning of the services.	A new collaborative management model for the library and other cultural services has been created as a spillover of the previous activities. Plans for attaching the social sector into the same model in the future.
1.7. Facilitating knowledge exchange and culture-led innovation		The culture probe developed as an innovation / working tool for passing knowledge and		Regional actions (based on the cooperation of associations) help the region to recognise the	Working methods of a professional group (PAKU) inside associations	Private company expands its operational concept to other pastime activities and	The Culture Bus has become a meeting place for the village residents and an environment for

		involving different groups in city planning. → the meanings of culture in the everyday lives of people.		role of culture in regional development. Cultural forums (seminars including artists, residents, representatives of communities and the region and sponsors) have been carried out in different communities of the Kainuu region.	stimulated deliberation on the professionalisation of the third sector and its problem solving. This led to actions which produced new knowledge about the actors in the cultural field.	boosts its actions through local associations (Käskassara). The associations implement the cultural actions for the development of the city.	exchanging knowledge and ideas.
1.8. Other results related to knowledge		The Culture Probe was developed towards further applications in different situations and locations → the knowledge and ideas from the community residents were utilised in the strategic programme development work of the community (knowledge spillover) → incorporating the views of inhabitants to the strategies.	The importance of community art was recognised widely → the margins have been identified and communal methods have been taken to the margins.	The concept of Kulttuurikerros (cultural tour/round) is spreading and applied to new situations → The appreciation of local potential (1.1) has turned into renewed ideas on cultural tourism (the cultural tours have included for example art museums and sites of cultural heritage and some of the tours have also extended outside the Kainuu area).	The working and learning process/method called “Aistikylpy” (sensation bath/workshop) has been taken outside the original project community. The amount of cultural supply and the overall production of culture are decreasing after the key persons behind the activities have moved to other locations.		Culture Bus as a resident-based method for collecting ideas and influencing communities → social cohesion and communal development (3.1), people started to meet spontaneously after the Culture Bus visits.
2. Industry	Tampere	Forssa	Kaarina	Kainuu	Paku	Kaiku	Ahtari
2.1. Improving business culture and boosting entrepreneurship					An organised/professional third sector group created a new operational model, “modus operandi” (and returning to the earlier course of action based solely on voluntary work was found to be difficult.)	A cultural company developed its concept in cooperation with communal and associational/voluntary actors.	

2.2. Impacts on residential and commercial property markets							
2.3. Stimulating private and foreign investment							
2.4. Improving productivity, profitability and competitiveness							
2.5. Boosting innovation and digital technology							The Culture Card was developed through brainstorming as a method for collecting customer feedback and participation. However, at this point the technological application proved to be unsatisfactory.
2.6. Other results related to industry				(→ 1.1)			
3. Network	Tampere	Forssa	Kaarina	Kainuu	Paku	Kaiku	Ahtari
3.1. Building social cohesion, community development and integration	The sense of community and tolerance increased in the suburbs where the activities were taken. An important aspect was the improved attitude within the city administration towards marginal groups . This relates to the creation of new management structures presented above → see 1.6.	Residents living in the fringe areas benefited from the new kinds of activities. Another benefiting group was families with small children. New knowledge on their everyday life has changed the action models. Currently, this is happening also with elderly people.	A new, until now largely unrecognised, group has been identified as an important user group of the cultural services (children in family daycare or home care and living outside the municipal centres). At the moment, new approaches are being deployed to improve the situation of the elderly people.	Cultural actors have got to know each other. A new approach to be deployed in cultural work was developed and art education and artistic activities were taken to remote villages. New approaches have now become adapted to local level, which has strengthened the role of the civil sector.	Associations were able to recruit new volunteers → the amount of voluntary work increased. Different sectors are helping each other more. The cultural activities were also taken from the centre to different communities.	The actions influenced city development. They enabled cultural activities for all the community residents and reinforced the (cultural) identity of the city as an independent community → see 3.3.	The Culture Bus activated villages as well as developed communities and communal spirit. As a consequence, people started to casually meet increasingly often after the Culture Bus encounters. Also the health care sector became interested in the concept and wished for the establishment of a new stop on the line (this wish was materialised later).

3.2. Improving health and well-being	Improvement in quality of life and well-being can be detected in the groups that took part in the activities. This was said to have resulted from the increase in social contacts and decreased levels of loneliness.	Improved well-being has been reported in the feedback from residents.	Improved well-being has been reported in the feedback from residents.	Improved well-being has been reported in the feedback from residents and was also documented during the project.	Improved well-being has been reported in the feedback from residents.	Improved well-being has been reported by the working group that was established as a result of the activities.	The project induced positive activities in the villages, which have reportedly improved the well-being of those taking part.
3.3. Creating an attractive ecosystem and creative milieu, city branding and place making				Regional development around cultural identity and heritage, including the development of cultural tourism. → Kainuu as a “cultural region”. (→ see also 1.7. & 3.4)		City branding around culture.	The project produced tools for the residents of the villages to strengthen their communal identities.
3.4. Stimulating urban development, regeneration and infrastructure				Link to 3.3.			
3.5. Boosting economic impacts of clusters				Increase in cultural tourism both during and after the project	New action models are becoming adopted by civil society actors.	Growth of a local enterprise that produces cultural activities. Improved employment at local level.	
3.6. Other results related to networks							

