

# From sharing money to sharing leadership

## Changing role of government in managing symphony orchestras in Finland

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### ABSTRACT

Our paper focuses on describing and analysing symphony orchestra management in Finland. We are interested to investigate how professional Finnish symphony orchestras have faced the role of government and how they construct the organization-environment relationships in a changing context. Our study points out that symphony orchestra management is constructed in different ways based on a variety of values and orientations of multiple actors. The actors have different interpretations of the economy of the orchestra, of the environment and of the orchestra's mission and quality of music. We conclude to two models of orchestra management: Local Dynamism and Global Continuity and discuss their implications to the institutional theory.

**Key words:** symphony orchestra management, government role, change, strategic leadership

### INTRODUCTION

Government has traditionally had a significant role in developing Finnish cultural life. During the 1990s the centrally governed model of culture production has changed fundamentally. The economic power shifted from the government mainly to the local municipalities. Year 1993 was a critical turning point, which can be characterized as a political agreement between the state and the municipalities. The State Support System (SSS) of theatres and orchestras was enforced by law. After that, municipalities could allocate the resources locally based on their own decision-making and preferences. Cultural pluralism

became possible at the local level.

In addition to the economic power shift, the recession in early 1990s prompted the discussion of deconstructing the Nordic welfare state model. Both the economic power shift and the declining national economy called for an active managerial approach instead of a passive role as a recipient of state money. The situation brought up the demand to actively legitimise cultural institutions. This development gave space for a new kind of management and leadership in orchestras and theatres where making choice but also taking responsibility was needed.

We are interested in this paper to investigate how professional Finnish symphony orchestras have faced the role of the government and the changing context, and how they construct their organization - environment relationships.

We use insights of the structure-action debate (e.g. Child 1997) and resource dependence theory (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978) to analyse the change of symphony orchestra management during the 1990s. The institutional theory provides intriguing perspectives to study management and the relationship between structure and action in a changing context. Several contrasting views can be detected: The old institutionalism emphasizes action while the new institutionalism emphasizes structure. The old concentrates on action at the organization level embedded in face-to-face local communities; the new looks into organizational sectors and fields (Hirsch & Lounsbury 1997). The new institutionalism focuses on explaining persistence as opposed to change in the old institutionalism. We join Greenwood & Hinings (1996, 1048) who conclude, that, on the one hand, [governmental] institutions are shapers of organizational arrangements, but on the other hand, key actors in organizations articulate views of strategy and have the power to

implement that view. We find that to understand orchestra management today, we need to include the above tensions in the institutional theory.

As indicated above, the governmental power shift in Finnish cultural life called for a managerial approach to provide new patterns of symphony orchestra management. We find that the evolution of a new pattern involves paying attention to local subjective aspirations, values and interpretations of managers and other key actors. We think that not only the institutional control structure changed but also opportunities for strategic leadership of orchestras opened up.

The traditional view of leadership emphasizes individual and operational level face-to-face influence between managers and followers ("leadership in organizations", e.g., Yuki 1998). Strategic leadership, on the other hand, deals with the future direction, vision and legitimisation of the organization in the long run and involves collective effort ("leadership of organizations", e.g., Phillips & Hunt 1992).

We find in this paper that the contextual complexity of cultural organizations that developed in the early 1990s posed a challenge to symphony orchestra management. Also, we find that different forms of strategic leadership were called for: First, new types of strategic leadership actors joined the management process where both decision-making and responsibility was shared beyond the ordinary hierarchy and boundaries of the organization. Second, strategic actors seemed to have rather distinctive views about the orchestra's economy, its relationships with the local environment, and the orchestra's mission and quality.

We conclude in this paper that Finnish symphony orchestras have developed different patterns of management in the changing situation: We call the first pattern 'Local dynamism' where (1) more economic freedom was actively sought for, (2) where orchestra's contribution to the local development was emphasized, and (3) where the cultural role of the orchestra was constructed both through local and global efforts. In the second model 'Global continuity' the orchestra rests (1) on its taken-for-granted legitimate position economically, (2) on its international status and global reference group, and (3) on the emphasis on cherishing the symphonic traditions.

## STRUCTURE - ACTION DEBATE IN ORGANIZATION THEORY

The structure - action debate has been a classical concern in organization theory (for recent discussions, see the Special Issue on 'Action, Structure, and Organizations' in *Organization Studies*, 1997, 18:1). Basically, the debate deals with the question whether organizations are determined by their environments (environmental determinism) or by their own actions (action determinism) (Child 1997, 49; Whittington 1988).

Structural organization theories (contingency approach, population ecology, institutional theory) regard environmental conditions as ultimately determining organizational characteristics. They stress environmental selection rather than selection of the environment. They do not give due attention to the agency of choice the way it has been defined as "the process whereby power-holders within organizations decide upon courses of strategic action" (Child 1972, 2). Some scholars have argued that the trend in organization theory in the 1980s and the 1990s has moved toward structuralism at the expense of understanding uniqueness of individual organizations and action (Hirsch & Lounsbury 1997, 79).

Resource dependence theory (Pfeffer & Salancik 1978) states that organizations are externally constrained, but argues for greater attention to internal organizational political decision-making processes and also for the perspective that organizations seek to manage or strategically adapt to their environments. The first element in the resource dependence argument is that organizations will (and should) respond more to the demands of those organizations and groups in the environment that control critical resources. The second element argues that managers and administrators attempt to manage the external dependencies, both to ensure the survival of the organization and to acquire more autonomy and freedom from external constraint. Thus, the second element traces the various strategies of organizations and their managers to cope with the external environment (Pfeffer 1982, 193).

March (1996) has categorized organizational action theories based on four sets of ideas: First, a theory of autonomous consequential choice was built on the assumption that action stems from choice. Second, a theory of autonomous

rule-based action shares the assumption that an actor, whether individual or collective, is an autonomous system. Action is seen as resulting from a matching of rules (professional, social norms, standard procedures) to situations. The aim of action is to reinforce identity or gain legitimacy for the organization and the actors.

March contends third, that whether action is seen to follow the logic of consequences or the logic of appropriateness, it must be fit into an ecological context (March 1996, 283). Fourth, there is a line of thinking of action based on social construction. Preferences, expectations, identities, and definitions of situations are seen as arising from interactions within a social system, as embedded in social norms and cultural conventions of discourse (*ibid.*, 285).

March concludes that adaptation requires a balance between exploration and exploitation. According to him, the risk of both traps are conspicuous in the history of studies of organizational action (*ibid.*, 286). Change needs continuity, future needs past. In March's words, "the achievement of an effective mixing of continuity and change is made possible by intellectual and social structures that sustain a tension between exploitation and exploration" (*ibid.*, 287).

We find the above view of a tension between structure and action important in understanding cultural institutions. It calls for further conceptualisation and empirical analysis on actors, action, and their structural context. We now move to discuss the structure - action debate within the institutional theory of organizations.

