DCRC

Digital Cultures Research Centre
University of the West of England

CULTURAL VALUE NETWORKS – RESEARCH FINDINGS

Dr Goetz Bachmann (Goldsmiths), Professor Jon Dovey (Digital Cultures Research Centre, University of the West of England), Dr Jeanette Monaco (Research Associate) and Bill Sharpe, (visiting Industrial Professor Digital Cultures Research Centre.)

For the Pervasive Media Studio Clare Reddington (Director), Verity Alexander (Producer)

For Watershed Arts Trust Dick Penny MBE (Managing Director)

AHRC Connected Communities

Digital Cultures Research Centre

19.06.2012

CONTENTS

CULTURAL VALUE NETWORKS – RESEARCH FINDINGS

1.0 Executive Summary

The research aimed to produce the first iteration of a multi-criteria method for articulating cultural value. This evaluative methodology should support cultural organisations by having appropriate ways to understand the value they produce and its relationship to money.

The project evaluated the multiple economy approach to understanding cultural value and its relation to the money economy developed by Sharpe and the International Futures Forum (2010). Based on this approach and our evidence the five methodological foundations that emerge are:

'Value' is not a singular concept, and there is not only one scale against which everything can be measured. Different agents within an ecosystem experience value differently, food for one might be poison for another. Value is contingent and constantly recreated within interactions and relationships. Our evidence reveals such a complex set of valuing practices in action.

The Value Constellation (Normann & Ramirez 1993, Ramirez 1999) is an organisational model for talking about value creation achieved by co-production in a web of interactions. This highlights the intentional role of the focal organisation (in this case PM Studio) in orchestrating diversity of value creation. The value constellation model sits within a multi-level perspective in which eco-system models can be used for the wider context.

Once we abandon the idea that there is just 'the' economy of money, we can apply economic thinking to other patterns of valuing. Cultural organisations that are not (only) businesses are creating value in economies other than money. By keeping "money at the margins" it is possible to expand the space available for these other patterns to thrive, and also to create money downstream in the 'conventional' economy.

Measuring value can be considered a "pharmakon" (Stiegler) for creating value – a poison and a remedy at the same time. The same applies to value circulation. We found that in PM Studio value circulation takes place as part of sustaining a gift economy. This gift economy takes a triangular form, which includes and produces a knowledge commons and generalised generosity. As such, it does not blockade value creation, but stimulates and drives it further. It provides the base for a productive "economy of contribution" (Stiegler).

We have developed a way to understand how this economy of contribution works as an effective model of value articulation, creation and circulation.

2.0 KEY WORDS : Value, Creative Economy, Eco-System, Pharmakon, Gift, Co-Creativity

3.0. INTRODUCTION

This report is based on the work of small scale follow on AHRC Connected Communities research project into Cultural Value Networks. Based at the University of the West of England's Digital Cultures Research Centre the six month project was a collaboration with Watershed Arts Trust. The collaboration was a development from research that Watershed has been doing for several years with the International Futures Forum (see *Producing the Future* 2010) into value production in the Cultural Industries. This phase of the research was based in a small scale ethnography of the Pervasive Media Studio,(PMStudio) itself an important part of the Watershed operation. The report is the product of co creative research project and has been significantly shaped by inputs from the Watershed Director Dick Penny and the Pervasive Media Studio Director Clare Reddington. This document is the compendium and record of our work in this phase of an ongoing research project. It will form the basis of further academic publication and funding bid applications.

4.0. BACKGROUND

The research project was designed in response to what we might call a 'crisis of metrics' in the arts and cultural industries. (Hutter and Throsby 2008, Bakhshi, Freeman and Hitchen 2009, O'Brien 2010, , Bakhshi & Throsby 2012). There is primary dysfunction at the level of disagreement about what constitutes the Creative Economy, its size or main dynamic features. The crisis of public funding insists on increasingly transparent accounting for public money in the forms of Key Performance Indicators that threaten to make reductive cost benefit analysis the only game in town even when many of the key cultural industry players agree to its inadequacy. Much of the debate in the literature cited above is based on the assumption that Cultural activity needs to be able to account for itself in terms commensurate with the language of the Treasury.

> '[I]n recent years there has been recognition, both within central government and in parts of the publically funded cultural sector, of the need to more clearly articulate the value of culture using methods which fit in with central government's decision-making. Thus the cultural sector will need to use tools and concepts of economics to fully state their benefits in the prevailing language of policy appraisal and evaluation. (O'Brien 2010: 4, citing Bakhshi, Freeman and Hitchen 2009).

As a central reference point for recommendations, O'Brien turns to the *Green Book*, Her Majesty's Treasury advisory document for the 'Appraisal and Evaluation in Central Government' http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/d/green_book_complete.pdf. Its emphasis on attending to the importance of cost benefit analysis provides the basis for O'Brien's (2010) dismissal of current variety of evaluative methods from cultural sector actors. More significantly, the multiple methods used (combination of qualitative narratives of individual's engagement of culture with quantitative understandings of engagement; outcomes based 'attitudinal surveys' [learning and social outcomes of engagement]; qualitative narratives of cultural value) do not offer useful 'commensurable data for a cost-benefit analysis' needed to correspond with the *Green Book*'s initiatives (ibid.: 42). This crisis of metrics is additionally complex for those organisations (like the PMStudio) tied into a digital creativity or technological innovation agenda. The digital creativity sector carries not only cultural expectation but is also driven by the expectation that it will contribute to industrial growth and global competitive economic advantage.

Our approach to this emphasis on measuring cultural value has been informed by more radical critique of the practices of measurement demanded by *The Green Book*' These approaches are informed on the one hand by work already undertaken within this research team on using ecological thinking (see 4 Approaches below) to understand culture and on the other by a history of critique of measurement in social sciences (Sayer 2011). Espeland and Stevens's for instance call for an 'ethics of quantification' (Espeland and Stevens 2008: 432) which urges readers to adopt a sceptical view of quantification's significance in the western world's desire for rational and objective knowledge and its claims to authority in presenting data as representations of truth or reality. Remaining sensitive to this critical approach means reminding ourselves that numbers, like words, are always created and implicated through the social. Nothing about commensuration is ever simple or straightforward. This critical approach can also be seen at work in recent publication in the UK of Michael Sandel's *What Money Can't Buy:the Moral Limits of the Market* (2012) This balanced critique of measurement led us to understanding it as a "pharmakon" (Stiegler 2010)– a poison and a remedy at the same time. Each solution can improve matters, concentrate and target energies, help to develop new forms of economies and ecologies, but it will also always create side effects, often unwanted ones.

The second incitement to this research is the development of co-creative practices in service delivery, arts, business and marketing. Its assumption is that the dynamics of cultural industries and creative economies at the start of the 21st century have been profoundly effected by the widespread diffusion of co-creative practices. The co-creation of value in business was first identified in the work of Raphael Ramirez (Norman & Ramirez 1993, Ramirez 1999). It later became closely identified as a driver of Web 2.0 in the form of 'user generated content' and championed by eg Leadbeater (2008) , Shirky (2010), Jenkins (2006), &

Tapscott & Williams (2006). It is now understood as a powerful driver for cultural organisations seeking wider audience engagement as well as creative economy businesses seeking customer attention. Social Media and online data scraping methods have harnessed co-creativity as a major producer of capital. Media industries and consumer businesses are, it can be argued, being profoundly reshaped by newly co-creative relationships with the groups formerly known as audiences and customers. Cultural producers are developing new and more sophisticated understandings of how crowdsourcing and collaboration might be part of their business strategy. Arts and Cultural organisations who have traditionally been the gatekeepers and curators of creative expression now find themselves having to work with a new dynamic of vernacular creativity (Burgess) and its complex interactions with the Creative Economy.

Our site of study was the Pervasive Media Studio in Bristol, England. The Studio is a creative technology lab, supported through investment from Watershed Arts Trust, the University of the West of England and the University of Bristol. The Studio is managed by iShed, a Community Interest Company and subsidiary of Watershed. Watershed is Britain's first Media Centre founded in 1982, a leading cultural agency in the UK, describing itself as 'a path finding, cross platform production centre, sharing, developing and showcasing exemplary cultural ideas and talent'. The Pervasive Media Studio operates as a residency programme, inviting creative technologists, artists, engineers, academics and students to co-locate to develop projects. Residents are given free desk space in the shared open plan Studio environment. The core proposition is that in exchange for space they will share their work, insights and processes with one another, understanding that this diversity of perspective will make for better, richer work. The principle underlying this method is that money is kept to the margins of the creative process, allowing residents to discover the value in their projects before they go to market. The Studio sees itself as a key site of innovation for the regional creative economy by spawning creative businesses and start-ups that have economic impact. In the financial year in which the study was conducted investment into Studio core cost was £175,000; in the same period residents generated turnover in investment, sales and research funding of £1m.

5.0 AIMS & OBJECTIVES

The research aims to produce the first iteration of a multi-criteria method for articulating cultural value which other organisations could use to assess the value of their work.

This evaluative methodology aims to support cultural organisations in providing better value for money by having better ways to understand the value they produce.

We aim to evaluate the multiple economy approach developed by Sharpe and the International Futures Forum (2010) to understanding cultural value and its relation to the money economy.

6.0 APPROACHES

This work is part of a longer term partnership with Watershed that seeks to address two issues that are important to its own management, but are arising in many different fields of organisational contribution to society.

Watershed works with a huge range of different partners at all scales from individual artists and local citizens to national government and leading international companies, and is highly regarded by them for its contribution.   At the heart of this contribution is a sense of unity and simplicity of purpose around cultural innovation that has proved very hard to articulate – *what models can we use to describe and share what it is, and how it works?*

Watershed is part business, part social enterprise, part something else, earning and spending its own and other people's money. It works as an agent within a matrix of agencies, linking its own purpose to that of many other organisations which bring funds and resources to achieve shared ends.   There is an increasing pressure to work within defined and measured frameworks of contribution, yet there are no good measures, and those that there are seem to work against the processes that create the value that is desired – *how can we measure the value of cultural innovation in a way that supports accountability without undermining the very process of doing it?*

These issues are arising in many other areas, such as health and education, where the common cry is that systems of governance and measurement are being imposed that stifle the creativity and personal judgement that should lie at the very heart of contribution.   We seem to be determined to only do what we can easily measure, rather than find ways to measure what we must do for the health and wellbeing of our society.

We believe that what is needed is not just another policy paper, but a wholesale shift in our language and concepts so that we can talk in a fresh way about the things that matter. To get a sense of the scale of this endeavour one can think of all the new concepts and institutions that have been needed to bring into place a strong entrepreneurial investment culture in the world of mainstream business. Entrepreneurial investment is quite different from that of established companies, and is set up to allow individual judgement to flourish.   All sorts of institutions, from incubators, angel investment organisations, collaborative R&D programmes, to markets in shares for early stage companies, are needed for this part of the economy to operate.   We are attempting to contribute to something that will be an equally major shift in the way we organise and fund cultural innovation where the goal is not specifically to make money (though money may be made), but to

achieve something else – an enhancement of the qualities of shared life from which *all* forms of health and wealth can flow.