Linkages between spillovers

The coding of spillovers detected by our co-researchers served as a test of the TFCC spillover diagram (2015, 9). To begin with, people mentioned spillovers that were difficult to place into the matrix (sometimes it was also hard to decide whether it was a question of a spillover or not). It is evident that some of the sub-categories are loosely defined and overlap. This point was made by the local actors themselves. They moreover noted that the original TFCC diagram does not show that spillovers are often linked to each other. Our mini-Delphi discussion confirmed that many of the spillover categories are **strongly tied to each other**

both vertically and horizontally (for example, knowledge → industry). Circulation of ideas, talents, and competences is at the core of creation. These include different types of social relations that range from competition to collaboration and from markets to non-markets. All this requires organisational dynamics and ability to change the boundaries of open innovation when long-term advantages are built through externalities created by complementarities between private and public investments. Moreover, we should not forget the civil society actors (like the voluntary associations in Tampere Together, Paku and Kainuu) that often produce co-operative and mutualist models that are contributive to creation. (Bérard, du Castel & Cormerais 2012, 82–85, 96.)

The effect that boundary conditions have on the emergence of spillovers is crucial for realising how the diversity of spillovers is rooted in context. Certain **spillovers may function as prerequisites for the emergence of other types of spillovers** and **many spillovers come together with others rather than appear alone**. It is difficult to understand how this happens without having an idea of the system that we are dealing with and that produces spillovers. Here systemic thinking and action research offer helpful viewpoints.

Previous research has detected many kinds of spillovers that resemble knowledge and network spillovers as they are described in the evidence report. For example, training spillovers have been identified as results of “collective process of skill enhancement”, and artistic spillovers have been recognised to obtain “an indirect influence on the professional practice of the other participants”. Activities related to art and culture may also generate product spillovers. Cumulative characters of resources become linked to cognitive capabilities of contributors, which are important for the formation of any kinds of spillovers. (Bérard, du Castel & Cormerais 2012; cf. Dekker 2015 about the valorisation processes outside the market place.)

In fact, during the Delphi-sessions, **the local actors in our individual cases noted that especially knowledge but also network spillovers (such as well-being) can be requisites for many of the ‘industry’ spillovers** (cf. Hwang 2013). They suggested that especially urban environments are favourable to industry spillover effects of art and culture. However, many industry spillovers stem from other spillovers (e.g. knowledge spillovers) that create conditions for economic development, such as creativity, openness and skills. Creativity, happiness and satisfaction of employees, based on services and developments fostered by the city, are very important to many businesses. This came out especially in the case of Tampere Together. From this perspective, economic impacts or industry spillovers derive from the capacity of individuals (employees, community residents) to be innovative and creative (see also Crossick & Kaszynska 2016). Representatives of the Tampere Together project noted that particular knowledge spillovers bring change to the modus operandi of companies. Thus a culture-based knowledge spillover may eventually turn into an industry spillover; for example, spillover 1.1. may foster the emergence of spillover 2.1. In the terms of the TFCC diagram of spillovers, this would be an example of a horizontal connection between two spillover categories. The Kainuu case provided an example of a vertical connection between spillovers within the same category. The participation and boosted motivation of immigrants were seen to encourage cooperation between immigrants, Romani people and other marginal groups (1.1. → 1.2.).

Our research and Delphi session indicated that interesting developments happened with respect to **organisational development** in Tampere. The actions around the Tampere Together project made the city administration more open-minded towards citizen participation. This was clearly stated by the city officials

who had witnessed a change of attitudes.³⁴ The perception that cultural participation, well-being and quality of life are best advanced at city district and neighbourhood level with the help of associations was strengthened. The need to find new ways of hearing associations and residents (regarding, for example, what services are lacking in different parts of the city) and to develop more adaptable and less bureaucratic subsidy instruments was identified. The associations, which had not been properly recognised before, gained a new kind of visibility and appreciation. Cross-sectoral cooperation was developed in ways that had not been planned before the start of the project. This means that an interesting mixture and chain of project actions and spillovers contributed to the organisational development of the city of Tampere (1.1. Stimulating creativity and encouraging potential, 1.2. Increasing visibility 1.5. Cross-sectoral collaboration → 1.6. Testing new forms of organisation and management structures). Of course, strategic embeddedness at the city level was an important background to all this, as the city strategy emphasised participation and hearing its residents.³⁵ This means that the city organisation was prepared to enhance the positive but unexpected spillovers from the project.

Reflection on the TFCC spillover framework and suggestions for new sub-categories

Apart from recognising and identifying spillovers from our case studies that fit the existing spillover categories, **we critically reflected together with the local actors, as part of our research, on the whole diagram of spillovers and the sub-categories.** Since the idea of action research is to constantly develop circles of theory and action, we did not wish to propose the spillover diagram as a given. The idea was to have many people working on it, developing and refining it based on empirical evidence and experience. There is a need for a vertical and horizontal linking of the different sub-categories as well as for more specific thinking on the temporal dimension of spillovers. When examining a particular sub-category are we talking about effects on individuals, organisations, communities or larger areas in society? Over what kind of a time span?