## INSTITUTIONAL THEORY

For the old institutionalists, (Selznick 1957, 1965; Parsons 1951, among others) values, norms, and attitudes are critical elements of defining institutions. For the new institutionalists (e.g., DiMaggio & Powell 1983, Meyer & Rowan 1977/1991; Powell & DiMaggio 1991; Zucker 1983), institutionalisation is fundamentally a cognitive process. Not norms and values but taken-for-granted scripts, rules, and classifications are what institutions are made of. Rather than concrete organizations with affective commitment, institutions are macro-level abstractions, rationalized and impersonal.

The new institutionalism implies that manage-

ment and leadership are disembodied and thus abstract knowledge by nature. The old institutionalism, on the contrary, seems to imply the bodily nature of managerial and leadership knowledge (*cf.*, Ropo & Parviainen 2001). In terms of our study this suggests that orchestras may see themselves differently in the way they legitimise themselves and the way they emphasise active involvement of different people and institutions. Orchestra management is not only about structural abstractions, but actions of affective interaction by committed individuals and collectives.

The old institutionalism focuses on informal action, influence patterns, coalitions, and vested interests. The new, by contrast, locates irrationality in the formal structure itself (DiMaggio & Powell 1991, 13). The old concentrates on action at organization level that is embedded in face-to-face local communities, but the new looks to organizational sectors and fields (Hirsch & Lounsbury 1997; Selznick 1996).

Greenwood and Hinings (1996) bridge the old and new institutionalisms in a way that is meaningful to us to understand how actors of symphony orchestras construct themselves. Greenwood and Hinings develop the concept of 'neo-institutionalism' by explaining the response of the individual organizations to the pressure in the institutional field as a function of the organizations internal dynamics. They argue that to understand radical organizational change, in particular the differences between organizations as they respond to apparently similar contextual pressures, it is necessary to understand the play of intra-organizational dynamics. They define the dynamics as the pattern of value commitments, dissatisfaction with interests, power dependencies, and capacities for action.

## MANAGEMENT AS LINKING INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATIONAL ACTION

### Actors

An important aspect of institutions and change is the question of actors and action. Do institutions reflect preference of individual or corporate actors, or do they represent collective outcomes

that are not the simple sum of individual interests? (Powell & DiMaggio 1991, 9) How to describe management and managing of institutions? What is the role of management in institutional organizations?

March, Simon, and Cyert (March & Simon 1958; Cyert & March 1963) view institutional decision-making as a political process involving multiple actors with inconsistent preferences. Powerful central actors in institutional theory are seen as being the state, the professions and the dominant agents within an organizational field (Powell & DiMaggio 1991, 28; Scott 1995, 40).

Both old and new approaches to institutions view institutionalisation as a state-dependent process that makes organizations less instrumentally rational limiting the options they can pursue. The new institutional theory points to collective rather than individual actors or agents. The old institutionalists pay attention to the beliefs and actions of "those who have the power to define directions and interests" (Brint & Karabel 1991).

The discussion of actors within institutional theory refers both to individual and collective actors. The collective actors include the state, the professions, and the "dominant agents within the sector", among others, without referring to more specific characterizations of those agents. We have reason to assume that management, whether seen as a collective or an individual entity, is among the key agents of an institution. Obviously, both the management system and individual managers within an institutional organization are subject to the constraints of the institutional structure but also have strategic choice in terms of organization's action.

According to Child, (1997, 539) it is not possible to abstract the organization from the environment when considering the strategic choices available to organizational actors. This is partly because the environment presents threats and opportunities to the organization. It is also because the ways in which organizational actors understand the environment affect the extent to which they believe they enjoy autonomy of choice between alternatives.

Within the strategic choice theory, organizational agents are seen to enjoy a kind of 'bounded' autonomy. They can take external initiatives, including the choice to enter or exit the environments, and also make adaptive internal arrangements. The environment is seen to limit their

scope for action because it imposes certain conditions for the organizations to perform well (ibid.) Another way to understand the 'enactment' of environment (Weick 1979) is to see that the organizational actors 'make it happen as they wish'.

### *Action*

The concept of action is rather vaguely theorized in the new institutionalism. The old institutionalism depicts actor preferences as shaped by socialisation processes involving the internalisation of norms and values (Hirsch & Lounsbury 1997, 83). DiMaggio and Powell seem to overlook social constructionist approaches that build on values, norms, and commitments. DiMaggio and Powell's treatment of actors and action is cognitive instead of social. Their scripts are cognitive schemas, not socially constructed interpretations.

The strategic choice theory (Child 1972; 1988; 1997) derives from its potential to integrate some of the different perspectives in organization studies. Strategic choice analysis articulates a political process which brings agency and structure into tension and locates them within a significant context (Child 1997, 44).

Strategic choice is recognised and realised through a process whereby those with the power to make decisions for the organization interact among themselves (so constituting a shifting dominant coalition), with other organizational members, and with external parties. Analytical centrality is given to organizational agents' interpretations (their goals and views of the possibilities for realising them) as they engage in these relationships. The issues and options open to negotiation have some structured limits, though it may be possible to change the limits over time through negotiation process (Child 1997, 60).

The issue of strategic choice leads us to discuss the role of strategic leaders and leadership. As indicated earlier, leadership in organizations is traditionally seen as hierarchical influence processes focusing on face-to-face transactions between leaders and followers. These are typically operational by nature. Strategic leadership of organizations refers to articulating the organization's vision and future direction, its core competence development and environment rela-

tions. These actions are traditionally linked to top managers. In contrast to these prevailing views, some scholars have proposed that leadership could (and maybe even should) be understood as a more lateral and dispersed activity (e.g., Bryman 1996; Sayles 1989). Smircich and Morgan introduced the terms 'management of meaning' already in the early 1980s (Smircich & Morgan 1982) emphasising sharing of meaning and negotiating rather than defining the order. The lively discussion of organization cultures and leadership action in those processes points in the same direction (e.g., Trice & Beyer 1993).

We find it useful to develop the idea of shared leadership to emphasise how orchestra management (especially its strategic positioning) in a changing context is constructed through relational and interpretive processes. We also think that strategic leadership view links aspects of structure-action debate and institutional theory to organizational practice.

Our way of theorizing on the relationship between structure and organizational action follows the above discussion where the organizational action is on the one hand constrained by the institutional, structural forces while on the other hand it represents a potential mover and shaker (strategic leaders) in the institutional field.

#### *Continuity vs. change Similarity vs. variety*

Institutional theory is usually regarded as an explanation of similarity ("isomorphism") and stability of organizational arrangement in a given field (Greenwood & Hinings 1997, 1023). As pointed out earlier, the old institutionalism stresses more change while the emphasis in the new institutionalism is more on stability. Scott states that within fields of organizations, those performing similar tasks confront strong pressures for structural isomorphism (Scott 1995, 45). Institutional pressures have generally been found to be a powerful force against change (Buchko 1994 in Greenwood & Hinings 1997).

Hirsh & Lounsbury (1997) state that stability, persistence, and inertia are taken-as-givens in institutional theory, with change an extraordinary disruption usually externally generated. To what extent and through what kind of processes do institutions change if the homogeneity notion

holds? Also DiMaggio and Powell (1991, 29) have asked: "If institutions exert such a powerful influence over the ways in which people can formulate their desires and work to attain them then how does the institutional change occur?"