We believe that our work has begun to establish some foundations of such a new framework, at least to the point where we can describe in the case of Watershed what it is and how it works, and how to take the next steps towards articulating and measuring value in appropriate ways.

First, we must abandon any idea that 'value' is a singular concept, and that there can be any one scale against which everything in the universe can be measured. We don't even have that for physics, and we certainty can't expect to have it for discussing everything from matter to mind. However, we need not lapse into a position that cultural value is a mysterious concept, inaccessible to discussion for the everyday purposes of governing our lives. We can instead see that we organise our lives in *patterns of valuing.*

Secondly, we must abandon that idea that there is just 'the' economy of money, and instead recognise economic thinking as too important to be left to economists. Economy, the allocation of resources to alternative ends, is a way of describing how eco-systems work.   In human life, each distinctive pattern of valuing can be conceived as a distinct economy, having its own particular organisational forms, dynamics of value creation, governance, renewal and measurement.   It is fashionable to talk of business ecosystems in the plural, but the economy in the singular; we need to reverse that and recognise *we all inhabit one shared eco-system (the planet) but organise our affairs within many different overlapping economies*.

Thirdly, life is a process of constant renewal and change, and once we can conceive of multiple economies then we can discuss processes of renewal in terms appropriate to each economy.   The desire to release many areas of our shared life from the constraints of top down planned economics has taken the unfortunate path of unleashing upon them the forms of organisation, valuation and innovation that are appropriate to market economics.   This has many destructive and unwanted effects.   We need a way to organise and talk about innovation and entrepreneurship and the role of individual judgement within the other economies of meaning that make up our human lives without being dominated by the logic of the market or the purpose of making money.

Finally, while we expand our language and concepts to allow us to deal with multiple ways of valuing, we have to find something to put in place of the beguiling simplicity of the single metric of money – how do we bring this unruly world of disparate judgements back together?   We must start by letting go of the mistaken notion that money measures anything directly; money does much less than people think – it doesn't really measure anything directly at all, it just joins us all up into patterns of exchange.   Money is one way we join up our individual judgements to make collective decisions.   If we can see more clearly just what

each economy does and, more importantly, doesn't measure then we will have a richer and more effective cultural conversation about the real decisions in front of us.   Our goal must be to elevate the processes of shared judgement in the face of the infinite possibilities of the future, not take refuge in the mistaken power of measurement.

7.0 METHODOLOGY

The Study used the Pervasive Media Studio in Bristol as its primary site of investigation. The research adapted the principles of Social Network Analysis to map a value producing network. The project employed a short-term ethnographic fieldworker, Research Associate Jeanette Monaco, who acted part-time as participant-observer in the studio from July-December 2011. A total of thirteen semi-structured interviews, lasting between one to one and a half hours, were also conducted for the data sample. The interviews were taken from a number of locations in the value network, from both the centre and the periphery. The networked nature of the organisation and the method means that not all interview content refers to the internal operations of the Studio itself – reference is also made to processes outside the Studio's immediate domain where the respondent wishes to illustrate a particular point. *The evidence below therefore cannot be understood as an evaluation of the operations of the Pervasive Media Studio but as the articulation of how the cultural producers (start-ups, artists, engineers, producers) experience the production of value in a networked, co-creative, context.*

Considering the time constraints of our short-term research, the choice to conduct a location-based organisational ethnography, supplemented with qualitative semi-structured interviews, seemed most appropriate in addressing our aims to examine the processes of value creation achieved by co-production in a web of interactions. The research team recognise that the spatial and temporal dimensions of the Pervasive Media Studio creative community are highly complex; community social relations are often experienced through the locality of the shared studio, but they happen also in sites beyond this space, and virtually through the webs of the wider network. However, it was through the potential to observe the routine operations and environment of this physically situated field-site, that we could appreciate the relational aspects of the local and global and follow-up areas of interest. Through participant-observation at the site, we could begin to grasp the ways in which management staff and residents created, shared and understood the value of their co-collaborative work based at the studio and with their more distant collaborators and partners.

Sociologist Randall Collins's (2004) conceptual work on local membership 'interaction rituals' and the important role emotional energies play in these

mechanisms, provides an invaluable starting point for contextualising some of our investigations. For Collins's microsociological focus,

> the local structure of interaction is what generates and shapes the energy of the situation. That energy can leave traces, carrying over to further situations because individuals bodily resonate with emotions, which trail off in time but many linger long enough to charge up a subsequent encounter, bringing yet further chains of consequences (2004: 6).

Collins's emphasis on attending to the 'smallscale' where 'the energy of movement and change, the glue of solidarity, and the conservatism of stasis' (ibid.: 3) reside, is reflected in Nina Wakeford's (2011) suggestions for developing corporate ethnography approaches. Wakeford's argument that corporate ethnography can benefit from a move away from the dominant conceptualisation of social relations as a 'network sociality' (Wittel 2001) is helpful in thinking about ways in which the generation and 'transmission' of affective registers occurs when participants interact in the same physical space (Wakeford 2011: 2).

The data summarised below is the starting point for us to answer our research questions and achieve our research aims above. The observations quoted below are chosen for their illustrative typicality of a way of talking amongst our respondents. All respondents' identities are anonymised. Framing the questions and the methods was also informed by the fieldwork. These combined approaches are intended to elicit from the network a sense of what is valuable to them as cultural producers in order for us to understand how these processes become cultural value.

The interview sample

A number of interview respondents were selected drawing on the social network analysis emphasis on named 'contacts' in the network. After early ethnographic observations, we identified a 'Creative Producer' as our first key interviewee. This respondent was asked to name four 'contacts' who were significant during that particular time frame (the course of one week) of the Research Associate's observations. The RA interviewed these named contacts and asked them to name three of their 'contacts'. In order to narrow down this part of our research sample, we selected two of those named contacts for interviews. A total number of seven interviews were conducted for this part of the sample. These seven consisted of 'producers' (or those in management roles) and one studio resident.

Further selected interviewees

The research needed to consider an approach to interviews that would allow a diversity of respondents' voices and stories to emerge. With this in mind, we selected a number of respondents for interview who had recently completed their studio residencies (yet may still come in to 'hot desk') This part of the sample constituted a total number of five interviews.

Drawing on ethnographic observations, an additional respondent (a resident 'hot desker') was selected. In addition to the standard four questions below, these respondents were asked to talk about their general experiences of the studio.

The following four questions provided a general framework for the interviews and for respondents' naming of contacts:

Who do you turn to for strategy?

Who do you get trust and support from?

Who do you turn to for creative excitement?

Who do you turn to for 'Know-how' about certain things?

These questions were based on fieldwork observation combined with an analysis of the Studio's public claims for its innovative methods. The questions clearly indicate an investigation into *cultural process rather than cultural product*. The study is therefore built on the assumption that cultural value derives from the processes of its production as much as it does from the encounter between user and cultural artefact.

8.0 DATA ANALYSIS

All interviews were transcribed (apart from the final selected one) and were coded by the RA for qualitative analysis using the software programme Atlas.ti. Multiple themes arose from the analysis, resulting in the organisation of three main conceptual areas:

Interpersonal relations

Collaborations

Shared values

All of these three areas are relevant to our exploration of community, social relationships and multiple economies. The separation of areas is meant to help the conceptual organisation of themes. It is not intended to separate them as distinct entities. They will overlap and areas will have implications for each other.

This is important, for example, in relation to something like 'affective', which is delegated to the first area, 'Interpersonal relations', but it also has implications for the other conceptual areas. Other 'sub-codes' have been identified as contributing to the key codes areas and some are noted in relevant areas in the report.

This summary of the respondents evidence is followed by a more general account of 'atmospheres' in the working space which attempts to reflect the fieldwork in a different way.

The key codes below offer us an initial mapping of the valuing practices occurring in our sample.

Interpersonal Relations

Key codes

1. Processes of Achieving Trust

2. Conflict Situations and their resolution.

3. Degrees of Participation

4. Affective

5. Enabling growth/self-reflexivity

Exchange-based experience (collaborations)

Key codes

1. Informational/Resource 'Capitals'

2. Learning

3. Receiving, giving back obligation/benefits

4. Networking

Shared Value

Key codes

1. Attention

2. Ethical/Moral Positions

3. Prioritising 'art'/aesthetic

4. Valuing the novel, risk, change

8.1 Interpersonal Relations

This conceptual area captures four key codes that reveal the social complexities of the creation of relationships in the community. We can begin to think about valued qualities of social interaction here and look at their implications for the other areas.

The five key codes here are: 'Processes of Achieving Trust', 'Conflict Situations', 'Degrees of Participation', 'Affective', and 'Enabling growth/self-reflexivity'.

Processes of Achieving Trust

This code relates to talk that refers to a multitude of ways in which trust and confidence in social relations is built up over time through work and effort. Trusting friendships and working relationships are established or 'achieved' successfully through repeated practice and regular participation in studio rituals/routines. Some coded talk here relates specifically to areas where trust with strong ties is achieved, often corresponding with historical, professional/friend relationships. The idea of 'pastness' is implicated in this enquiry when past residents or crisis is introduced (one respondent noted that a past crisis was instrumental in the creation of community). Some talk will refer to or imply the interaction with a trusted person as one that offers 'a safe space' for critique or a safe exchange of ideas/knowledge.

'I think she is really important in that sense, because I just – I feel like she's one of those people that if I needed to talk about something I could go and talk to her about it, whatever it was…Professional or personal or whatever. I always feel like she's goes above and beyond to help me.'

Areas such as 'emotional support' (a sub-code contributing to 'Affective') are associated with 'trust'. Other responses point specifically to occurrences where trust and confidence in a person is in 'process', hence a weaker tie - it may be an unsure or early moment in the relationship. In this passage, a respondent reflects on the moment that she decided she could work with someone, although the

working relationship was still in its early stages at the time of interview:

'But I think, he's done a lot of repair work in that sense, because it was in chaos last year…., but he totally recognised that and he made that effort to come down and visit just, sort of, laid the cards on the table and apologised. And, actually, that was really important, so actually that made me think, "I can work with you on this".'

Conflict Situations

This code refers to all talk that mentions occurrences of debate or conflict. Many of these illustrate situations in which conflict is successfully managed and negotiated. In several of these instances there is evidence of trust building and bonding as a result.

'We disagree probably as much as we agree but have that as a kind of open conversation.'

In other cases, conflict is reported which has left some respondents with no successful resolution, and hence less evidence of trust building in the outcome. In cases of building trust, it might be said that there is a shared value in successful conflict management and negotiations, in which there are expectations around a norm of mutual respect for difference.