As we expected, nearly all the spillovers that we detected were either knowledge or network spillovers. Of the TFCC spillover categories, especially frequently mentioned were the categories 1.6 (Testing new forms of organisation and new management structures) and 3.1 (Building social cohesion, community development and integration). This was in line with the original project descriptions both in KUULTO and Tampere Together, which also sometimes made it hard to distinguish between the outcomes and the spillovers.

As was predicted, we found hardly any industry spillovers. This might however be due to the fact that industry spillovers are defined with a hard, “capitalist” and urban emphasis in the TFCC report. The TFCC diagram does not recognise softer “**community economies**” (cf. Hwang 2013), which would have been needed to embrace the economic or industrial aspects of our cases. As Hwang (2013, 504-505) brings out, for example the multiplying effect of the artist and artisan’s “noncapitalist economy” extends far beyond just

³⁴ During the actual project (2008-2013) the role of the diverse steering group of Tampere Together was important, as well as the role of the project coordinator as an intermediary between the city and the grass root voluntary associations. See Council of Tampere Region 2013.

³⁵ The city strategy 2009–2020 was called “Tampere flows” and it strongly emphasised developing citizen participation and a sense of community. The current Tampere city strategy 2013-2025 is called “Tampere, working together for a bright future.” See http://www.tampere.fi/tiedostot/k/P1IFwM6Al/Tampere_City_Strategy.pdf

the artists and artisans (Hwang's example includes farmers, hospitals and restaurants). These relationships with other actors are reciprocal and symbiotic. "Networking platforms" in some form or another are crucial for the development of new kinds of economics. That was evident, for example, in the case of Kaiku (see table 1 / Kaiku), where the challenge was to find common principles for action between the municipality, private sector actors and the civil society organisations. In terms of research, this would mean taking community-based and participatory approaches to "industry" spillovers. Secondly, our co-researchers were stakeholders in the original small-scale cultural projects, so they might have remained unaware of distant (both in space and time) spillover effects on the creative or other industries.

During the Delphi discussions, completely **new spillover types** were brought up. We would need a category for the **exchange of experiences**, which appears to differ from the categories of knowledge spillovers in the TFCC report. Another missing category is **a possibility to influence/ability to influence/empowerment to act** (this is related to the ideas of participation and involving/engaging).

As our spillover matrix (see above) shows, we identified a number of spillover effects that we had trouble placing in the TFCC sub-categories. They all qualified as knowledge spillovers, and in most cases it was a question of new working methods or concepts that started to spread from the original incubating environment to the wider cultural sector, to other administrative sectors, to the overall municipal level or even across regional borders. Some of these could be defined as social innovations and are comparable to certain industry spillovers. There were also some new education concepts that could be included in this group.

- **Forssa: The culture probe** was developed towards further applications in different situations and different locations → incorporating the views of residents to the strategic programme development work (knowledge spillover).
- **Kaarina:** The importance of community art was recognised widely → via new cross-sectoral collaborative models the margins have been recognised and communal methods have been taken to the margins.
- **Kainuu:** The concept of "Kulttuurikierros" (culture tour/round) is spreading and applied to new situations → The appreciation of local potential (i.e. stimulating creativity & encouraging potential) has turned into renewed ideas of cultural tourism (industry spillover).
- **Paku:** The working and learning process/method called "Aistikylpy" (sensation bath/workshop) has been taken outside the original project community.
- **Ahtari:** "Culture Bus" as a resident-based method for collecting ideas and influencing → social cohesion and communal development (network spillover).

We further detected some spillovers that could be labelled as "cross-institutional". They had a certain resemblance to the working methods mentioned but they involve administrative activities or public funding instruments. The Ministry of Education and Culture, for instance, adopted the idea of hiring community artists and introduced a new funding tool for the purpose.

- Introduction of a new funding tool by the Ministry of Education and Culture (regional and community artists).
- Introduction of new quick-reaction funding instruments at municipal level.
- Emphasis on cross-sectoral activities (working groups, etc.).

- Increased co-operation with the third/voluntary sector in the production and management of cultural services.

The spillover process: mechanisms of enhancement, sustenance and obstacles

The final report of the *Cultural Value Project* stresses the importance of art and culture in creating conditions for change that yield a myriad of spillover effects (Crossick & Kaszynska 2016, 159.) But how do the conditions for change emerge? Systems orientation emphasises a holistic and contextual approach. This is an important perception for the analysis of different mechanisms that can foster spillovers. Systems are seen to describe the interconnections between people, processes and the environment within which they are situated. As the TFCC report recommends, network spillovers should be evidenced by taking a contextual approach to the complex interplay of the factors that produce spillovers. We have placed the analysed projects into their context to explore together with the local actors what kind of factors have an effect on the emergence of spillovers.

When it comes to the theory of evaluation, we wanted to highlight an understanding and inductive approach. In this “understanding perspective”, the evaluation identifies and analyses especially the mechanisms by which the program under evaluation produces (or fails to produce) various outcomes and effects (Berrier-Sollicet et al. 2014.) Our goal was to also gain a better understanding of certain “hidden factors” and intangibles, such as relationships, attitudes, expectations, political structures and social norms that can foster or constrain a project’s design, implementation, impacts, and in our case, the spillovers (cf. Thomas & Parsons 2016, 1–2). In the following chapters the findings in **bold type** are based on the empirical research conducted with the co-researchers, i.e. they are examples from the case studies. These findings are supported by existing theory and literature.