DiMaggio & Powell underline (1991) the extent to which organizations attempt to be isomorphic in their structures and activity pattern. Their view suggests that the pursuit is rather toward homogeneity than toward heterogeneity within a field. They identify imitation to be a central cognitive isomorphic process: Individuals and organizations deal with uncertainty by imitating the ways of others whom they use as models. The role of the manager is to mimic the behaviour of other similar organizations (Scott 1995).

DiMaggio & Powell (1991, 67) identified three mechanisms through which isomorphic change occurs: 1) coercive isomorphism that stems from political influence and the problem of legitimacy; 2) mimetic isomorphism resulting from standard responses to uncertainty; and 3) normative isomorphism, associated with professionalisation.

The institutional view is in contrast with the mainstream organization and strategic management research where differentiation and change are treated as a major competitive advantage in terms of performance and survival of an organization (e.g., Hamel & Prahalad 1994; Pettigrew & Whipp 1991; Porter 1985). In this research, management, whether an individual or a collective entity, is seen as a central influencing agent. Although not seeing management as an omnipotent force, management has been generally found to be an important vehicle in integrating structural conditions and organizational action by capitalizing the possibilities of structural constraints and channelling them into strategic choices within the structural limitations (cf., Child 1997). To us, the relevant question is: Which structural conditions seem to reinforce change vs. continuity on the one hand and the pursuit of similarity vs. variety on the other hand while the management makes strategic choices, either intentionally, or unintentionally?

#### *Economic, Cultural, and Relational Dimensions of Orchestra Management*

Child (1997) provides relevant dimensions to describe the structural conditions of manage-

ment in an institutional setting. According to him, each sector has first, an economic dimension signified primarily by markets and the players in them; second, a cultural dimension signified primarily by a set of shared prescriptions and a common identity; and third, a relational dimension signified by networks between members of the organizations within the sector including governmental agencies (Child 1997, 56).

Our framework is based on a development of Child's dimensions with an application of DiMaggio's (1991) description of an institutional field. We find Child's and DiMaggio's dimensions useful in describing organizational level

management, also. To us, the economic dimension refers empirically to the economic power shift from state-government to local governments and orchestra organizations. Thus, the economic dimension includes first, the control aspect involving the management and decision-making system of orchestras. Second, the economic dimension refers to the financial resources of orchestras.

The relational dimension deals with the external and internal contexts of an orchestra. The external context involves the orchestra's relationships with the audience and with the local influential parties. The internal context involves

### Strategic Leadership Choices

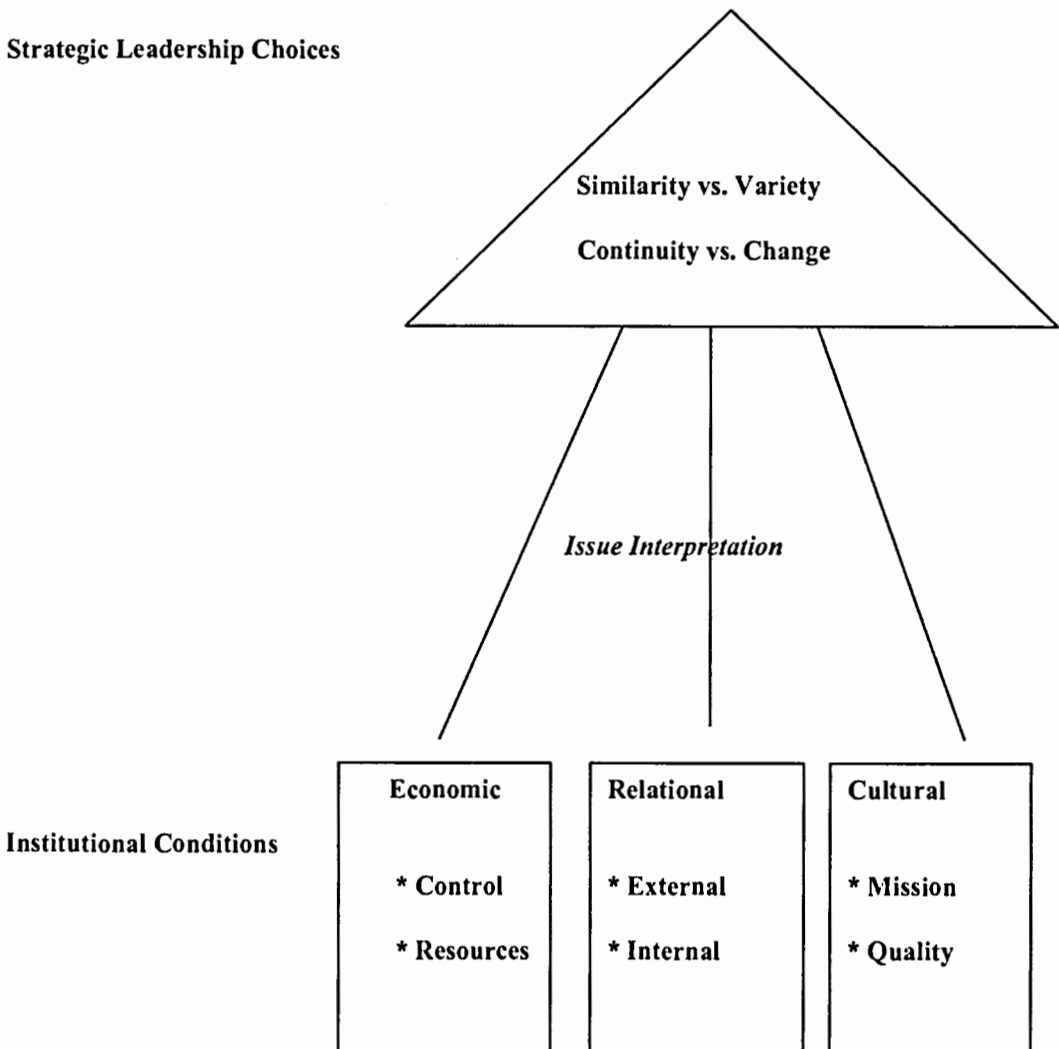


Figure 1. Framework for Analysing Symphony Orchestra Management

identifying and describing the key professionals in an orchestra.

The cultural dimension relates to DiMaggio's definition of art, mission and strategy: How the mission of the orchestra is articulated and by whom; what is being emphasised in orchestra's strategy; how the quality and performance is being defined.

Economic, relational, and cultural dimensions do not exclude each other, but are interdependent through the key actors involved. However, the actors deal with the dimensions at different levels, in different issues, through direct or indirect influence. Derived from the above discussions on institutional structures, action, and actors, our framework of symphony orchestra management entails two critical elements: (1) structural conditions of management which we describe through economic, relational, and cultural dimensions and (2) strategic leadership challenge and choices the orchestra actors can make: similarity vs. variety in terms of relating the orchestra to other orchestras in the field and continuity vs. change in terms of relating the orchestra's past and present to the future.