'I remember an occasion where she was absolutely livid with me and she was probably right, and I apologised to her and got over it. But I think these relationships actually take a while

Unresolved conflict areas that leave individuals feeling as though they have been mistreated may introduce other questions. 'Conflict Situations' have emotional consequences and could contribute to 'atmosphere'.

Degrees of participation/engagement

This code refers to talk where there is an indication of the varying levels of participation or engagement in community practices and activities. Also included here are references to why some individuals may not participate or 'opt out', or why someone may not participate fully. Issues around participation are associated with physical proximity at the studio (easy access to people and resources). They can also relate to individuals' perception of 'insiders' and

'outsiders'. Some, therefore, may express feelings of not quite fitting in, or perceive that the 'studio runs on personalities' – this can have implications for their commitment/engagement with the community.

In this passage, a senior manager refers to a frustrating moment when he/she attempted to get interest from others to deliver a presentation/talk about their work:

*'We asked, "Who wants to come and do something?" Nobody did. I was like, "F***'s sake this is what is wrong with our business model". It is relying on opting in. But actually we did get three people in the end and apparently it was marvellous.'*

While there are many positive comments about participation, with one respondent noting he/she makes a point to come in only to engage in the ethos of sharing, interaction and collaboration, leaving concentrated coding work to do elsewhere, others expressed more uncomfortable feelings.

Other respondents pointed out other constraints in participation/engagement:

'The precious few who get to be located in the centre are few and are often resented in a way because "Well, where's my work getting supported? I don't fit into that and nor do I necessarily identify myself with this notion that I go into the studio and be in this distracting space and that it would be collaborative and that it might be working with practitioners." Some people still are very, very heavily invested in their research identity as being based around their own curiosity, their own production of ideas, their own engagement with debates that are intellectual debates, that the notion of "Why would I come here? What's the value of this? How do you get work done?" in such as distracting space. My research is something private, it's personal. I'm passionately invested in it but it's not necessarily something that I want to do publicly. Nor do I have the time to come and just sort of participate in a talk that's not directly related to my research.'

One respondent revealed the anxiety he/she felt as a participant in an organised studio event:

'I didn't really ever feel fully part of it. I felt very, very liminal and I found it slightly problematic. ..I felt almost like I was being, I don't know, sort of undermined by even being included because I couldn't see a subjectivity for myself in relation to these other participants that gave us some kind of common ground. I felt like a fraud, an interloper.'

Affective

This code addresses areas of response that are identified as illustrations of affective experience. It includes some references to 'Emotional support' and 'Emotive utterances/descriptors'. Some 'Emotional support' talk was identified around responses to interview questions about ways in which contacts were 'trustworthy', as people they could turn to who may offer advice.

'She's very, very empathetic. There are usually those who can do really, really good work with the small picture…She wrote me an email, just to me, that both tried to make me feel okay about why I might be getting a little bit hot under the collar about their lack of engagement with my direction, so did that "I recognise what you're feeling but maybe you don't need to feel quite so much that way because..." So trying to take away a bit of the sting of the emotion and also gave me another sort of set of strategic prompts for what I might do next.'

These contacts were described as personally meaningful through the ways in which they were sensitive, could be empathetic or could *'care very deeply about what was happening'*.

'They are the kind of person who notices when you're tired. Or if something crap is going on, they know and remember'.

'Emotive utterances/descriptors' points to areas where an emotional experience or reaction is conveyed either through the stories the respondents tell about how they felt, or in using particular emotive descriptors. This occurs in talk where respondents use terms such as *love, feeling, felt, sad, daunting, angry, furiously, cross, livid*.

'I was livid. I was totally livid in one of those ways where you think you might cry because you are so angry.'

'He has a very good view on things and whenever we sit down we always furiously agree about stuff.'

'It just gave you a different feeling. It's just a kind of prompt to thinking and I think that's one of the things that she in particular is very strong on.'

'And actually that's probably the moment when I kind of moved from being slightly terrified of … to sort of feeling a bit more like we could connect on a human level.'

'We do find that quite hard actually because when you're coming up with a creative idea sometimes we just like either sort of bang our heads against the

wall or laugh really loudly.'

'I felt really guilty – I should have held on to it a bit further.'

In many cases the term *'excited'* is used as a descriptor to express the individual's emotive reaction to something outside of the context of the interview's specific questions about contacts that offer 'creative excitement'. They may also use *'exciting'* to describe the quality of events, professional practices/people or creative work. It is in this context that 'exciting' is used most frequently (as a repeated rhetorical discursive device). Ethnographic observations also indicate that this descriptor becomes handy when individuals are participating in showcasing events and need to perform their commitment to a project/studio. It becomes a useful shorthand linguistic device.

'So that's been very, very exciting.'

'And he's a really exciting BAFTA winning producer who just liked some of the ideas and wanted to get more involved'.

Enabling growth/self-reflexivity

This code relates to occurrences of talk that mention ways in which the individual feels that they have been allowed to grow professionally, gain confidence in their work practice, often by being enabled or 'legitimised' by someone else or by the context of the structures of support in the Pervasive Media Studio (i.e. having to do a presentation/talk).

Because you're put in that position where you have to open everything up, it's really revealing and it's really useful in your whole process because it makes you question your work as well as you get the really valuable input from the studio residents, which is just fantastic.'

Some references are moments in which the individual tells a story about an occurrence or events that allow them the opportunity to self-reflect on processes and experience personal/professional growth.

'Well, I think from the interest that we've had from building the work and taking it places, actually I feel like there's lots of work I want to do on it but I also feel really confident about going to people and saying, "This is what it can do and this is the potential of what it could do." So although a lot of the things we've had have been existing relationships, I'd feel comfortable about going to someone cold saying, "I think this project would work really well for what you're doing," which I wouldn't have probably done beforehand.'

Some others refer to ways in which respondents want to 'enable' others. This area may have wider implications for 'learning' as well as for valuing of autonomy (identity).

'They make me feel like they value my opinion on their stuff. Do you know what I mean, which sounds really egotistical, but I'm kind of the least egotistical person, but actually it makes you feel like you're contributing something and your opinion matters, and I think a lot of the time when you spend so much time facilitating other people, it's easy to lose yourself within that.'

This code seems important in highlighting the idea that community members' sense of self-worth and identity within a larger group/network of others, is constructed out of relational experience, as an outcome of how others recognise them, their contribution, and thus encourage them to develop their own 'unique' voice/identity. This was a theme that was prominent in ethnographic observations as well. (During the interviews for a Producer's job at the Studio there was lots of discussion around the idea that the individual should have their own 'unique' voice, or that the studio structures should encourage this development.)

8.2 Exchange-based experience
This next area captures four key codes related to activities that involve or surround experiences of collaborative exchange and sharing.

The four codes are: 'Informational/Resource Capitals', 'Networking', 'Learning', and 'Receiving, giving obligation/benefits'

Informational/Resource Capitals

This code encompasses several areas that identify ways in which contacts are valued for their capacity to share their specific competencies. The holder of competencies is generally conferred with a degree of 'capital'. While it might be expected that some forms of capital acquire more status than others, and thus contribute to one's 'social capital' (in sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's (1974,1999) sense of the term) respondents attached higher value in unexpected areas, such as useful expertise in administrative areas (sub-coded 'Know How – Expertise').

'It's funny, when I think of know-how, I think of someone like…., and I'll ring up …. And I'll say "I don't understand this". I remember we had long conversations about copyright. How do you protect that? And that's the kind of thing where …..gets the call.'

These responses arose from interview questions that asked interviewees to consider what kinds of 'know how' their named contact might possess, and this led them to think about knowledges, assets and resources that were useful to them.

'One of the reasons that keeps people here or keeps people interested in this place, or makes the connections between people, is that we are all interested and excited by stuff. And so we will quite often say, you know, "Did you see this thing?" Or "Wow, how did they do that?" So when we talk about technical things it's more in a kind of "That was pretty good, how did that work?"

However, other areas coded as 'know how' arose outside of this question topic. It was also notable that responses to contacts' 'strategic' help [Who do you turn to when you want strategic advice?'] overlapped with 'Know-How'. This reinforces the value that respondents attach to their contacts' knowledge areas (even when discussing their other qualities), which were perceived as 'useful' resources; i.e. they were helpful with 'strategic' planning because of what they know.

'He has the most fantastic affinity to kind of see a whole range of really interesting things and be able to communicate what's interesting about them. Part of that I think is his talent as a writer and as a creative himself. So when he tells you about something he's a really good storyteller.'

The occurrences of talk in this code family illustrate a diversity of valued knowledge resources, from a person's 'know how' about the 'arts world', other 'practitioners' work', 'technological design practice', or their tacit 'understanding of the 'infrastructures' ('who is moving where') of certain organisational groups in the creative industries. One's knowledge about important people or 'connections' [and access to them] was highly valued, hence these contacts have high levels of 'social capital'.

At the moment, like his – I guess his knowledge of that specific festival and the way that our things can fit in is important, but I haven't scoped out what other knowledge he's got yet.'

Linked with this were acknowledgements of the contact's intuitiveness/sensitivities around 'human nature'.

'She knows everybody so well. So she's good at offering different perspectives for me.'

Others' strong knowledge about 'business-related' areas (marketing, management) was identified. Expertise and lengthy experience in one's own area

of professional practice was highly valued.

'He's a powerful international player but very committed to Bristol and a very good sounding board on things tech.'

'I think the work he does is good. And I think if he has a suggestion about something, one should listen to it. Because he, it's really clear he knows what he's talking about.'

Other areas of 'know how' were coded 'broad' when discussion pointed to respect for respondents' breadth of knowledge (in some cases less specific).

'…. has been fantastic. Again, I mean he did a lot of the technical support. ….I mean the nice thing about … is that you can say, "We want someone to levitate down the waterfront" and he'll go, "Okay." '

The areas of talk that considered contacts' capacity for 'creative problem solving' may also be associated with 'Information/Resource Capital' as it involves forms of strategy and skill that may draw on multiple capacities concerning know how about 'human nature', 'infrastructures', 'business-related'.

'I think what he does and who he knows, in terms of being a practitioner and also a researcher. I think it's a good combination. You know, I like people who can do and think. I think your theoretical stuff's fine but quite often you need the practical stuff as well.'

Some talk pointed to respect for contacts' cultural and social capacities, noting their 'awe inspiring' linguistic ability to communicate ideas and perform in social settings (cultural and social capital). Talk about 'Influential People' is linked with this code, as is 'Inspires Vision' and talk about 'Future Planning'. Areas of 'High Creative Excitement' are linked to these.

'And someone else who inspired us from almost a business point of view was….. And his work is obviously fantastic. But also the way that he manages his work is so fantastic. The fact that he'll have six projects on the go all at once and will be getting these partners for this, these partners for this…And he talked to us in the kitchen a few times about how we develop our work in that way and how we think about the next project; and think about selling the next project even if we haven't made it yet; which to us is complete anathema because you feel like you can't sell it. But actually he goes around selling ideas and that is such an inspiration.'