Systems orientation can also be used to detect the obstacles that hinder (or even prevent) the emergence of spillovers. It emphasises also those interconnections that are not evident when focusing only on the specific activities of a programme/intervention and its results. For example, **inefficient institutions and mechanisms can act as barriers to the evolution of spillovers** (c.f. Döring & Schnellenbach 2006, 376–380.) On the other hand, **spillovers are feasible when a project can build on the experiences of earlier work and get support from the institutional level**. This also implicates the importance of continuity in the age of “project society”. Tampere Together is a good example of how the **strategic embeddedness lays ground for the emergence of spillovers**. The project was run under the umbrella of the city strategy, *Tampere Flows*, which emphasised community work and cohesion. Referring to Crossick & Kaszynska (2016, 159), spillovers can generate openness and space for experimentation and risk taking at personal, social and economic levels. This also works the other way around: the very same factors create preconditions for the emergence of spillovers.

According to the experiences of the local actors, there are several factors that lay ground for spillovers. It should be noted that systemic factors have effect on the emergence of spillovers both during and after the implementation of the actual project. According to our research, **collaborative networks generate possibilities for the continuance of actions** that have been established during the fixed-term projects. Earlier research suggest that knowledge spillovers and network spillovers occur as closely intertwined since

knowledge often diffuses through social networks of communication. Knowledge is acquired in cumulative processes where the micro-level conditions are important in determining which kind of spillovers become dominant (see Döring & Schnellenbach 2006, 380–389).

People get to know each other in networks. Networks do not, however, function spontaneously. They **are a matter of commitment as much as interaction**. It is a question of the capabilities of individuals and their opportunities to join and commit themselves. Evolution of knowledge through social networks thus depends both on the boundary conditions and the individual-level abilities. (Döring & Schnellenbach 2006, 376–380.) Systemic approach does not suppose linear causalities. The term “mutual causality” (Ison 2011; see also Sacco et al. 2014 for the critique of mono-causal thinking in culture-led development) is often more appropriate, as was also confirmed in our mini-Delphi discussions. Changes in systems can be described as circular patterns of interaction.

Factors like **work atmosphere (openness) and “encouraging management culture”** were recognised as having effect on the emergence of both knowledge, network and industry spillovers. Management culture can have an impact over time and on various levels of organisation. **Good management and leadership skills can enhance an open atmosphere** that gives space and time for knowledge to cumulate and networks to grow. It is also a question of building commitment and trust.

On the other hand, **negative and resistant attitudes, prejudices and biases** are major obstacles for achieving positive spillovers. Potential project spillovers can fade away because of strong prejudices, but certain prejudices can also generate (negative) spillovers. The Culture Bus in Ahtari, as discussed in the mini-Delphi sessions, was an example of resistant attitudes enhancing possible (negative) spillovers. Some people criticised the bus for being a “charity” offered up by the community administration at a time when public cultural services were cut from remote areas. The opponents formed a new grouping and started to act together.

The local actors in our research emphasised that **coordinators/facilitators of cultural projects have an important position in the light of spillover generation**. The success of projects often relies on encouragement and facilitation by the project manager who mediates between civil society actors and public administration as was the case in Tampere. Also the project evaluation of Tampere Together emphasised that a continual, devoted hands-on facilitation, encouragement and coordination turned out to be one of the key factors, together with the existing devotion of the various associations to working with their respective target groups. Without this kind of ‘go-between’ facilitation, help and encouragement, and also special professional input, the small initiatives (from the associations or the citizens themselves) would run the risk of never surfacing or of dying out. (AEIDL 2012a; 2012b.)

Many things come back to personal level: **there must be a designated person in charge**. Moreover, spillovers are more likely when this person shows **genuine enthusiasm to push things forward**. This is in line with the notion that people with similar enthusiasm for action are drawn to work together (Ison 2011, 16). There are lots of situations where there is only one person pushing the action generated within the project and keeping it going. **The networks are often too dependent on a limited number of active individuals**. This raises questions about the openness and inclusiveness of the networks. According to previous research, open innovation and cultural activities relate to the development of capabilities and competences to socialise and communicate (Béraud et al. 2012, 98; Petrova 2016, 13–14). As we see it,

various spillovers (stemming from cultural projects and processes/activities related to them) are often intertwined with the experiences and capabilities of individual actors operating in different communities, networks, systems and policy sectors. **Changes in personnel can prevent the spilling of experiences and knowledge further.** On the other hand, **mobility may foster spillover when knowledge and ideas travel with people to other sectors and localities.**

Our results are in line with Petrova (2016, 6): “...mobility of ideas or cross-fertilisation is a process which facilitates the diffusion of skills and transfer of knowledge... The process is encouraged by the creation of formal and informal networks and/or institutions.” This requires both an open environment and communication and networking skills from the staff.

A spreading of know-how can take place when individuals move from one place (location/sector/organisation) to another. Locally confined innovative networks are important also for the diffusion of tacit knowledge (see Döring & Schnellenbach 2006, 379–380). The **cooperation between (policy) sectors** proved to be important for knowledge and network spillover: The best examples of new models and new kinds of organisational arrangements in our cases demonstrated how important it is to **persuade actors from other sectors** (such as social/health care³⁶) **to engage in cultural networks and cooperation.** In many of the sub-projects community artists served in a crucial role as mediators and catalysts whose importance on the generation of spillovers should not be ignored. This does not mean just public-private collaborations but it also includes cross-sectoral and intra-sectoral collaboration within public administration.