## METHODS

We used two types of data sources in our study: field level documents and interviews, and orchestra level documents and interviews. The personal experience of the first co-author of playing in a symphony orchestra for several years made it easier for us to identify and get access to expert informants, and also helped us analyse the data.

The orchestra documents contained both field level and orchestra specific data: 1) The Annual Reports of the Association of Finnish Symphony Orchestras 1974-1996, 2) the Ministry of Education statistics, and 3) Concert Calendars 1974-98 provided a rich set of longitudinal data on Finnish orchestras, their economies, resources, and outcomes. 4) Historical documents on the Lahti Symphony Orchestra (Mantere 1983; Niemi 1950), and the Radio Symphony Orchestra (e.g., Vainio 1992) gave us insights into orchestra histories and organizational level operations.

We chose to look into these two orchestras more carefully because they provided potentially interesting cases for our analysis of

orchestra management in form of their earlier image and publicly announced activities. Both Lahti Symphony (LS) and the Radio Symphony Orchestra (RSO) are known to have high quality standards and goals. RSO is considered as the top national orchestra that enjoys a secured economic status through TV licence premiums within the national broadcasting company while LS operates within the state and local government financing system. We chose these different types of orchestras to point out the role of government in orchestra management both in the context of change and stability. In the analysis section, the orchestras are not described as separate cases, but the particular orchestra level data are used to illustrate different ways of constructing orchestras' economy, their relations with the environment, and the way they construct their core mission in different governmental contexts. (By 'General Manager 1' we refer to the general manager of the LS and by 'General Manager 2' to the general manager of the RSO).

Eleven interviews were conducted altogether lasting from 1,5 hours to nearly 5 hours each. All the interviews were thematically conducted where we followed a list of themes based on our framework. However, we let the informants describe the orchestra field and the particular orchestras rather freely by making specifying questions when needed to cover our themes. All the interviews were conducted by both co-authors, recorded and transcribed in their entirety. The interviewed informants included: an Executive at the Ministry of Education, the Managing Director of the Association of Finnish Symphony Orchestras, three General Managers or Assistant Managers of professional symphony orchestras, a City Mayor, and two Musicians, one of whom was a teacher at a music conservatory, an instrumentalist, and an orchestra musician. The other musician was a conductor, a teacher at the Sibelius Academy, and an instrumentalist.

We analysed the documents and interview data under the three dimensions suggested by our framework: the economic dimension (control and resources), the relational dimension (external and internal relations), and the cultural dimension (mission and quality of music and the orchestra). Our data cover, but not in every perspective, a time period of approximately ten years. We seek to construct orchestra management by descri-

bing it as a multi-level process where both collective and individual actors operate. Our data and analysis go back and forth between the symphony orchestra field and orchestra organization levels. We found this necessary because it was difficult to understand one without another (Child 1988).

We conclude our analysis by suggesting two models of orchestra management: one, that is locally oriented and emphasises change and dynamism (LocDy) and another that is more globally oriented and emphasises continuity (GloCo).

### INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT OF THE FINNISH SYMPHONY ORCHESTRAS

The origins of Finnish cultural institutions go back to the Swedish reign and to the development of the Finnish national identity. Orchestra music has been performed in Finland since the 1500s. The first Finnish symphony orchestra, the Turku Philharmonic Orchestra, was founded in 1790. (Aho, Jalkanen, Salmenhaara & Virtamo 1996)

Along with the national movement all over in Europe in the 19th century, Finns started their own nation building. Culture was not seen as an isolated phenomenon, but linked with broader social issues, such as the suffragette movement and realism in literature. After claiming the inde-

pendence in 1917 through to the Second World War, the Finns continued to develop the nation state and its culture, and to rise the general level of education among people (Cultural Policy in Finland 1995).

During 1940-1960 the development of national level cultural policy was rather systematic. Libraries, schools, community colleges as well as different types of associations (youth, sports etc.) were founded as fundamental elements of the national culture. As poverty turned into welfare, the state started to financially subsidise cultural activities. The wars and the restructuring as a national task supported the idea of equal opportunities in all regions in the country. (Kangas, Mangset, & Onsér-Franzén 1994, 27-31).

The time period from the 1960s to the 1980s represents 'The grand saga of the new cultural policy' (ibid.). Along with Scandinavian countries, Finland developed to a Nordic welfare state. Health care, social security and child day-care systems were established. Social work and culture started to embrace each other.

Typical of the 1980s was to make big investments in social and cultural functions and in building cultural monuments. Training in arts and art professions increased (ibid.). The Finnish music education relies on three cornerstones: First, the general music education provided in public schools; second, a national network of over 100 music conservatories (the first one founded in 1882), and third, the Sibelius Academy, a univer-

*Table 1. Professional Symphony Orchestras in Finland*

	Founded	Municipalized	No of Musicians
The Orchestra of Finnish National Opera	1963		112
Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra	1882	1919	97
Radio Symphony Orchestra	1927		98
Tampere Philharmonic Orchestra	1930	1947	83
Turku Philharmonic Orchestra	1790	1927	73
Lahti Symphony	1909	1949	59
Oulu City Orchestra	1937	1961	53
Kuopio City Orchestra	1909	1976	46
Tapiola Sinfonietta	1987	1988	37
Jyväskylä Symphony Orchestra	1955	1958/1988 privatized	33
Joensuu City Orchestra	1953	1978	32
Vasa City Orchestra	1930	1974	31
Pori Sinfonietta	1938	1955	28



sity level music institution maintained by the state of Finland (founded in 1939). Both the music conservatories and the Sibelius Academy train professional musicians.

The symphony orchestra field in today's Finland consists first, of thirteen professional symphony orchestras in which musicians work as a permanent basis; second, of ten semi-professional or chamber orchestras in which only a few musicians work permanently; third, of six other orchestras, that have no permanent musicians, but are periodical ensembles of professional musicians (Annual Report of the Association of Finnish Symphony Orchestras 1997; Concert Calendar Spring 1998). As a country of five million people living above the 60th parallel supporting almost 30 symphony orchestras and having a broad coverage of music conservatories with the Sibelius Academy in the higher music education field, Finland can be characterized as a dreamland for music lovers.

## ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF THE FINNISH SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA MANAGEMENT

### *The Management and Control System of Symphony Orchestras*

The management and control of the Finnish symphony orchestras rests at three levels: the state of Finland, the municipalities around the country, and the orchestra organization. Each of the levels has their own collective and individual actors.

The Finnish Parliament passed the Law on Theatres and Orchestras in 1993 that serves as the baseline for the Ministry of Education under which orchestras are managed by the Minister of Cultural Affairs and the Department of Arts. The state level orchestra management and control is mainly economic in nature. According to an Executive in the Department of Arts, cultural policy issues dealing with orchestras are only occasionally discussed in the Parliament. The economic control function operates by comparing the annual state support to the actualised manpower work in orchestras. The excess money decrea-

**Table 2. Management System of Finnish Symphony Orchestras**

Level	Perspective	Key Actors
State	Economic	Parliament Ministry of Education Ministry of Transportation Minister of Cultural Affairs Department of Arts
Municipalities	Economic Relational	City Board City Council Board of Cultural Affairs Local Politicians
Orchestra	Economic Relational Cultural	General Manger Chief Conductor Orchestra Board Union Representative Program Committee Musicians

ses the next year's support, and if the support has been too small the orchestra will be reimbursed the next year.