These forms of capital can correspond with talk that referred to 'Networking'. Related areas may be examples of 'Bartering' and 'Free Labour Investment' (i.e. someone offers their skills as 'free' services and sees this as an investment,

meaning that they expect the effort will pay off in the future.)

Learning

This code relates to talk about experiences encountered where learning experience or acquiring new skills is valued. This often corresponds with talk about experiences of sharing and coordinating resources with others in the community. Some talk around 'prioritising processes' may have wider implications for 'learning' also. It also has relevance in relation to stories about learning the skills of 'networking', which is associated with a sub-code 'Business management expectations'.

'I'm learning how to do marketing…I think having to develop networking for the purpose of marketing is certainly an area of unease, it's not something that comes naturally.'

'But actually like we really saw it as a way of learning and as a sort of way for us to kind of open up new doors, which in a way – say like an Arts Council grant, you construct your project and then it's up to you to manage that.'

It is important to note that some areas identified illustrate that the process of learning is attributed to its usefulness in terms of gaining something in one's professional development - or will take them further professionally (instrumental value). But this is also accompanied, in some cases, with a sense that there is intrinsic value attached to the learning experience itself. It is valued for the way in which it enlightens the person and becomes part of their personal journey. (See Andrew Sayer 2003/1999). As one interviewee added, when asked what he/she would take away from his experience of the studio if he/she were to move on: *'New ways of understanding and working with different people.'*

Receiving, giving back 'obligation/benefits'

'Receiving, giving back obligation/benefits', reflects community norms and expectations which assumes that the studio is 'giving' residents a unique opportunity (and, in some informal conversations, the benefits of 'free desk space' arises).

'And for us, to be able to showcase what we've supported and for them to put their time in because we're not paying them to do that, that's the value of the studio, because they feel like they get stuff out of the studio, so they put effort back in again.'

In exchange for this opportunity, residents are expected to 'share' their expertise

and experiences, and 'give' back to the community in various ways.

'So the quid pro quo is they get to do what they want to do as long as they do a bit of what we want them to do.'

The obligation implied in the 'receiving, giving back' (like gifts) norm is valued by many, including at least 2 respondents who articulated some of their discomforts in their studio experience.

'She always makes sure that, you know, we get good product placement in any talks she does or anything like that. So, I think, you know, it's appreciated that she's just, you know, an evangelist a good supporter, yes.'

Other talk coded here includes references to parties who have invested something (time, effort) and have gained something 'back' (i.e. the action benefits both parties).

'You know, when I've done talks at summer schools and things like that, you know, they've had a bit of payment and …. is just fantastic at finding money and helping and all that sort of stuff. So that's really, really appreciated.'

Falling within this area are some passages that explicitly articulated respondents' appreciation or gratitude to the studio: sub-coded 'Gift appreciation'.

'I'm happy to be, you know, to wave a flag for Bristol and the Pervasive Media Studio as I go because it's – I want to support the organisation. I think they're doing great things. I'm happy to do that. You know? And also it's a free office, which is an amazing thing.'

Networking

This code refers to all talk that mentions initiatives around networking, whether it be in simple descriptive terms, or in more detail, such as a narrative around organising or attending a specific networking event.

'I mean ultimately getting people to work and think differently, getting people to believe in networking, to believe in open networks and open collaboration, you've got to keep encouraging them because people default to "My organisation, my diary." You know?'

The other sub-codes related to networking are 'Business management expectations', 'Bridging', 'Managing connections' (involving efforts to sustain relationships, including those in the studio)

'I figured he'd be a good person to work with. And that's kind of, I mean that's

kind of how I work. I notice people and I think "Oh, you know, I'd like to work with that person, is there a project that I'd like to do where I could work with them?" And I've worked with quite a lot of different people in the studio over time, to kind of try different people out on different things.'

Networking also involves 'Identifying opportunities' (many of these come up around networking with people outside of the studio, but some passages include moments of opportunity with other residents).

'So actually just the other day, through the Bristol students networking launch event with businesses, a chap approached me, again who's another marketer looking for a way of making money, and what we cooked up together there, just after one coffee meeting, was to run a boot camp.'

Discussions around 'Influential People' may arise here.

'I have invited him to stuff before but I've never really made a beeline to actually…because there's a difference between inviting people and actually really inviting people….And that's what I mean about calling people at the right times. Because if you constantly ask for things out of people they soon get sick of you.'

These further sub-codes help to detail the ways in which 'networking' related activities can be highly strategic, with important consequences for the identification of future collaboration, funding, work opportunities, or possibilities for the circulation and distribution of creative practitioners' work.

'He's got that route to clients that I might not otherwise have at the moment. Because of his, much more experience, he's been doing it for much longer, so he's got more contacts kind of thing. So that could be a very positive outcome.'

8.3 Shared Values

This conceptual area captures individuals' value positions in ways that are different from the areas above, but can also intersect with some of the other codings.

The four codes attributed to this area are: 'Attention', 'Ethical/moral positions', 'Prioritising 'art'/aesthetic', 'Valuing the novel, risk, change'

Attention

This code relates to talk that focuses on attention being given to one another inside the Studio as well as the attention brought to residents and to the Studio

as a whole through promotion and marketing. Here 'attention' is constructed as a key process.

Some of this talk relates directly to studio promotion/branding, or 'showcasing' events, a key stage in the PMStudio process.

'And actually if that keeps going out there to loads of places and its got Pervasive Media logo on any documentation with it, then actually that is highly valuable in terms of raising Watershed's profile as well as the artists, which sounds terrible, but..'

'I mean the studio's about promoting itself mainly rather than promoting the people who are within it. Which I can kind of see. Although it's obviously mutually beneficial and the studio has to decide who, what it promotes and what projects make the studio look good, whatever…..'

It also includes examples that point to 'public' attention, such as when Watershed or staff 'tweet' about a resident's work or event .

'…, when people ask about the company history or the sense of the company kudos. [We are] a resident company at Pervasive Media Studio and Theatre Bristol and was recipient of this, that and the other. And that helps something become perceivable for people. And it's something I take pride in. I am proud .. for the .. company, to be a resident here.'

'I don't mind but it felt like I was –there's a possibility here for the Pervasive Media Studio to get some good press out of this. Thanks very much. You know?...So I just felt like I was as valuable as the amount of press I could bring in'.

Talk that indicates 'selection of artists' (selections for residency, for example) are included. This has associations with 'Expectations of producer's role'.

'My personal feeling, and this may be misguided, is that these things are top down. So if the people who are running the studio do not demonstrate that they value individuals or groups, and the work they're doing, then other people won't either. That's my feeling. But it may be simply to do, well it may be to do with other things, like the quality of my early work, people may have felt that it wasn't good enough. Which is totally fair enough.'

Other examples such as 'attention to detail', i.e. when a production manager is said to be excellent at this skill, or when a producer is highly valued for the attention they give to the artist and project, are also coded this way.

'What I rely and go to … for a lot is her attention to detail. Often if I don't know how to phrase something or I want to check something then I'll check with …. I think because, you know, I respect her thought and judgment, so I'll often use her as a sounding board. If I'm not sure of something then I'll check with her.'

Other examples include cases of work or 'people' who do not receive attention by producers ('my work has fallen under the radar'). Included in these cases are examples in which respondent/s perceive that there is a 'lack' of recognition or 'attention' to them and their work.

But then the people who come and do talks, I get to know their work well enough that when I am walking round [with visitors] I am more likely to introduce them because I can give the spiel. A lot of the time I have to give the one line, hook sentence that makes that conversation start….Some people are better than others and have more interesting things'

'I've felt my work's been under the radar. So I don't know there's been any awareness of, doesn't feel generally there has been kind of awareness of the work that I've been doing. Or acknowledgment perhaps.'

Ethical/moral positions

This code relates to different kinds of talk or expressions of prioritisation of a social commitment/engagement over economic profit.

'There is an increasing kind of movement which was driven initially by Tim Berners-Lee, which is why everybody listened, that actually if this data is released in the right format, and you allow small developers to work with that data, they both create services which are of value to the public, but they also create an enormous amount of economic value out of what's a public asset. The public is paid to collect this data, so it derives different value out of it.'

Discussions about the 'local' Bristol community are associated with this (global references are sometimes associated with local).

'…they get trapped in this "It's all about economic development." But it's all about social good too.'

Other talk that explicitly refers to the idea of 'sustainability', in relation to efforts to 'sustain' the life of artists' work outside the context of the original production that took place in the studio, also point to 'Ethical/moral positions'.

…It bothers me because, I guess because it's their work and I sound like I'm just some kind of pimp! Whoring it out to all these places. But you know, it is in their interests though,... So it is wholly in their interests. It works both ways.'

Other related talk refers to areas where interviewees seem to argue for a legitimation or validation of the role of some contacts in the organisation who are employed in administrative roles. These validations are framed by a moral position because they are arguing for the recognition of the extra social value these individuals offer - they are viewed as human beings with exceptional personal attributes and intellect that contributes to the culture of the organisation well beyond their job descriptions. Levels of trustworthiness and reliability are attached to this. These are the contacts whose consistent/frequent support is highly valued.

Other examples of ethical/moral positions include references to other individuals' 'empathy' towards them. The attribution of this empathy to their 'arts' background (in one interview) points to the ethical and moral dimensions of the emphasis on the 'arts' part of 'the art-commerce relation' with its privileging of 'creativity, self-expression and the pursuit of the aesthetic over and above the purely rational pursuit of profit and accumulation' (Banks 2007: 101).

'Well I mean I suppose you would expect people who, with arts backgrounds to be more empathetic. Because of the nature of the type of person who's interested in arts subjects, because art is about empathy. You need a degree of empathy to appreciate art in its various form.'

Other examples also include one's moral obligation, when collaborating with residents, to pay individuals for their hard work/services when they may otherwise struggle financially. This kind of relationship between the 'moral' and 'money' economy is examined in Sayer (2003/1999), and is useful in the way it allows us to think about moral motivations in 'instrumental actions'.

'Well, I want people to get paid. I want to be able to support them financially.'

The same respondent considers a question about whether he/she has implemented other means of working with people:

'Yes. I used to. I used to do that, you know, for the love of it but, you know, given the choice I'd rather pay people the proper money for doing work.'

Prioritising 'art'/aesthetic

This code refers to talk that may mention explicitly the tensions between art and commerce, or art and technology,. The responses may also imply a prioritisation of the aesthetic realm, the territory of 'the search for meaning' (Banks 2007:95) aspect of the 'art' dimension (without an explicit mention of 'commerce').

'So I do think it's all in that area, and it's just trying to chip away at what the meaning is. And I think sometimes artwork's a great understanding of what the ethics of something are, or what the philosophical drivers are rather than the commercial drivers.'