Defensive attitudes towards other sectors and their actors can hinder potential wider spillover effects from cultural projects. When the cooperation and movement of people (knowledge, new ideas, openness) between sectors is not working, a major obstacle to spillovers can arise; after all, spillover is essentially about crossing borders. All cultural projects usually operate in relation to some other societal sectors and sectoral thinking. It is essential for the effectiveness of innovative cultural projects that the sectors with which they operate have not only strong foundations but also the ability to alter their ways of working and course of actions (see Kangas 2015; 2016; 2017). In our research the problem of defensive attitudes towards other sectors and their actors was brought into discussion from several perspectives. It was discussed through the following context examples: The relationship and cooperation between cultural services/actors and health care sector; the cooperation between different communal sectors such as culture, leisure, education, planning and construction etc.; the cooperation between communities and third-sector associations.

Both the role of citizen activists and people from non-profit associations is important. It was seen as crucial that the ideas and development measures stem from the grassroots level/the community residents. According to the mini-Delphi discussion, it is **important to have actors from civil society included in the networks.** It facilitates the transfer of know-how and the diffusion of best practices between the different parts that

³⁶ In Finland there are at the moment several *key projects* in a governmental programme. The objective of the current one-percent rule is to facilitate the acquisition of art and culture-based well-being services in the social welfare and health care sector. See “Action plan for the implementation of the key project and reforms”

<http://valtioneuvosto.fi/documents/10616/1986338/Action+plan+for+the+implementation+Strategic+Government+Programme+EN.pdf/12f723ba-6f6b-4e6c-a636-4ad4175d7c4e>

constitute the system. It may even strengthen civil competencies (see Ulrich 2000). **A top down attitude, forcing ideas from above, can hinder** potential spillovers.

Another important factor for the emergence of spillovers is **a real need for the spillover in an area/community**. This can be regarded as a fostering “hidden factor” (see Thomas & Parsons 2016). Cooperative models that favour the emergence of spillovers have proven to be efficient in such circumstances where agglomeration effects are needed to enhance territorial differentiation (Béraud et al. 2012, 86–88). This reflects the idea that spillovers relate to topics like agglomeration, innovation, co-production, talent and ideas (TFCC 2015, 92–96). Our research brings also another viewpoint into discussion: in order to survive, actors may have no choice but to create new models that in the end generate also spillover effects. This was especially true in the many KUULTO cases that were tackling the problem of providing cultural services in an environment with scarce resources. It was generally discussed in the mini-Delphi sessions that **an uncertain situation with (public) funding can form an obstacle** to project spillovers. The wider issues of politics, policies and economy make up an important context also for spillovers. In Finland, the public sector has a major role in financially supporting the third sector and art and cultural associations. The funding from the municipalities and the state to third-sector organisations executing cultural projects is significant. Thus, the changes/cuts in public funding can have significant effects on the third sector especially in small localities.

Discussion and recommendations for spillover-recognising action research

Spillovers for policy improvement and organisation development

Our research project was also a policy-oriented development work continuing the measures taken within KUULTO, and also through Tampere Together. In the mini-Delphi situation it was an essential part of the research to not just discuss and examine the spillovers generated within the projects but to also reflect on the generation of spillovers from the perspective of policy development. This meant reflection on the consequences of spillovers, on how to foster or even prevent spillovers and how to render spillovers visible in the political agendas of city/community development.

At policy level, positive spillover effects are often a desired outcome. As a consequence of the societal development during the last few decades, which could be referred to as the “commodification and instrumentality in cultural policy” (Gray 2007), many cultural projects aim to produce, even at the level of expressed goals, “spillovers outside art and culture”. The emphasis has been on the use of culture as a tool for attaining non-cultural objectives (Gray 2007, 203). This is often a precondition for funding in cultural projects. In addition, as we know, the EU’s cohesion policy/structural funds aim for many different societal developments also through culturally oriented projects: “...a broader approach to culture has been advanced with the aim of improving the links between cultural investment and economic, social and innovation goals” (KEA 2012; see also Pekkala 2012). As we gain knowledge about the spillovers that artistic and cultural activities generate, it becomes easier to point out the importance of art and culture to societies. Systemic knowledge about the emergence of positive spillovers can also be used to argue in favour of public spending

on art and culture. Hence, one might ask, should there be a clearer distinction made, if possible, between public (societal) and private benefits in the TFCC spillover framework (cf. O'Hagan 2016)? How about spillovers generated via public funding on the one hand, and private funding on the other?

The discussion on and improved identification of spillovers generated within cultural projects provide a way to implement participatory evaluation within cultural policies in an era of accountability (see Chouinard 2013). In the evaluation there is still a stark contrast between participatory and collaborative approaches that are more sensitive and responsive to community needs and so-called "accountability-driven technocratic approaches" (Chouinard 2013, 238). Spillover-related thinking, evaluation and action research and analysis of project spillovers in relation to organisation development could bridge the gap between technocratic accountability and responsive evaluation, and also contribute to the instrumental/intrinsic debate (cf. Crossick & Kaszynska 2016). The pressure towards instrumentalising culture might ease up, as we learn that engaging in the arts may as such generate manifold spillovers.