The fundamental change that took place with the new law was that since 1993 the state government money was no more directly allocated to specific cultural activity at the local level, i.e. the money did not have any 'name tags' any more. The state wanted to basically secure the cultural development in the country by passing the law on theatres and orchestras, but did not tell the local governments to what extent they should allocate their resources in culture among other municipal services. This meant a major economic and cultural power shift from the state government to the local governments. It also meant in the local decision-making that cultural services were considered among other well-being services, such as social and health care.

From the state government point of view, however, orchestras are not compared to each other in a controlling or in an economic sense, neither in terms of the number of performances or the number of the audience, nor are quality or effectiveness measures calculated at the state government level. The state support of orchestras is seen as an input to citizens' and society's well-being. These are found rather difficult to measure quantitatively. However, to become part of the State Support System (SSS) calls for the orchestra to enjoy local patronage (residence and local support), full-time personnel, and regular rehearsing and performances (Executive in the Ministry of Education).

The cultural function is organised in slightly different ways at the municipal level. Typically, the Board of Cultural Affairs is responsible for the cultural function of a city. Beyond that, some cities have a separate Board of Cultural Institutions. Some cities have organised their orchestras around a company owned by the city. Both the interest and the traditions in the cultural field vary locally. For example, the city of Tampere has emphasised the strategic importance of high quality cultural services to the local area and its people.

Typically, the local Cultural Boards do not intensively control the orchestra level operations unless major budget overflows have occurred. The General Manager of an orchestra usually brings the orchestra issues to the Board of Cultural Affairs. Based on the propositions of the

Board of Cultural Affairs, orchestra issues go to the city government decision-making process through the City Board and the City Council.

Although the position of the orchestras seems rather independent in terms of the core music performed, several informants considered relationships with the local influential people, such as local politicians, very valuable, both from the economic and the relational perspective. The relational aspect that is discussed more deeply later deals with the contribution of the orchestra to the local development, among other things.

The orchestra level management embraces the economic, relational, and cultural dimensions. At the orchestra level, the key management actors include the General Manager, the Music Director/Chief Conductor, the Orchestra Board composed of musician representatives, and the Union Representative.

The need for a managerial approach in symphony orchestras can be seen in the growing number of General Directors. According to the Managing Director of the Association of Finnish Symphony Orchestras, the number of General Managers has remarkably increased during the past ten years. For example, the Concert Calendar 1998 shows that all but one Finnish orchestra (out of 29 orchestras) have a General Manager on a permanent or part-time basis.

### *Financial Resources and Facilities*

The financial resources of the Finnish orchestras come from three main sources: the state government, the municipal governments, and the orchestra's ticket sales. The average annual budget of the Ministry of Education accounts for less than one percent (0.78 %) of the state budget. Out of the budget of the Ministry of Education the culture sector receives about 6 %, the major share being allocated to the education sector. Out of the national culture budget the orchestras receives 14 -15%.

According to our informant in the Ministry of Education, the main areas and their emphases in the state budget hardly change over the years. Also the level of culture budget has been rather stable. Rather surprisingly, also the Ministry of Transportation finances culture production through the National Broadcasting Company (YLE), where the economic resources to

the Radio symphony Orchestra come from. The Managing Director of the Association of Finnish Symphony Orchestras finds that his major task is to keep the ministry people well informed of the state of the overall orchestra field, and lobby the state level decision-makers on orchestra issues.

The 1993 Law on Theatres and Orchestras guaranteed a minimum state support per annual manpower. As indicated above, the vulnerability of the orchestra finances lies at the municipal level.

"The governmental state support increased fundamentally after the law was past. But the municipalities decreased their support respectively" (Executive in the Ministry of Education).

The state support has increased over the years: typically, the support varies between 20 to 31 % among professional symphony orchestras. The municipal support, on the other hand, varies between 56 to 70 % of the orchestra budgets. Only 10 percent average of the orchestra budgets comes from the ticket sales. As for the expenses of an orchestra, most of the budget goes to salaries (about 80 %). The musicians have a bargaining system within the municipal employer system. The Association of Finnish Musicians looks after the interests of orchestra and other musicians nationally.

The recession brought up the discussion of the responsibility of maintaining cultural institutions and priorities of using tax money. The so-called new liberals claimed that public cultural support needs to be questioned and that cultural service provision needs to face the market laws. So far, the cultural field has not suffered from greater budget cuts than any other area in the well-being services. However, we need to keep in mind that cities can and do adjust their culture budgets although this does not follow the spirit of the law.

"Very soon developed the thought that the city gets state support based on certain calculations without any name tags. I admit that the law did not mean that (cuts in culture budget), but our city is not alone here" (City Mayor).

At the orchestra level, the General Manager is responsible for the financial resources in the first place. His/her concern is also to find new sources to raise funds.

"... Maybe I have figured it out quite some time ago that business life influences the society, and

that there are not only money related connections, but that through relationships with the business life one can influence the society. This is why I think it is important to us to have contacts with firms" (General Manager 1).

The General Manager of an orchestra has a key role in developing and maintaining business relationships with firms. The firm support may not always be financial, but it can serve as an opinion leader among the local politicians and the public, to enhance positive attitude toward culture in general.

"...business managers find this cooperation so important that they wrote a letter to the city council where they said that the city must not cut the orchestra money. If that would happen, firms wouldn't support the orchestra. The city board then decided to secure orchestra's position in the long run so that firms can support them, also" (General Manager 1).

Also the other General Manager emphasised the economic aspect in his/her leadership role. However, the economic change of this orchestra was not as turbulent and sudden as the economic change of the other symphony orchestras.

"We are part of this national radio system and that is where the money comes from. We have the same problem of what will happen to public services. Every now and then comes a pathetic politician claiming that the national radio does not need an own orchestra... Then it becomes extremely important to have the kind of contacts and understanding with the decision-makers within the corporation that they want to secure the orchestra's budget. We have had a strategy to invite some of these big chiefs to join us in the international tours so that they can see how successful the orchestra is and how it operates". (General Manager 2)

Independent fundraising at orchestra level has been encouraged at the state level, and some municipal administrative rules have been changed to enable private contributions. For example, the city of Lahti has made it possible to receive financial support from sponsors.

"Finally the business life starts to realize that not just the product but also the image and impression are important. This is where culture comes to picture as a promising focus of support." (Executive in the Ministry of Education)

The outside fundraising is a sign of a fundamental change taking place in the finance of orchestras and the overall attitude to relate the orchestra to its environment. However, in some cases, the city has actually cut their orchestra budget when the orchestra has been able to raise extra funds.