'I'd invited them to ….'s talk because I thought, you know, they'd really think carefully about her vision and aesthetic and the concepts that she was exploring, and all that stuff is hugely important, you know, because …- for any arts project that is technology, you've got to have a balance between the technology and the conceptual side, and they're really good at thinking in that space.'

In the case of references to technology, respondents may imply that technology is or should be less privileged; it is used 'only' as a tool to aid the aesthetic 'concept' or content. There is an implication, sometimes made explicit, that this would destroy the 'integrity' of the work.

'I suppose it's kind of content focused. It's about the content… our understanding of the use of technology is different, so it seems to me – like, a lot of the artworks I make are concept driven.'

'I suppose because it's a kind of technology, there's a lot of technology involved, that actually sometimes can take over. And it really felt that it was about the idea was the most important thing… we actually ended up really refining the concept and using less technology than we had intended to at the beginning.'

Valuing the novel, risk, change

This code area centres on areas of talk that highlight the value that individuals place on original thinking and innovation practices, often involving risk-taking and emphasising change (from 'creative' management thinking to 'art' practices).

'Those are the conversations where we get really excited. When we talk about leadership or talent development and about not doing it in the way that it has always been traditionally done, but reinventing those processes.'

'What we trade off is we're different. That's our value'.

This code may relate to specific contacts who inspire or provide high levels of 'creative excitement' because they are risk-takers, or they have the potential to introduce something new/novel and offer an original vision.

'Because he doesn't, he's not constrained by what might or might not be possible. And he's not afraid of big ideas.'

'She's always like bringing new things into the studio, which are interesting.'

'In terms of what's going on in the cutting edge, she often points things out to me that are really exciting and interesting.'

It also refers to cases where practitioners may be striving to achieve something that has 'never been done before', what appears to be 'the impossible' and they are encouraged to do so.

'You can say the most impossible things and people will actually start thinking about them. Which is really actually probably the main thing about the studio, I think the nub of the studio, the fact that you can say the most impossible things and they actually get people thinking and talking and...Nothing is impossible, which is really so lovely.'

Where this area is linked with inspirations, it can have implications for others' 'learning' or professional growth.

'Not just the content but actually how you might go about doing things a little bit differently. And that's another thing, there's this whole process of bringing people round to a new approach. He's a really important contributor to that.'

'It's pushing the idea of dance and composition and public engagement with performance out of most people's comfort zone. And therefore it's not necessarily the case that they'll be sceptical, it's the case that it's not going to be something that they will have encountered.'

8.4 Atmospheres

Our use of participant-observation as one means of data collection allowed us to hone in on the nuances of the everyday routines and rituals of the Pervasive Media Studio setting. The RA (who entered the community as an outsider) participated in and recorded activities through the traditional ethnographic practice of note-taking. She wrote regular diary entries in order to reflect upon events soon after they occurred and returned to these notes when analysing data. In addition, she kept photographic records using an inconspicuous digital camera where and when the practice was not intrusive. By paying attention to the material arrangements and physical occurrences within the setting, from the apparently uneventful to those overflowing with energies, we were able to explore some of the complex ways in which this creative community produces, experiences and performs value.

The rich data that emerged from our localised fieldwork, therefore allowed us to examine the importance of what Nina Wakeford calls 'community-based sociality' (Wakeford 2011). This proposition contrasts Andreas Wittel's concept of 'network sociality' (Wittel 2001). In Wittel's network sociality, social relations are perceived primarily as informational, with the data exchange often relying on electronic communications such as email or social networking sites. We would not deny the presence of network sociality in the studio. In interviews and through observation we saw evidence of regular engagement in the more distanced relations that characterise networking and the careful managing of connections. More than one respondent, for example, revealed to the RA that it might not be worth shadowing them on particular days, as their main work tasks would involve sitting at their desk composing and sending emails to a number of their network ties.

We take seriously, however, what our ethnographic data tells us also about the atmospheric and affective qualities of the studio's community life. The range of emotional energies (from excitement, enthusiasm, anxiety, anger, to lower level irritations, disappointments and more ordinary moods) that emanate throughout the studio are generated through proximity and physical co-presence. Atmospheric environments have an effect on all participants who enter the space. They impact creative practices and the value that practitioners, and indeed others who visit the space, ascribe to their work. It is not surprising that the spiral staircase entrance at the previous leased-space in which the fieldwork first took place, was animated by two residents in the form of an audio-response mechanism that cited musical and poetic texts when triggered. The studio's

residents stake a strong claim to the creative construction and monitoring of their working environment. Our focus on the generation of atmospheres in the studio was helpful in enabling our conceptualisation of the ways in which value is created through social interaction and process. This point should not be ignored in favour of an analytical preoccupation with the content of information sharing between network nodes.

From office to the showcase event

What stood out for the RA quite early in the ethnography was the often quiet and serious atmosphere in the studio's daytime routine where conversations occurred at times at the tone of a whisper. She was surprised, for example, that it seemed more appropriate to post her self-introduction to residents through the Basecamp communications' site rather than face-to-face. Her perceptions about the studio's subdued atmosphere were noted in this diary entry:

'Funny that an electronic means for my announcement seems a more appropriate way to say hello to people here as opposed to introducing myself to them face-to-face. But most of the time people are glued to their laptop screens and have earphones on to block out noise – the message seems to be, 'Don't bother me now, I'm busy'. So, yes, emails and Basecamp announcements are the way to do things unless there's a little gap somewhere in the day when you might bump into someone. Sometimes there's a bit of chat in the kitchen area.'

In various contexts, the conditions of the studio enable certain atmospheres to spread to other participants in the same space (Wakeford 2011). Respectable, quiet chats throughout the days appeared to be the norm, and the RA quickly learned not to speak too loudly for fear of disturbing others. Later observations (ethnography and interviews) revealed other residents' similar experiences of atmosphere. The quiet atmosphere and spatial arrangements, some admitted, conveyed something more like an 'office' and not a 'studio' space, which has more relaxed implications (like a practical workshop). However, the predictability of this mood was challenged when it was interrupted, unexpectedly at times, with other energy flows. This following excerpt from the RA's diary captures an important moment when the enthusiasm of a senior Executive primed the studio for a showcasing ritual to an important funding body:

'Now he has arrived and is talking to (Senior Academic). When talking he seems quite animated, talking loudly and giving lots of praise about efficiency and 'rapid response'. He adds, 'That's what good partnership is all about!' Later I was introduced to him and he surprised me by giving me a huge, energetic hug and welcomed me to the studio. It was very nice but I certainly wasn't expecting it. After a few minutes I sat down again and recorded the following..

Wow, now there's a sudden surge of a group of people strutting through the studio – loud footsteps on this floor – wonder if the restaurant downstairs can hear much of the pouncing! Then there's a quick demo of a project –there's a bit of focus on the creator and then he's given his turn…he's very young and trendy looking (I haven't really noticed him before but think I remember seeing his profile on the PMS website.). He mentions to the group of onlookers something about an interview with the BBC. He says things like… 'It started when I was messing around with LogicPro …then caught onto sound…' Hmmm, I must try to talk to him soon. This looks like it's about the new musical instrument that was launched the other night. 'The next step is in sales' he says, 'which is really exciting…to move it forward'.

The next hour and a half of that afternoon was followed by more impressive showcasing of a selection of residents' work to the group of influential visitors. Clearly, the aim of events of this kind is to illustrate the value of the studio's work. The performance was timed carefully, with the group moving from the music project to hear another prominent resident speak confidently about his internationally distributed and well-known work. They moved onto two other residents who present nervously and enthusiastically about their projects while offering interactive demonstrations. The RA noted the many instances during the event, which also had an extended video presentation, that elicited giggles and laughs, and prompted thoughtful ponderings about Watershed's 'exciting' work. During the talk the RA heard a different, more positive narrative of a project which one resident creator had downplayed in an earlier conversation. But this was a story that functioned well to create an upbeat effect in the studio atmosphere as it narrated the studio's worth to outside audiences. The charismatic event facilitator and leader, had the effect of pumping the energies of others (the resident presenters, the audience, other residents), and created a stimulus for potential future group activities and public interest.

9 DISCUSSIONS

9.1 Multiple Economies and Value Constellations

The third objective of the research **(3.0** above) was 'to evaluate the multiple economy approach developed by Sharpe and the International Futures Forum (2010) to understanding cultural value and its relation to the money economy.' In this section we argue that the evidence above successfully demonstrates multiple economies in action.

A core concept from Sharpe's (2010) enactive understanding of value is that it is for a life, in a pattern of relationships. Value is created through relationships between living things. Different agents within any ecoystem will experience value

differently, your nutrition might be my poison. This understanding of value is derived from the perspective of *a* life in the patterns of life in which it takes part. Lives are part of *multiple economies*, each defining a distinctive shared quality of value where we understand an economy as a pattern of shared valuing, with its own way of maintaining integrity of that process and organising itself.

The evidence above reveals a complex set of *valuing practices* in action. Practices that are driven by the relational patterns of trust making, conflict negotiation, participation, affect, and personal development. Collaboration was itself a key meta value term encompassing processes of know how exchange, learning, give and take of benefit and networking. We were also able to identify a shared set of values held in the conduct of these modes of value practices; namely value held in the creative, the ethical, the novel, and in the idea of attention as a value creating process.

We argue that this evidence can be interpreted in order to understand how a creative economy eco system and its particular value constellation operate. An eco-system is not 'for' anything other than what it is at each moment – a pattern of interacting lives; in that sense an eco-system has no value imperative other than its own dynamism. 'Value' is just a way of talking about the interactions in a creative eco system with a language of perspective. The eco-system perspective of value takes a particular life and 'looks over its shoulder' at the web of significance (lived meaning) of that life.

However to stabilize these ideas around particular creative economy 'habitats' we turn to the idea of the 'value constellation'. Normann & Ramirez (1993) introduced the concept of value constellation as an alternative to the value chain in management and organisational studies. The Value Constellation is a way of talking about value creation achieved by co-production in a web of interactions with a focal organisation orchestrating the whole system. Their particular contribution was on how leading organisations (IKEA and Boeing were their examples at the time) were actively designing this overall web of co-production amongst all the participants as co-producers, rather than thinking of the participants as consumers of value that they delivered to them.   Their approach stresses that rather than designing a product the focal organisation creates offerings that assign roles and configure interactions amongst the constellation members. These offerings are inseparable from the values of the organisation, company or brand. *Values are always constitutive of value*. Ramirez (1999) traces the intellectual background to this distinction (between value chain and value constellation), and how in the industrial logic 'consumer' comes from the word for consumption, but there is an alternative history linking it to 'consummation' that is appropriate to the co-productive constellation logic. As we argued above (**2.00)** the logics of co production are now taking root in business and marketing, service delivery and the arts, having achieved a 'technological

correlative' in the profoundly co creative development of the internet in the years immediately following Norman & Ramirez' 1993 paper. This logic of co production has a specific purchase for creative economy organisations who are functioning in a terrain where the former distinctions between culture producers, gatekeepers and uses are blurring, posing particular challenges to their institutional roles. In addition co-creativity has become a driver of 'audience development' for creative economy organisations working with audiences, viewers and users in newly interactive and collaborative ways.