As Anita Kangas (2015, 16) mentions, many final reports on cultural projects only describe the results achieved during the project funding period and try to provide justification for new funding. Usually the funding has to be channelled into upcoming projects. This is the logic of the so-called "project society". As this is the situation there is a danger that knowledge and expertise won't cumulate to the sector or to wider society but will instead remain hidden or even disappear. As we have argued, with the systemic logic model these aspects can be brought into discussion. Researching (knowledge and network) spillovers and communicating them widely might for their own part help to solve this problem.

As the original definition by the research partnership emphasises, in this project context the interest was on those spillover effects that arise as a consequence of investment by public or private stakeholders in the arts, culture and creative industries. Our research project have examined what kind of spillovers (mainly public but also private) investment in cultural projects (KUULTO and Tampere) generates, but also what the mechanisms and conditions that foster (or hinder) the emergence of spillover effects are.

As public policy and evaluation researcher Evert Vedung (1994, 14) states: "[p]olitical action produces unexpected spillovers which in turn constitute or create fresh problems that must be subjected to novel government programs..." This was also true with KUULTO, as the Ministry of Education and Culture developed a new funding tool for regional and community artists as a consequence of the KUULTO project activities (see the chapter "Reflection on the spillover framework"). It also became evident that some spillover effects (especially knowledge but also network spillover effects) were fostered by the new thinking generated by cultural activities in the city organisation (which can be regarded as a spillover effect of the project), as was the case in, for example, Tampere. The city officials began to understand the grass root level needs from a fresh perspective already during the project. These impulses developed during cooperation with the grass root level. This in turn led to actions at the administration level towards reforming subsidies (subsidy policy) directed at the associations and local actors. The local actors in turn gained new skills and contacts in the renewed working environment.

The KUULTO project contained many cases all over the country and the KUULTO research team organised several seminars for the participants. At the seminars the local actors presented the contents of their action plans, and explained the reasons why they had come up with the particular concept, to be commented on by the other actors, the KUULTO expert group and the researchers. As the expert group was made up of public

officials and experts, the potential solutions in the KUULTO action research were expected to especially concern new practices relating to restrictive administrative obstacles and their removal.

For example, in Kainuu, a “cultural forum” was developed. Local cultural forums have, so far, been organised in six different municipalities of the region, bringing around 100 people (artist, residents, municipal officers, representatives of the regional administration, and funders) together each time. This is conducive to cross-fertilisation between different art forms and cultural fields as well as the public, private and third sector actors. Cross-sectoral meetings provided opportunities for the exchange of information and experiences, as well as served as an important platform for comparison and benchmarking. The experiments with organisational innovations started to spread further from these meetings and were usually modified on the way.

In KUULTO, also voluntary work³⁷ gained a more important role in the planning and provision of cultural services at local level. In other words, the cultural projects worked towards the reconstruction of the cultural policies of a welfare state. In many localities the cultural projects gave birth to new working methods at the municipal level, e.g., collaboration across administrative sectors. It was important that people got to know experts in other fields and learn about their way of thinking and working methods. The projects have now ended, but cross-sectional co-operation continues. The cultural projects raised the esteem for cultural actors and strengthened belief in the impacts of culture among the municipal administrators and decision makers.

Many of the KUULTO action plans included the goal of employing artists to activate people and take part in the development of content for the cultural activities. In the discussions with the local actors, it became clear that meetings with representatives of other projects generate important knowledge and network spillovers. In many places the cultural projects succeeded at activating citizens, which eventually worked towards the general development of the respective municipal organisation and funding arrangements. The organisational changes pursued more participatory models, and new participatory methods and tools were developed as part of the cultural projects, which were adopted more widely in the other municipal sectors.

Key observations concerning the organisation of projects and spillovers:

- Our cases demonstrate that cross-sectoral collaboration is important for both the production of spillovers and the potential to recognise them.
- Participatory solutions increase cooperation between the public sector, the third sector and/or private firms.
- Participatory administration models give a face to public sector actors and bring new knowledge for administration to develop its services.
- Community artists function as developers of participatory processes and mediators between different environments.
- Cultural actions benefit from comparative discussions between different programmes and action plans in distributing and diffusing best practices. Forums for discussion and feedback are needed on a regular basis. The participants should include also “atypical” actors.
- Forums can provide an evaluation platform for spillovers (what kinds of spillovers are generated from different actions in various contexts). Forums can also be a way to generate spillovers per se.

³⁷ There is an interesting link between voluntary work, social capital and neoliberalism (see Ferragina & Arrigoni 2016).

- Forums are needed both on communal/mutual occasions and for measurement and evaluation.