"Our support is not enough. They have budget overflows, and they need to cover the overflows from the private support fund. So, we are actually eating up that (private) money". (City Mayor)

Symphony Lahti has been able to gain sponsorships that they hope to enhance their profile and economic leeway. The support was first based on specific projects, like recordings, recently the orchestra has made annual agreements of co-operation. (Ropo & Sauer, forthcoming). So far, only a few Finnish orchestras have keen business contacts with firms.

The economic dimension has a stabilizing effect on the orchestras. During the past ten years the absolute public support has doubled. However, in the long run it is focal for orchestra managers to broaden the scope of financial resources.

"We cannot say that the society should not change. Now the question is how we can be part of that change in a way that we could somehow make a difference". (General Manager 1).

New concert halls can be seen as manifestations of cooperation between orchestras and the local environment. In the city of Tampere, a congress and concert hall was built in 1991 on the initiative of the orchestra to have a new home base. The Tampere Hall, the biggest cultural monument in Scandinavia, has a major impact on the economic and cultural development of the whole region (Eriksson & Ropo, 1997). In the city of Lahti the cooperation between the orchestra, major companies and the city resulted in building the biggest wooden concert and congress hall in the world. The hall was opened in 2000. Helsinki, the Culture Capital of Europe 2000, is in the process of building a new concert hall in addition to the Finlandia Hall.

### *Orchestra's Relations with the Environment*

In the external context of orchestras, the key actors involve the municipal politicians, other locally influential people, the media, the public and the music conservatories, some of which were discussed earlier when describing the management system of orchestras.

We found an interesting twist in the ways two General Managers in two major orchestras brought up different types of external relationships. The first construction emphasises the city and the local relationships. The second construction emphasises the orchestra's global environment and international relationships. We will first illustrate the local emphasis.

"We have wanted to come out of the concert hall to make an impact outside. We have gone to the streets and sports events to play". (General Manager 1).

Local decision-makers, especially the city mayor was found a key communication partner in the orchestra's development. The General Manager 1 had been an active and influential person in the cultural life of the city. This opened up opportunities to intensify the orchestra's relationships with the local environment.

"Of course I have become very familiar with the people who make decisions in this city, and of course my relationship with the current mayor since the past 15 years has been very helpful". (General Manager 1)

One of the musicians whom we interviewed finds the role and task of the General Manager an almost impossible mission.

"... If you think that the General Manager should be a bureaucrat, an artist and a marketing expert at the same time... he/she should have social skills and keep the political decision-makers happy and their money pockets open ... that's a terrible job". (Musician)

"... I would need to arrange international tours, maintain and develop relationships, negotiate recording contracts, cooperate with fifteen companies and develop projects, inform, market and sell etc., etc. ... and take care of community relationships". (General Manager 1)

The relationship between the orchestra and the city seemed to be mutually beneficial. The orchestra is seen important as a regional, not just as local, cultural service provider. This emphasis may even improve orchestra's external relationships and future prospects.

"I would say that we are talking of the image of the city... if the city has a soccer team, ski-jumping facilities, the orchestra, and the theatre— I mean a city is a city when it has certain characteristics". (City Mayor)

Even at times of economic decline of the city, it has defended its orchestra. The concern of the chief conductor was the quality and the outcomes of the orchestra. He was wondering if the quality was high enough not to threaten the legitimate status of the orchestra among other well-being services.

"The cultural field is in a bad situation (when the economy is low). It is very easy to prefer hospital beds to an hobby of some elitist group. I have talked about this with the chief conductor several times, and he keeps asking me: Tell me, ... what is it that we could do even better than we are now, to keep your politicians happy?" (City Mayor)

A good artistic outcome calls for a long process and mutual effort. The conductor has a central role in the musical core function of an orchestra but many pieces and several actors need to come together.

"I truly hope that the political decision-makers would understand and accept that this is a difficult package to put together, it has been a long process, so many things had to come together, the spirit had to grow in the orchestra, relationships had to be developed with producers, interesting pieces found to be recorded... It has been a long process, but destroying it happens fast ... the downward spiral starts when the Music Director says that he will leave... ". (City Mayor)

General Manager 2 emphasized the orchestra's international invitations to major music metropolis. Also, the orchestra's close contacts with foreign agents, top orchestras in the world, and major concert halls are seen to strengthen its status in the international orchestra environment. The size of foreign audiences and foreign ticket sales made it possible for the orchestra to continue foreign tours.

"It just happens that this is the orchestra that gets the most invitations recently... It will be the fifth time for us to visit ... within five years. This year we go to ... for the first time. We will be the first Finnish symphony orchestra to visit ... since the World Fair in 1900". (General Manager 2).

The General Manager of the Radio Symphony Orchestra constructs the external environment of the orchestra within a global sphere and with the emphasis of a top national status. Practically all concerts performed by this orchestra are broadcast nationally. Beyond that, the orchestra tours around the country every other year.

The records show that all Finnish symphony orchestras have made over one hundred foreign performances, out of which more than a third was made by the Radio Symphony Orchestra. More than 100 000 people have attended the foreign performances of Finnish orchestras. (Annual Report of the Association of Finnish Symphony Orchestras). The national audience numbers have grown yearly, reaching 1 Million people in 1996. This means that technically over 20 percent of all Finns have attended to concerts. In generally, however, the concert goers keep being the same people. In the city of Lahti, new types of audience have been reached according to the General Manager.

One of our informants emphasized the mutual relationship between orchestras and music conservatories.

"I would say that locally it makes a big difference to have both an orchestra and a music conservatory. Where else would you find teachers for rare instruments if there is no conservatory? Also, in many places, orchestras use advanced music students in big productions, for example. In some cities, the orchestra and the conservatory have also arranged concerts together". (Musician)

## THE CULTURAL MISSION AND THE QUALITY OF MUSIC

### *Mission of the Orchestra*

By cultural mission we mean the legitimate reason for the orchestra to exist, its task, and how the key actors define it in orchestras. Mission refers to the key actors' perceptions of what

the core business of the orchestra, the music, entails, and how it is performed to the audience. It can be described as choices of the type of music and its performers (conductors, soloists).

The Law on Theatres and Orchestras in 1993 can be seen as a national level statement that orchestras and theatres are a fundamental part of the Finnish culture and thus worth subsidising. Passing the law also meant that culture provision became a local issue: each city or municipality would define itself what kind of cultural activities to support. However, as discussed earlier, there is a historically rooted concept of the Finnish society that entails arts and culture in its deepest structures and practices.

"... While arts and classical music is considered valuable and worth supporting by public money in the Finnish society, I think, it is our obligation to follow the true nature of art, not with any cheap means or with ad hoc publicity... providing artistic outcomes needs an image that is reliable like a mountain, and I think that a good symphony orchestra is like that. It has not gone with the wind... it stays like the internal revenue service or the health clinic". (General Manager 2)

The symphonic form of performing classical music is rather established around the Western world. Basically everyone has an opportunity to hear both traditional classical and new music in live. Each generation performs and hears the art pieces in their own historical context.