For us then the idea of the value constellation as organisational model describes the extended network of co-production around a focal organisation. Here it helps us to focus on the *intentional* role of the focal organisation in designing, and enacting the way the participants interact – the active *producing* role. It brings co-productive logic fully into view; the focal organisation creates offerings that link the participants into co-productive relationships. It offers us a frame for how a creative economy organisation works across multiple economies and makes visible where boundaries can be maintained.

The value constellation idea can be applied to business and social enterprises, in the case of the Pervasive Media Studio study it is applied to a creative community of practice. It is the particular goal of the Pervasive Media Studio to nurture the distinct contribution that each resident wants to make in the wider eco-system of societal culture.   So they curate a *process* of production, which supports each resident in a *unique and individual* way, while operating a kind of gift economy overall (see **7.2** below) so that value is sustained and returns to the level of the value constellation.   It is essential to the Studio that it holds its purpose as radically open to allow new and unique contributions, while achieving a unity of purpose in cultural innovation.

9. 2 The Pharmacology of Evaluation

We now turn to how the research in this project addresses our first two objectives, 'to produce the first iteration of a multi-criteria method for articulating cultural value' which would 'support cultural organisations in providing …better ways to understand the value they produce'.

Pervasive Media Studio is a place for creation of groundbreaking technocultural objects – partly of artistic, partly of commercial nature, and often both. Such objects are singularities. They are unique and complex. They create value, but its value is hard to measure: They might create an idea or an innovative technological solution that seems to fail, but re-emerges in a later product. They might be not profitable but generate a big impression on a small audience or have high artistic merits. Such qualities remain non-measurable. Measurement is based on quantity, on comparison, on a level playing field, indeed on neglecting

difference. It will never capture the full value of a technocultural object. Indeed it will often not even capture a precise abstraction of its value.

This does not only apply to technocultural objects themselves, but also to the processes of their creation. Technocultural objects emerge in complex processes where technical, collective and psychic forms of individuation intersect and influence each other, leading to a process, where all sides emerge to a new state. Much of this plays out in a "commons" where ideas and solutions float without clear individual ownership or traceability. It is based on creative "atmospheres" (Stewart 2011), where shared affects such as a general mood of enthusiasm drive individual practices. Such general observations probably apply to the creation of all technocultural objects, and they are even more applicable to the collective creation of innovative objects. Neither the value of an object nor the process of the creation of value are fully measurable.

Creating and measuring value are always in tension. The first is based on singularities, the second on "currencies" (Sharpe 2010). Creating value is not based on being measured through currencies, but needs a space that includes elements, which are profoundly non-measurable. Indeed, measuring value can damage this space. This is one side of the story. The other side, measurement can also help to organise and stimulate value creation, and in one way or the other it is always part of it. There is thus no either-or. In most cases, measuring value is a "pharmakon" (Stiegler 2010:43)) for creating value – a poison and a remedy at the same time. Each solution can improve matters, concentrate and target energies, help to develop new forms of ecologies. But it will also always create side effects, often unwanted ones. Our analysis will thus concentrate on the pharmacological nature of articulating value.

The most effective and most widespread form of measuring value is money. In the case of Pervasive Media Studio we can observe a double move: While the studio is highly effective in acquiring funds, managing them and using them well, and works as a means to an end for its residents to professionalise their own fund raising and financial project management, it at the same time also is a space, where "money is kept at the margins" . (Residents are offered free desk space for negotiated periods from 3 months to two years.) Indeed, the latter, the insistence of a money-free space in its centre, is one of the key concepts of the Pervasive Media Studio: it is what makes it successful, makes it an effective incubator for new ideas, and it is also part of its "sell" to potential residents and funders alike. This double move enables the Pervasive Media Studio to provide a specific and very effective solution in regards to the pharmacology of money: It takes money seriously and uses it as a remedy, but it also limits its potentially poisonous nature for collective value creation.

We will return in our analysis to the question of money later. For now we want to widen the scope and sketch out a second form of measuring value. Quantitative data can incorporate money as one tool of measurement, using money for its

specific purposes, but it can also incorporate other forms of measurement. In the case of the Pervasive Media Studio, there are many options; user satisfaction surveys, for example, audience numbers, measuring labour time, surveys of internal procedures such as the effectiveness of the studio's offerings for its residents, or quantitative network analysis, testing the internal coherence of the studio's informal and formal social structures. Pervasive Media Studio has experimented with such methods, but makes overall little use of them. In our conversations we encountered a mix of scepticism – the worries pointed to potential negative and often unpredictable effects on the fragile ecology of the studio. On the other hand we also encountered (in our group discussions of the research) an openness to such forms if they could really measure the work of the studio. The studio would welcome such forms of measurement, indeed, in such a case they could be of great help, internally, as well as externally. In short, the pharmacology of such forms of measuring leads in the studio to a combination of abstinence and sceptical openness.

But what happens then to the largely unmeasured space of the studio? Does the story end at this point? Can we be satisfied with the profound non-measurability of value creation and leave it with this? Our data points into a different direction. For this, we need to widen the theoretical scope once more. Measuring value, whether in the form of money or in the form of quantitative data, is only one form of a wider set of practices that we started to analyse as practices of articulating value. Value can thus be articulated through forms of measurement, but it can also be articulated in qualitative forms. Two forms of qualitative articulation of value were of particular importance. One the one hand prestige, and its various form of expressing it. Prestige is a complex phenomena, which embodies not only an articulation of the value of produced objects and the contribution to their production, but also other factors, such as personal charisma, or the effects of network concentration (central nodes gain prestige merely by being central). The studio is concentrating on another form of articulating value. Stories, which are told to express the value of products and process alike. Stories are themselves one form of articulating prestige, but they are also an effective way of articulating value, and they are of particular importance to the ecology of the Pervasive Media Studio.

Stories are a form of articulating value just as pieces of papers with numbers on (money in the form of notes or bank statements), or data in excel spreadsheets. All need to be believed – and once they are believed, they become an effective form of articulating value. Stories need attention. They need to be given time. Attention is a complicated concept, not the least because it is part of value creation just as much as of its articulation. In the creation of the social work environment, studio residents give attention to each other's needs. In consumption, users devote time and openness to the object. On the other side, attention is also part of the mechanisms of articulating value, especially when it comes to stories. Once we look at attention, we can understand, why stories can

function as such an effective, yet flexible and qualitative way of articulating value. Attention is, to a certain extent, scarce (Goldhaber 1997)

There is no absolute limit to the amount of stories. But there is also no infinite amount of attention. Once we look at the Pervasive Media Studio, it becomes immediately apparent that there are spotlight moments – the pitch to an important funding organisation, for example, or being mentioned in an important report, or being placed on a prominent part of the website. There are other forms of scarcity too. A story told by a person with high prestige generates more attention. Storytellers can tell more stories, thus widening the access to this space of articulating value. This role as author, curator and performer of various kinds of *story* is an important part of the producers role in the Pervasive Media studio.

To summarise: Money is not the only form of measuring value, and measuring not the only form of articulating value. One form of value articulation, which will be of particular importance in the following analysis, is storytelling. Stories are especially effective, because they unite the ability to describe complex, qualitative, indeed singular properties of objects and processes, whilst they also incorporate certain amounts of scarcity – a form of scarcity however, that can often be extended or constrained, depending on circumstances.
Each of the currencies of articulation sits in tension with other currencies. Absence of measurement does not produce absence of articulation of value, but will allow other forms of articulation to flourish – often qualitative ones, such as stories or informal prestige.

9.3 Economy of contribution and a two folded model of organisation

Value is seldom created only for its producers. It comes to being, when it enters spheres of circulation. Value articulation can also not be understood without the notion of circulation - the obvious example of money. Combinations of different forms of value creation and circulation, and multiple currencies of value articulation can stabilise in social structures which we refer to as value constellations. In this section we describe one such value constellation that is especially important for the Pervasive Media studio: The Value triangle. We describe a model based on the specific mechanisms of the Studio. It is not the only way that value is created, circulated and articulated in the studio, but it is dominant.

If we aim to introduce the notion of circulation into our model, we need to extend our approach once more: The overall value constellation of the Pervasive Media Studio is a form of an "economy of contribution" (Stiegler 2010) : Different forms of value are circulating, often only vaguely articulated, inside the studio. In an economy of contribution, some of the values are circulating in the form of direct market exchange, where transaction is directly levelled out. Other forms of contribution take the more complex form of gifts, where circulating value is often

unclearly articulated, giving and receiving are often temporally de-coupled, and gift exchange remains deeply embedded in social relations, indeed is one of the ways how we can analyse the very emergence of social ties themselves (Mauss 1925). Last but not least, contributions can take the form of a gift to and/or by the commons, where we have no clear giver or receiver, but instead a transpersonal space with no clear internal property differentiation – once more, such gifts create obligations and rights, prestige and ties, albeit in a more generalised manner.

Most of the actors in the studio are residents, not employees. The studio thus does not work in the way a conventional organisation would do. There is a core of employees – studio management, projects managers, producers, cleaning staff – but this core is relatively small. Instead, we have two organisations folded into each other. On the one hand, there is the organisations of employees, to whom the residents have a relationship slightly similar to clients,. On the other hand we have an overall organisation, which includes the residents, who are the central focus of the studio. In this view, the residents are inside. The studio functions as a partial shield to the competitive environment of free-lancers. Residents are still free-lancing, but they are also part of an organisation.

To gain deeper access to the value constellation of the Pervasive Media Studio we have to first look at the residents. What do they get? Residents are provided with four forms of value: workspace, social work environment, external prestige, and production. Firstly they get access to a free workspace for a set period of time. This form of value is not articulated explicitly in front of the residents, but it could easily be articulated as a sizable money contribution: A well equipped collaborative workplace for a longer period of time and a project sums up to a contribution of tens of thousand of pounds.

A second form of contribution to the residents is the social work environment: Our fieldwork shows that residents clearly cherish the studio as a place to share ideas, develop networks, gain access to informal support and knowledge, and be part of a general creative atmosphere. It is difficult to articulate such forms of value in money, nor are there data infrastructures in place in the studio which could measure them. However, these forms of value play an important role in the stories that the studio tells about itself. We will come back to this.

A third form of contribution to many of the residents is the mere fact that they were selected as residents. Pervasive Media Studio has high prestige in the digital creative industries in South of England. Especially for young researchers, and less established artists, being in Pervasive Studio provides them with a significant boost in their own reputation. Just as importantly, Pervasive Media Studio has the prestige to gather local audiences. Showcases gain through this local prestige often much larger audiences, than they would do on their own. Such forms of value are once more hard to measure, but we can now see, how the relationship changes: The prestige of the Pervasive Media studio is

articulated, amongst other forms, in the success stories of former residents. The articulation of value is also part of the creation of value.