Diversity and interconnectedness of spillovers

We have aimed at a systemic, holistic analysis of the spillovers that stem from publicly funded cultural projects. Our empirical data comes from seven cases deriving from two major Finnish projects. We have thus far mostly interviewed and had discussions with people from the cultural field (including cultural administration & entrepreneurs). Their perspectives might be limited: the people acting in cultural projects cannot recognise all of the spillovers generated by the projects. In fact, it is practically impossible for individual actors to become aware of all the developments, interdependencies or connections, let alone the causalities, that a cultural project may produce. The TFCC report brings up this fact when defining spillovers as impacts and outcomes that spill over into the wider society: "...without directly rewarding those who created them" (TFCC 2015, 8). For example, people who are active in the cultural sector cannot necessarily recognise (all) industry spillovers stemming from culture and art. On the other hand, people in the industry sector may have no idea of the original sources and catalysts of creativity and innovations. The question of causalities (e.g. Ison 2011; Sacco et al 2014) is not easy in the case of spillovers. For example, arts can be seen to generate a variety of spillover effects that can increase social capital and community capacity, but the loop also works the other way around: social capital and community capacities provide conditions for creating art. It is worthwhile to conduct multiple rounds of action research in order to gain cumulative understanding of the spillover processes.

Spillovers are created through diffuse, complex and long-term chains of effects. One must notice that it is not always a simple operation to separate the different kinds of spillovers from the actual expressed goals and desirable results of art and cultural projects. Our effort to apply the Logic Model showed that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the concepts of outcomes, impacts, and spillovers (cf. figure 3).

The concept of spillover presented in the TFCC report is inspiring but rather indefinite on closer inspection. Based on our empirical "testing", the categories and especially the sub-categories and their interconnections in the TFCC framework need modification. They often overlap, which makes it difficult to decide where to place particular empirical findings. For example, in the TFCC framework there seems to be an emphasis on industrial applications and private financing for further development of product and service ideas. We instead witnessed several instances of further publicly financed projects that often are of cross-sectoral nature. This is the common means of survival for the cultural field in our country. The question is: could this be seen as a spillover and where could we place it in the matrix (stimulating public investment, cf. sub-category 2.3)?

There still are several difficult questions left to be tackled with in the measurement of spillovers. Many themes and questions emerged in the course of our research. For example: Can the context-dependent individual experiences be generalised? Is it possible to measure these aspects quantitatively?³⁸ What is the importance of mobile creative actors, like artists who travel both within and between systems? How could we gain more knowledge about the learning (generation of knowledge spillovers) that occurs during the

³⁸ Wheatley & Bickerton (2017) is an interesting research also in this respect.

projects?

Key observations concerning the interconnectedness of spillovers and the type of research required to capture the diversity:

- Diverse angles have to be combined to get a holistic view of the phenomenon: “only through a holistic approach can the wide spectrum of spillovers be captured” (TFCC 2015, 51.)
- We need both soft and hard approaches, both cultural research, economics and statistics, preferably hand in hand.
- More reflection on the vertical/horizontal categories of spillovers is needed.
- Many of the spillover sub-categories are interconnected in multiple and complex ways.
- We need multidisciplinary research to capture the variety of spillovers and the mechanisms through which they are generated.

Evaluation and measurement of spillovers

We strived to embed spillover research into participation-led mapping and evaluation tools (see the spillover logic model and the spillover matrix) (cf. TFCC 2015, 52). The whole process has been dynamic and based on dialogue. All in all, we can say with certainty that we could not have detected as many spillovers without the collaborative research design, which was also reflective. The categories and mechanisms presented in this are not based on the individual experiences of a given group of stakeholders. Nor are they mere reflections of theoretical literature. Rather, they are a matrix of all the mentioned aspects in a package that was made together with our co-researchers.

With action research we can grasp temporal dimensions and grass root perspectives. Action research provides a way to analyse the development of projects in collaboration with the local actors. It means dialogue, continuous discussion and reflective feedback among the stakeholders. This is conducive to the identification of spillovers and the generation of ways to foster the positive ones and block the negative ones. After all, generation of spillovers is not just a process that needs explaining, but a series of situations that require management and a strong rationale from the actors involved (cf. Vickery 2015). This is exactly why action research, as a creative practice itself, can contribute to the research of art and culture spillovers. As Donald Schön emphasises, professionalism and expertise develop through reflection either before, within or after the actions and measures taken: “The practitioner allows himself to experience surprise, puzzlement, or confusion in a situation which he finds uncertain or unique. He reflects on the phenomenon before him, and on the prior understandings which have been implicit in his behaviour. He carries out an experiment which serves to generate both a new understanding of the phenomenon and a change in the situation” (Schön 1983, 69.)

The actions aiming at organisational change cannot rely solely on the information possessed by the organisational actors themselves, because there is a risk that this information is biased; shaped heavily by the local conditions: attitudes, experiences and cultural habits. At the same time, solely theoretical knowledge may ignore the local relevance, needs and the vital knowledge defining these needs. The organisational change and the local context could end up being in conflict with each other. This is why the mutual understanding, cycles of planning, actions and evaluation and constant dialog between researchers

and stakeholders (co-researchers) of action research is important.

Within the limits of this relatively brief research project it was not possible to include, for example, the grass-root level activists from the individual Tampere Together mini-projects as co-researchers. This could have provided more valuable information on the generation of social capital within cultural activities and volunteering, which formed the basis for the actions of city district associations.

In many of our cases, the artists' work and interaction with the communities are interlinked. The artists used activation methods within the communities (villages and city districts, retirement homes, young people and children in daycare) to develop cultural activities. In addition, the work methods were also characterised by cooperation/partnerships with members of other professions and public administration. This constructed a feasible setting for us to examine the meaning of art and culture at a system level, and to consider how to measure spillovers in such a setting.