"What symphony orchestras are needed for, is to keep the tradition alive, to let people enjoy the music that has been composed to this instrument since the 1700s. This basic mission is actualised in live concerts only, to new audiences over and over again. Today the Finnish media emphasizes recorded performances. It is only one way of writing the musical history". (General Manager 2)

The music itself is inherent in orchestras' mission. "... To keep what we have starting from Sibelius (is important). Artists have found this national identity: We have Finlandia and Kullervo and tradition of great classical music which contributed to what Finnish culture and identity became to mean at the end of the 1800s. We are fortunate here that we are not in the mercy of markets in this field. The more reason we have to pull our weight for preserving Western art music". (General Manager 2)

One articulation of the orchestra mission emphasises the role of the local area where the orchestra resides: to be the city's own orchestra serving the people of the city, to contribute to the city image, and overall well-being of the region through artistic experiences.

"We live or die based on whether we have audience in this city. If we don't have, we are not needed here.... it does not make any difference if we get good critics and awards elsewhere.... it does not keep us warm if this audience here does not see us as its own orchestra. This is what we are working for ... to be part of this city". (General Manager 1)

The latter, locally oriented orchestra may time to time abandon the traditional symphonic form and venue, and play in various places and events, like in a football stadium and around the city in a variety of ensembles.

"It has been positive that we have been found important, that we have important roles and tasks where flexibility is called for... and flexibility is what this orchestra is damn well prepared for. We have gone to play in the streets, to the market place, to all sorts of places". (General Manager 1)

In some orchestras the mission of maintaining the Western music tradition and the way of defining art calls for established forms and etiquette.

"I wouldn't say that the traditional 'overture - soloist - main piece' pattern is bad after all...the concert venue and the seating order is what it is basically because of musical reasons, music is acoustic art in the first place. This is a very plausible and traditional institution... the tale coats, in a way, are part of this tradition. Hard to think that we would get positive attention by coming to play in T-shirts and jeans. Experiments can be made, like to play at the railway station or in a circus tent, but these can be just little spices on top of the serious work that honours the core of the classical music". (General Manager 2)

Finnish orchestras have tried to differentiate themselves in many ways. However, some critical remarks could be heard among our informants. Making a distinctive profile warrants careful consideration and competence.

"I don't think that it makes a damn difference in the long run, if you play in a tent outside once a year. If you really want to enhance your profile you just have to figure out what you can do better than others. This is the only thing that works in the long run". (Musician)

### *Constructing the Quality of the Orchestra and its Music*

Quality is inherent in any professional work. The orchestra, as a collective, has to pull itself together and strive to play better than the last time or better than another orchestra. The Chief Conductor/Music Director is responsible for the musical sound, artistic profile and outcome of the orchestra. Most typically the Music Director is the figurehead of the orchestra. He and the General Manager plan the orchestra's concert programs, including choices of visiting conductors, soloists, and the music.

"... I find my most important task to provide the best possible conditions for the artwork that the musicians do up there so that there are as few interrupting or annoying factors... another thing is to let people outside know the quality of the work these people are doing". (General Manager 1)

The group-level dynamics play a big role in the orchestra work. One of the interviewed General Managers emphasized the importance of commitment of the musicians to their work and the orchestra organization.

"We have these 'Future Workshops' ... people open up to talk and commit to work together. This was one key thing how we could build this team and the vision together. This is where we want to go. It was a joint decision to have the whole staff in this together, all the way to the last cleaning lady... ". (General Manager 1)

The attempt to differentiate through quality is obvious among orchestras. However, giving criteria to the quality of music is very difficult. There are different interpretations of what quality music entails: the musicians themselves, the audience, the critics, the public opinion, and the politicians may have their own interpretations.

Beyond the above, it was argued by some informants that there are gate-keepers in the music field in Finland: some key actors in the

major orchestras and music festivals, some professional experts at the Sibelius Academy, a few agents, some music magazines, and big newspaper critics. These gate-keepers define quality, they have power to let a young musician to be discovered or forgotten. This kind of informally communicated quality makes it hard and unpredictable to pursue.

The current public support system reinforces the idea that quality is a long-term process that calls for some stability and cultural embeddedness: Support is only granted to locally established orchestra institutions. The Ministry of Education or the municipalities do not measure or evaluate orchestras' artistic achievements as part of the financing system. If innovations or experiments, such as changes in the symphonic form, are seen as indications of quality, the public support system does not necessarily reinforce quality efforts of orchestras, especially if they occur among other than the already supported orchestras.

"We would need the kind of innovative, ad hoc money so that when there is a good idea we could support this kind of creative activity. Now the money goes to the same established places". (Executive at the Ministry of Education)

City politicians construct quality through the legitimisation process: how well the orchestra can show its contribution to the city among other cultural institutions. Local strengths are searched for resource allocation when the money is tight. The quality of the orchestra and its music is seen through the city image and attraction.

"This is a difficult question. We can say that the orchestra is the flagship of this city at the moment. It would be silly to let it go now. If budget cuts are needed, it is one of the things, culture in general, that is in a rather bad situation". (City Mayor)

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

We studied professional Finnish symphony orchestras and their management. Our basic concern dealt with the following questions: How do the professional Finnish symphony orchestras construct the changing role of government in the symphony orchestra management, and how do they face the organization - environ-

Table 3. Two Models of Symphony Orchestra Management

	<b>LOCAL DYNAMISM (LocDy)</b>  Lahti Symphony	<b>GLOBAL CONTINUITY (GloCo)</b>  Radio Symphony
<b>Economic</b>	<b>Search for more leeway</b>	<b>Legitimate position within the current system</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Control</li> <li>• Financial resources</li> </ul>	<p>Continuous communication with politicians</p> <p>Vulnerability at municipal level Partnerships with firms</p>	<p>Ensuring status quo</p> <p>Rather secured status</p>
<b>Relational</b>	<b>Local contribution</b>	<b>International status</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• External Context</li> <li>• Internal Context</li> </ul>	<p>Visible local performances Efforts to broaden the audience base</p> <p>Team work and flexibility</p>	<p>National coverage International tours Patronage emphasis</p> <p>Formal contracts with top musicians</p>
<b>Cultural</b>	<b>Local focus, international target</b>	<b>Cherishing the traditions</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mission of the orchestra</li> <li>• Quality of the orchestra and the music</li> </ul>	<p>Cultural services to the local people</p> <p>Quality records to global markets</p> <p>Record recognition</p> <p>Partnerships in music</p> <p>Local acceptance</p>	<p>Preserving the classical music heritage</p> <p>Traditional symphonic forms</p> <p>Live music emphasis</p> <p>International recognition</p>



ment relationships in this change. In particular, we were interested in studying to what extent and how the economic power shift from the state government to local governments changed the orchestra management and how and what kind of strategic choices were made.

Our conceptual framework was drawn from the recent discussions in the structure - action debate and institutional theory. We integrated different, even contrasting aspects of theoretical discussions. First, we found it necessary to point out structural, rather deterministic conditions on the one hand and processual, rather subjective interpretations on the other hand. Following from this, our framework emphasises two critical elements in managing public service production: First, the institutional structure of management through the economic, relational, and cultural dimensions, and second, the strategic leadership element allowing and calling for managerial choices. Third, we pointed out paradoxical pursuits in orchestra management: the simultaneous strive toward change vs. continuity and toward similarity vs. variety. Fourth, we pointed out the importance of identifying both collective and individual management actors at different levels of analysis.