The fourth and maybe most important contribution of the studio to its residents is the professional support of residents through a producer, who helps the residents to shape their ideas, professionalise their work flow, gain audiences and acquire external funding. Beyond such tangible forms of help, producers also give a attention and care to each of these projects: They pay attention to progress, provide emotional support, and are often an important motivating force, when a projects falls into crisis (an inevitable phase in most creative project). Producers also function as internal brokers inside the studio between the residents: They stimulate collaboration, look at existing network structures, and think about ways to create an even more collaborative environment. Once more, all such forms of support by the producers are not directly articulated in front of the residents in the form of money, and once more, this would be very hard to do. The value of the contribution could be partially measured though the form of labour time of the producer, though we would need to take into account that the overall value of the producers support for the resident might be different and much larger.

All four forms of value are provided to the residents as a gift. There are minimal contractual obligations, and beginning of a standardised evaluation process, but in the end this does not change the underlying structure of a relationship between the residents as gift receivers, and the studio as gift giver. To understand the resulting economy of contribution, we need to thus look at the other side, into the role of the producer from his or her perspective. By now it will be apparent that producers have a key role in the studio. During the period of our fieldwork, the amount of producer positions was extended from two to four, mirroring the central role of the producers for the overall ecology of the studio. Even though the various forms of support of residents are the central tasks of the producer, they are not the only ones. Producers are also key in securing funding for the studio. In doing so, they not only generate funds, which
support residents' projects, they also acquire the funds necessary to run the space itself. To do so, producers need to demonstrate the value of the studio as an entity to external institutions. They can articulate the value in principal via three ways: Firstly they tell stories about the work in the studio, describing the *collaborative surplus* that the studio produces, thus focussing on the forms of value creation as a process. Secondly, they tell stories about successful projects, thus focussing on the articulation of the value of objects. Thirdly, they tell stories about the prestige of the studio.

We have now included the outside of the studio, too. It becomes clear, that an analysis that focuses merely on the inside or the outside of an organisation is in danger of missing essential parts. For funders, the success of projects, as well as the prestige of the studio, and the effectiveness of the processes of creating value are key motives to provide further funds. Both objects and the process of value creation are hard to articulate in classical forms of measuring value.

Beyond basic data, such as counting the number of projects and giving estimates of audience number, and impressionist collections of the amounts of other funds acquired, producers have to delegate their articulation of value to stories. Producers are thus professional collectors of story material. We can start to see how the economy of contribution works in the Pervasive Media Studio: residents return gifts to the studio: they provide the raw material for good stories simply by developing successful projects. Not all projects have the same potential of generating good stories. Side effects of such projects can provide alternative solutions. Residents give producers good story material or even finished stories, which the producers then can use, to articulate the value of the studio as an overall entity.

Producing raw material for such stories is not the only contribution that residents give back to the studio as an overall organisation. As we have seen in the beginning of this section, the collaborative social working environment is one of the studio's key selling points. For this social work environment to emerge, residents have to produce it by themselves, and for each other. In theory, such mutual collaboration should level out, and indeed we could document a rich field of horizontal gift exchange in terms of support. However, this gift exchange is not fully symmetrical: some residents, often the more long term ones, give more support than others. Such an asymmetrical form of exchange is possible, because each gift to another resident is at the same time a gift back to the studio as a full entity. The studio needs to have a thriving collaborative work environment, and by contributing to the help of another resident, one always also contributes to the internal commons of the studio.

Producers help and stimulate this structure. The double-gift – to other residents and to the studio as an entity – makes it possible that the studio creates an additional form of value, a form of qualitative surplus. This 'qualitative surplus' value is, once more, expressed in stories, told to external funders, but also to the residents themselves. Producers are professional story collectors in this sense, too. What we start to see now, is a very effective from of value articulation, creation and circulation. Producers get their stories to tell the success to external entities. For this they get funds, which enables a collaborative working environment. Inside this working environment, the extra value of a double gift - to the other residents and to the studio itself – enables generosity and provides extra motivation, which make asymmetrical gift exchange relationships still effective. This, in turns, provides an extra incentive for a thriving collective work environment, which then can be 'sold' back though the funders as stories about processes of creating value and products of extraordinarily high quality.

9.4 The Gifting Triangle

At this point of our analysis, we can start to see how the economy of contribution works in the Pervasive Media Studio. Residents return gifts to the studio: they provide the raw material for good stories simply by developing successful

projects. Not all projects have the same potential of generating good stories. Side effects of such projects can provide alternative solutions. Residents give producers good story material or even finished stories, which the producers then can use to articulate the value of the studio as an overall entity.

What we start to see now, is a very effective from of value articulation, creation and circulation:

- Producers get their stories to present the success to external entities.
- They use the success stories to build the funding, which supports the collaborative working environment.
- Inside this working environment, the extra value of a double gift - to the other residents and to the studio itself – enables generosity and provides extra motivation, which make asymmetrical gift exchange relationships still effective.
- This, in turns, provides the little extra incentive for a thriving collective work environment,
- which then can be sold back though the funder as stories about processes of creating value and products of extraordinarily high quality.

Value articulation has found a form, where it does not blockade value creation, but stimulates and drives it further.
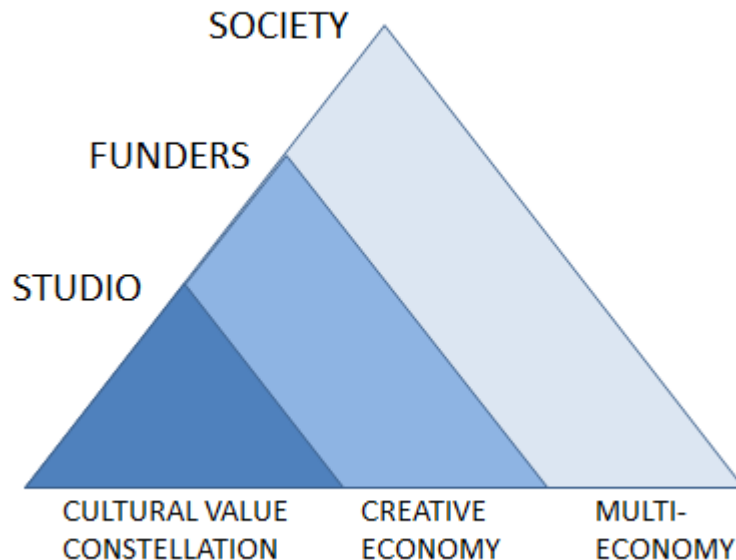
If we systematise this value constellation, we arrive at a Value Triangle (see above):

- Producers give access to resources, in the form of workspace, support and overall access to the studio (including its prestige).
- Residents return this gift partly by producing successful projects (where success can be understood in several ways)
- and partly by engaging in a collaborative working environment,
- which then is also a gift to other residents,

- adding to the value of the studio.
- Both projects and collaborative environment produce material for stories, which the producers can use to acquire new funds.

The studio has developed an alternative to destructive forms of measuring value as money on the one hand, and destructive forms of classical informal organisation on the other hand. Funders can be sure that stories are not "only stories". The effective social machine of the studio, which is partially based on its own value constellation, continuously produces good work. Inside and the outside of the studio, as well as the two-folded organisational structure between employees and residents are working together in a form of articulating value, which has become a means to an end for more effective forms of creating value. This in itself is an achievement of extraordinary value.

Even though beyond the scope of this project, there is a good case to make that a similar triangle structure is not only working inside the studio itself and between studio and funders, but also in its larger environment. So let's end this section with a short thought experiment. What if we include the funding body and the audiences and user of the projects into the model? We can now see a new, larger triangle that incorporates the first one. Once more, Funding bodies give resources to the studio, and audiences and the studio's residents produce together stories of good and successful usage of the studio's products, which then in turns helps the funding body to legitimise its existence. If we climb even one level higher, we can see that there might be a third value triangle at play: The funding body has now produced an internal effective cultural value constellations, which interacts with other forms of state funded interventions such as infrastructure or social welfare, producing collaborative stories that are given back to the state, who has provided the funding bodies with funds. The state, in turns, is now in possession of stories, which it can tell its own citizens, achieving legitimacy. This thought experiment might stretch the model. If nothing else, it might demonstrate that the model for the value constellation in the Pervasive Media Studio can be used to ask, whether similar forms of value constellations are at play, in other organisations, or on a much larger scale.

10.0 EVALUATION

The final event of this research process was the presentation of our interim findings at a workshop on May 14th 2012. A total of eighteen people attended the workshop including three of the research team members: Professor Jon Dovey, Bill Sharpe and Jeanette Monaco. Participants broke down as

Watershed (iShed) staff: **3,**
Arts and Cultural Organisations3 :   Arnolfini , Battersea Arts Centre and National Theatre Wales
Academics: **8**;

Other - *Consultant*: 1 (International Futures Forum)

The day took the form of two presentations (Sharpe and Dovey) with small group discussions and plenary feedback sessions. The small group sessions were built round each of three cultural organisations in order to explore with them how much of the framework developed above could be applied in practice. They were presented with some of the essential framework concepts abstracted from **7.1** above and a summary of the concept of the Gifting Triangle in **7.2** above. Evaluation was mixed but promising in the evidence it provided for future research in key areas.

Overall impressions scored by questionnaire were very positive. Eleven questionnaires were completed, all by the participants who were new to the research area. ***Question 1: Did you develop any new perspectives on the process of cultural value production as a result of your workshop today? (please tick) 100%*** 'Yes' box.

Question 2: Do you think the workshop may contribute to changing the way you work?

Eight ticked the 'Yes' box. One respondent left the question unanswered. One

Question 3: Do you think the workshop may help you explain the way your organisation produces value more clearly?

Seven ticked the 'Yes' box. One left the question unanswered. One ticked 'No' and added, 'I don't run an organisation'. One respondent wrote, 'Maybe!' One respondent wrote, 'I'll have to think about this'.

Question 4: What was most useful to you?

Question 4 generated brief answers from all eleven respondents.

   Useful for allowing the opportunity to have dialogue with diverse participants

   Useful for networking

   Useful exposure to the experience of arts and cultural organisations

   Useful learning experience: understanding new terms, concepts, tools for analysis, relevance of research.

In recorded interviews and comments on the questionnaire a more interesting mixed picture emerged:-

   • Clear identification with the multiple economy approaches, the language of

eco-system, and values; the key themes of 'trust' and 'attention' that are noticeable in real arts and cultural organisation contexts.

- Recognition of challenge and opportunities in the navigation of multiple 'communities' and multiple values: local-geographical place/environment, wider networks, online, 'conceptual' community (arts and cultural organisation and artists).