Contemplation on spillovers refers to a multidisciplinary approach and different methods. Spillover action research means further research of long-term outcomes, impacts and participatory evaluation of the spillovers of cultural projects. This endeavour to recognise spillovers is concurrently further development of the work started by the projects and community organisations. (See also Crossick & Kaszynska 2016; Rosenstein 2014; Coghlan 2014; Chouinard 2013.) Another important aspect to consider are feedback loops for continuous learning and change (see e.g. Murray 2008, 63). If the evaluation is started alongside the project a timeline could be built from the very beginning, out of which crucial points for the emergence of spillovers could be detected and placed in the spillover logic model to clarify the conditions that produce spillovers.

Key observations concerning the evaluation of spillovers:

- Individual cultural experiences and their effects are difficult to measure. It is important to include people of varying backgrounds and from different positions in different organisations in the evaluative actions.
- We need to understand social and cultural factors and community development to understand the evolution of spillovers. Economic measurement alone is insufficient for understanding spillovers, but it can be applied complementary to action research (and other qualitative methods). Measuring the non-economic effects is also important.
- Systemic understanding of attractive ecosystems brings the longer-term societal effects and the deeply rooted (implicit, latent) role of culture in the flourishing of regions/cities/communities into light.
- Emergence/continuation of networks and the level of cooperation within them should be measured and evaluated from the beginning of the projects, and followed up on at regular intervals during and after the project. It is our recommendation to include evaluation of the role of civil society, the private sector and public administration in the following up of the activities. For example, a specific form could be used all the way during the project where the participants could record/log project activities and outcomes, including also unexpected effects as they come up.
- Action research is a feasible method for analysing the emergence of spillovers. The “mini action research” described in this report was conducted on a broad action research project (KUULTO) and

an ERDF-funded development project (Tampere Together). The results demonstrated the usefulness of action research as a tool for identifying spillovers. Using action research in the evaluation of spillovers enables dialogue with local actors already in the planning of cultural projects.

Our recommendation for a spillover-oriented action research process

Clarification of the phases of the action research model:

- 11) **Diagnosis** refers to detection of a societal/organisational problem and a need for change that the action research is aimed to provide a solution/solutions for. It is crucial that local actors are included from this stage on.
- 12) **Action plan** refers to the framing of the goals and constellating the agreement on the actions.
- 13) **Action** refers to the actions taken according to the action plan.
- 14) **Analysis and interpretation** (1st round) refers to the achieved and unachieved goals.
- 15) **Reflection** (specified round of diagnosis with the local actors) refers to the analysis of the achieved results in relation to the detected problems, target groups and operational context. Also a mutual identification of spillovers and possible new actors related to the achievement of the project goals.
- 16) **Improved action plan** (version 2.0) refers to the interplay between achieved and unachieved goals and spillovers. Improving the action plan includes the evaluation of the meaning of spillovers for the achievement of the actual project goals and a re-framing of the responsibilities of the (original and newly identified) actors according to the mutual, reflective evaluation.
- 17) **Action** (2nd round) refers to the revised actions, including the possible new actors.
- 18) **Analysis and interpretation** (2nd round: achieved goals, unachieved goals and spillover interlinking/relations).
- 19) **Reflection** (with the local actors).
- 20) **Improved action plan...**
- 21) **Action...** etc.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Question pattern (abbreviated version) for Tampere Together key members in June 2016 (face-to-face interviews)³⁹

Basic idea of the project

General impressions of the project and the overall effects

Role of art/culture in the project

Continuity of the project

Characteristics of a successful project? What makes things work/fail?

 The role of administration/organisation?

 The role of grass root/voluntary activities?

 Barriers? Challenges?

 Unexpected effects or side effects? Failures?

Appendix 2

Preliminary questions for mini-Delphi panel in August 2016 (by e-mail)

The most important effects of Tampere Together/KUULTO?

 In an area/sector of the project?

 Wider in society?

The desired/intended effects that were not realised?

The unexpected effects? Were these effects positive or negative?

The means and techniques to measure the effects of different cultural projects? The temporal dimension of measurement?

³⁹ The full question / interview form is available only in Finnish at the moment.

Appendix 3

Mini-Delphi sessions in September 2016 with co-researchers from cultural projects

The schedule of the day

- Coffee and an introduction to the subject
- Work group session 1: Spillover categories, the emergence and continuity of spillovers
- Going through session 1 and comments from the researchers
- Lunch
- Introduction to the afternoon
- Working group session 2: The measurement of spillovers
- Going through session 2 and a discussion on measurement
- Round-up of the discussions and ending of sessions

Working group session 1: Spillover categories, the emergence and continuity of spillovers

Themes:

- New examples of spillover categories?
- New sub-categories of spillovers?
- What is missing from the spillover diagram? Are the presented categories practical?
- The most important factors and mechanism for the emergence of spillovers? Why spillovers arise and disappear?

Working group session 2: The measurement of spillovers

The aim of this discussions is to take a step forward: How to measure different spillovers? What kind of indicators could be developed?

Themes:

- Reflection on the examples and on ways to identify and measure spillovers from art and culture (projects)?
- What kinds of indicators could be created? What would be suitable indicators for the different sub-categories of spillovers (especially for knowledge and network spillovers)? Is it possible to measure all spillovers and if it is, how? What kind of spillovers especially require qualitative or quantitative methods of research/measurement?