#### *Two models of orchestra management*

We studied the Finnish orchestra management through a variety of documents, reports and through expert interviews across a number of years. Our preliminary field study (Ropo & Sauer, 1998) and a further analysis of the data brought up two rather different models of orchestra management. We call one of the models 'Local Dynamism' (LocDy) and the other 'Global Continuity' (GloCo).

Economically, orchestra management in the LocDy model searched for more leeway through two channels: first, through fostering continuous personal contacts with the local politicians, and second, through making efforts to develop and maintain partnerships with firms, locally and nationally. GloCo in contrast, rested on a rather secured status within a tailored national financing system by keeping good contacts within that system.

Relationally, LocDy emphasized local acceptance, while GloCo reinforced international status.

Visibility in local performances and efforts to broaden the audience base were typical of LocDy. National coverage, international success and visibility, as well as patronage emphasis were typical of GloCo. LocDy emphasized flexibility to meet the challenges, while GloCo operated mainly on the status quo.

Culturally, LocDy had a means-end mission that aims at international targets to reach local legitimisation. In this model local and global efforts were embedded and reinforced each other. The idea was to provide cultural services to the local people and quality recordings to the global markets. GloCo's operating mission emphasised cherishing the traditions of the Western music culture. Live music performances in established forms were central to GloCo. The reference group was the other top quality orchestras in the world. GloCo constructed itself pointedly through the frequency of international invitations to major music centres while LocDy's quality definition rested on the acceptance of the local audience, recognition of records, and partnerships in music.

#### *Structures and Systems That Reinforce Continuity and Similarity of Orchestras*

Both economic, relational, and cultural aspects of orchestras provide factors that reinforce continuity and similarity. There are certain structures and systems both in the economy, the human resources, and the cultural history of orchestras that seem to push the orchestras to conserve what they already have and not deviate from the known course in the field.

Our study indicates first, that the finance and management structure is very similar in the professional Finnish symphony orchestras. This is due to the historically strong public interest in arts at the national level and the division of labour between the state and the municipalities which together have contributed to the development of the national and local support system of the orchestras. The financial system provides fundamental continuity for orchestras' operations. However, the municipal level can be rather vulnerable in times of recession when culture and health care needs, for example, are contrasted in the local political decision-making.

Second, the nature of human resources has

a tendency to homogenize the orchestras. The nationally covered music conservatory network and the Sibelius Academy are places where Finnish musicians typically get their professional training. Given the small population of the country and even smaller number of music students, the professionalisation process reinforces shared norms and values among musicians. However, individual differences should not be ignored, neither among the teachers of particular instruments, nor among their students. Beyond the national level training system, musician salaries are based on a national bargaining system, which does not differentiate the orchestras to a great extent.

Third, high appreciation of culture in general in the Finnish society, and conserving the national heritage of Finnish composers and writers, in particular, provide a cornerstone for symphony orchestras' basic mission and legitimate position in the cultural map of Finland. Where this historical ideology still holds at the municipal level, the continuity of an orchestra is secured. Legitimate position and a rather known pool of financial resources do not necessarily call for any drastic change strategies from symphony orchestra management.

Finnish orchestras do not have dramatically differing views about what kind of music to play. Still, some efforts to profile based on the types of programs can be found. Quality of orchestras is seen differently to some extent, basically due to the orchestra's recent success and its core strengths recognized in the field.

#### *Action and Choice That Reinforce Change and Variety of Orchestras*

Although pointed above that the economic, the relational, and the cultural aspects of orchestra management reinforce continuity and similarity, the very same aspects have the potential of triggering change and variety. It calls for different interpretations of the prevailing structural environment, and different types of strategic choices by the key management actors of an orchestra. The change efforts tell us something about how individual and collective action may make a difference in particular orchestras.

First, we found some efforts to broaden the financial resource base. Development of partner-

ships between the orchestra and private companies indicate that the deep waters are slowly moving. Although this development is not widely spread within the field, it shows that it is possible in the Finnish orchestra field to raise funds by pointing out the contribution of the orchestra to a different body of society, the private sector, and thus to legitimise and to differentiate the orchestra. Developing partnerships is obviously a long-term process and linked to close relationships with the local community in general (Ropo & Sauer, forthcoming).

Even within the public finance system, the orchestras' material resources are not the same. The Helsinki based orchestras have the biggest budgets, better opportunities to hire the best musicians, and a larger variety of concert venues along with the general appeal of the metropolitan area. Acoustically good and big enough concert venues provide major opportunities for the orchestras to perform well and develop - and differentiate themselves from the other orchestras. Already now, and even more so in the near future, Finnish orchestras can enjoy a greater number of different types of concert venues. This may have an effect on different qualities among orchestras in the long run.

Second, although the municipalities play a major role in facilitating Finnish orchestras, the orchestras have developed relationships with their local communities at a varying intensity. Some interpret even the orchestra's mission to lie on the local closeness, to others the local community is not the central target of music performances.

Different financial and physical resources, among other things, have contributed to the development that the Helsinki based orchestras (Radio, Helsinki, and Opera) have been able to establish an appealing reputation among the musicians. However, recently, there has been more movement toward other orchestras as well.

Third, in terms of the music itself, orchestras have made some efforts to adjust the established symphony orchestra program to the size of the orchestra, the artistic leadership, and the local community needs. This has led to some specialisation in chamber music, popular music etc. Time will tell if these profiles will hold or spread within the field.

Conductors may serve as a differentiating

factor to orchestras. They may do so in terms of the type of music performed but especially in terms of the publicity that the orchestra gets. Some orchestras enjoy celebrities as chief conductors, other orchestras remain less known with less known conductors. Most orchestras have the system of chief conductor contracts. With some orchestras and chief conductors the contracts have lasted rather long, like some ten years or so in contrast to others with shorter contracts. This difference may well have an influence on the orchestras' professional development in the long run.

### *Finally*

Our study points out first, that symphony orchestra management is constructed in different ways based on a variety of values and orientations of multiple actors. The actors have different interpretations of the economy of the orchestra, of the environment and of the orchestra's mission and quality of music.

Second, the local and global contexts appeared central in the ways symphony orchestra management was constructed. When the national cultural policy type of guidelines were not reinforced, the orchestras faced the need to make strategic choices in terms of their own local and global orientation.

Third, the era of national culture policy called for a centralized governance model, whose key activity was to share money based on standardized rules. The transition toward a more decentralized and managerial model prompted a dualistic division of labour at the orchestra level (general manager had the economic and administrative responsibility while the chief conductor was responsible for the artistic outcome of the orchestra and the quality of music).

Finally, the economic power shift to the local level (municipalities) triggered the need for shared leadership at the strategic level. It became both an opportunity and a necessity economically, relationally and culturally. The local decision makers and orchestra members were needed as key collaborators in constructing the orchestra and its legitimacy. Shared orchestra leadership was practised as a lateral and collective effort based on trust, appreciation of competence and skills of several actors.

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