- Strong identification with the idea of co creating value with artists and with audiences eg from Cultural Organisation Director,

> "..how we enable them (audiences) to find meaning. That has shifted very much from the old idea of a monologue to much more now a big conversation, a dialogue or if you like co creativity. So then looking in terms of values for our programme, what we'd like to envisage the space as being a space for ideas. That means its got to be open, its got to be a conversation that we can find lots of different ways into .Rather than a fortress for protecting the monologue of the art."

- Evidence of participants confident use of shared language around eco-systems and value.
- BUT anxiety about the complexity of the conceptual framework and language use in other contexts which can pose barriers to communications with diverse stakeholders. Strong sense of organisations' responsibilities to stakeholder communities.

- Strong identification with the problem of monetary value as a domimant metric. Organisations resort to defining their value in monetary terms as funding bodies reinforce this rhetoric as they are forced to respond about KPIs about how 'much' are you gaining in turnover. Makes talking about 'quality' more difficult. Organisations reported that they want to find ways to 'grow' with 'better' 'quality' where the value is in the 'process' rather than 'expand' in solely monetary value. The following quotation accurately expresses the confusing territory that the workshop asked its participants to negotiate,

> "My reading of that bit, that thread in our discussion is that you go back to the language of money because it's convenient, a ready reckonable and, you know, it makes a point. Any alternative

version of trying to describe quickly what you do is much more problematic. So it is a translation issue.

And you know, that issue of value through language to impact is a very, very difficult thing. And you will never get rid of the money element of it. Because …we live in a world where monetary value on things is not at all ubiquitous but certainly pervasive, you can't expect to be able to get away from that.

You have, the job is to develop alternative language and concepts,…. But for it then to be understandable by the person you're talking to in a way that doesn't require an hour's lecture. …And that's not an easy thing to overcome. And I think it is, it's the issue that has bedevilled discussions of this kind for many years. And I'm not sure if there is a way out if it. It may be just that it is, you know, so difficult you can't solve that problem.

To summarise the feedback there was a very strong sense that the research was asking all the right questions but that our answers had yet to find a form that could be practically used by cultural organizations without further work. This confirms our own sense of the complexity underlying this research project and underpins much of our sense of directions for future research.

11.0 CONCLUSIONS

- We should abandon any idea that 'value' is a singular concept, and that there can be any one scale against which everything can be measured.

- We should abandon the idea that there is just 'the' economy of money, and instead recognise economic thinking as too important to be left to economists.

- In most cases, measuring value is a "pharmakon" (Stiegler) for creating value – a poison and a remedy at the same time.

- Our evidence reveals a complex set of *valuing practices* in action. Practices that are driven by relational patterns. Value is created through relationships.

- Different agents within any ecoystem will experience value differently, your nutrition might be my poison.

- The Value Constellation is a way of talking about value creation achieved by co-production in a web of interactions with a focal organisation orchestrating the whole system. Here it helps us to focus on the *intentional* role of the focal organisation.

- We have developed a model to understand how the economy of contribution works at our research site. An effective model of value articulation, creation and circulation.

- Value articulation has found a form, where it does not blockade value creation, but stimulates and drives it further.

- Communicating this form in an accessible way is a major difficulty.

12.0 FUTURE RESEARCH

- Clear need to take the concepts and practices developed in this short project and flesh them out into the design of a development package that could take an organization on a journey of understanding its values, and the way they can become part of their value constellation. It would be preferable if this package could be deployed through a number of focused interventions over a period of time in order for the concepts to become embedded and active.
- Need to undertake more extended case study based research. This project focused on the internal community of practice within one creative site. The next step would be to look at a number of projects and the value creating life they had after their initial period of conception. This would yield results around the encounter of the user with the artwork as well as allowing us to conduct a longer term financial evaluation of projects that would enable us to explore the

relationship between multiple economies, impact and willingness to pay.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amin, A., Cameron, A., and Hudson, R. (2002) *Placing the Social Economy*, London: Routledge.

Anderson, E. (1993) *Value in Ethics and Economics*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Arvidsson, A. (2009) 'The ethical economy: towards a post-capitalist theory of value', *Capital and Class*, 33: 13-29.

Arvidsson, A. and Peitersen, N. (2009) *The Ethical Economy*, available online, http://www.ethicaleconomy.com/info/book, date accessed 1 March 2010.

Bakhshi, H. and Throsby, D. (2010) 'Culture of Innovation: An economic analysis of innovation in arts and cultural organisations' London: NESTA

Bakhshi, H. (2011) 'Take a leaf from the greens', *The Stage Newsblog*, 22.7.2011, Available at: http://blogs.thestage.co.uk/newsblog/2011/07/take-a-leaf-from-the-greens/. Accessed on 2.9.2012.

Bakhshi, H. and Throsby, D. (2012) 'New Technologies in cultural institutions: theory, evidence and policy implications', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 18 (2) 205-222.

Banks, M. (2007) *The Politics of Cultural Work*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Banks, M. (2006) 'Moral Economy and Cultural Work', *Sociology*, 40 (3) 455-472.

Booth, W. (1994) 'On the idea of the moral economy', *The American Political Science Review*, 88(3) 653-667.

Bourdieu, P. (2005) *The Social Structures of the Economy*, Cambridge: Polity.

Burgess J. (2010) Remediating vernacular creativity: photography and cultural citizenship in the Flickr photo-sharing network. In Edensor T., Leslie D., Millington S. and Rantisi N. M. Spaces of vernacular creativity. Rethinking the cultural economy. New York: Routledge.

Collins, R. (2004) *Interaction Ritual Chains*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Espeland, W.N., Stevens, M.L. (1998) 'Commensuration as a social process', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 313-343.

Espeland, W.N., Stevens, M.L. (2008) 'A Sociology of Quantification', *European Journal of Sociology*, 49 (3) 401-436.

Gibson-Graham, J.K. (2006) *A Postcapitalist Politics*, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Ginsburgh, V.A. and Throsby, D. (eds) (2006) *Handbook of The Economics of Art and Culture*, Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Goldhaber, Michael. (1997), 'The Attention Economy and the Net', *First Monday*

http://firstmonday.org/htbin/cgiwrap/bin/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/519/440,

accessed 5 May 2010

Gregson, N., Simonsen, K., and Vaiou (2001) 'Whose Economy for Whose Culture? Moving Beyond Oppositional Talk in European Debate about Economy and Culture', *Atipode*, 33 (4), pp. 616-646.

Hartley, J. (ed) (2005) *Creative Industries*, Oxford, Blackwell.

Hesmondhalgh, D. and Baker, S. (2011) *Creative Labour: media work in three cultural industries,* London: Routledge.

Hesmondhalgh, D. (2007), *The Cultural Industries* (2nd ed.), London: Sage.

Holden, J. (2004) 'Capturing cultural value: how culture has become a tool of government policy'. London: Demos.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (2000) *Museums and the interpretation of visual culture*, London: Routledge.

Hutter, M. and Throsby, D. (2008) *Beyond price: value in culture, economics, and the arts*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Jenkins, H. (2006) 'Interactive Audiences? The "Collective Intelligence" of Media Fans', in *Fans, Bloggers and Gamers: Exploring Participatory Culture*, New York: NYU Press. 134-151.

Jenkins, T. (2011) 'Culture: It's not the economy, stupid!' *Spiked*, 13.7.2011, Available at: http://www.spiked-online.com/index.php/site/article/10676. Accessed on 2.9.2011.

Leadbetter, C (2008) *We Think* Profile Books London

Keat, R. (2000) *Cultural Goods and the Limits of the Market*, London: Macmillan.

(Linebaugh XXX),

MacIntyre, A. (1981) *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, London: Duckworth.

Mauss M 1925 trans Gunnison I 1967 *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* Norton & Co NY

Normann, R. and R. Ramirez *From Value Chain to Value Constellation: Designing Interactive Strategy*. HARVARD BUSINESS REVIEW **71**: 65-65, 1993.

O'Brien, D. (2010) 'Measuring the value of culture: a report to the Department for Culture, Media and Sport', London: DCMS.

O'Brien, D. (2011) 'It isn't philistine to judge art economically' *Spiked*, 5.7.2012, Available at: http://www.spiked-online.com/index.php/site/article/10846/. Accessed on 2.9.2011.

(Polanyi XXX).

Pratt, A. and Jeffcutt, P. (eds) (2009) *Creativity, Innovation and the Cultural Economy*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Ramirez, R. *Value co-production: intellectual origins and implications for practice and research.* Strategic Management Journal **20**(1): 49-65, 1999.

Michael Sandel' (2012) *What Money Can't Buy:the Moral Limits of the Market* (Farrar, Strauss & Girouxm NY)

Sayer, A. (2011) *Why Things Matter to People: Social Science, Values and Ethical Life,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sayer, A. (2007) 'Moral Economy as critique', *New Political Economy*, 12 (2) 261-70.

Sayer, A. (2004) 'Moral Economy', Department of Sociology, Lancaster University. www.lancs.ac.uk/fass/sociology/papers/sayer-moral-economy.pdf, date accessed 12 September 2010.

Sayer, A. (2003/1999) 'Valuing Culture and Economy', Department of Sociology, Lancaster University. http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Sayer-Valuing-Culture-and-Economy.pdf , date accessed 11 December 2011.

Sayer, A. (1997) 'The dialectic of culture and economy', in Lee, R., Wills, J (eds) *Geographies of economies*, London: Arnold.

Sennett, R. (2009) *The Craftsman* (London and New York: Penguin Books).

Sharpe, B. (2010) *Economies of Life: Patterns of Health and Wealth*, International Futures Forum (download), www.internationalfuturesforum.com

Sharpe, B. (2010) Producing the Future: understanding Watershed's role in ecosystems of cultural innovation http://www.internationalfuturesforum.com/publications (Under Enterprise) accessed 6.06.12

Shirky, C. (2010) *Cognitive Surplus: Creativity and Generosity in a Connected Age*, Penguin Press.

Stengers, I. and Zournazi, M. (2003) 'A "Cosmo-Politics" – Risk, Hope, Change', in M. Zournazi (ed) *Hope: New Philosophies for Change* (New York: Routledge).

Stiegler, B. For a New Critique of Political Economy, Polity 2010

Stewart K, 2011, "Atmospheric attunements" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* **29**(3) 445 – 453

Tapscott Don & Williams Anthony (2006) *Wikinomics: How Mass Collaboration Changed Everything* Penguin Books

Van der Borgh, Cloodt M & Romme A Georges L (2012) Value Creation by knowledge based ecosystems: evidence from a field study in *R&D Management* **42**, 2 150 – 169 Blackwell Oxford.

Wakeford, N. (2011) 'Replacing the network society with social foam: a revolution for corporate ethnography?' (Paper delivered at EPIC2011).

Wittel, A. (2001) 'Toward a Network Sociality', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 18(6), pp. 51-76.