

## The Manhattan Phenomenon

Paper presented at *Connecting: A Conference on the Multivocality of Design History and Design Studies. The 5th Conference of the International Committee of Design History and Studies ICDHS*. August 23–25, University of Art and Design Helsinki and the Estonian Academy of Arts. For final paper, please go to:  
<http://tm.uiah.fi/connecting/index.html>

Ilpo Koskinen  
Prof., Dr.  
School of Design, Industrial design  
University of Art and Design Helsinki  
Hämeentie 135 C  
00560 Helsinki, Finland  
[ikoskine@uiah.fi](mailto:ikoskine@uiah.fi)

Timo Cantell  
Prof., Dr.  
Arts management  
Sibelius Academy  
Kuopionlahdenkatu 23 C  
70100 Kuopio  
[timo.cantell@siba.fi](mailto:timo.cantell@siba.fi)

## Abstract

In *The Cultures of Cities*, the sociologist Sharon Zukin has outlined some of the reasons for why symbolic economy, defined as cultural institutions, images of place, and traditional philanthropy, has grown in importance in recent years. In brief, her analysis links the growth of symbolic economy partly to the decline of industrial work, and partly to the suburbanization that has made American cities visually far more uniform than what traditional downtowns were. The recent renaissance of downtowns, well exemplified by several areas in Manhattan, is not just an industrial, but also aesthetic and lifestyle statement, if Zukin's analysis is right. This paper coins the term "the Manhattan Phenomenon" to the concentration of both the supply and demand of the higher end of the symbolic economy into the same areas that come to acquire a specific, cultured look and feel. We demonstrate that the Manhattan Phenomenon is at work in Helsinki, Finland, with a population of about 1/15 that of the Metropolitan area of New York. The paper studies how this geographic pattern results from government and city action, business decisions by entrepreneurs, and also the decisions by independent artists, designers and other cultural workers; the consuming public's behavior. The conclusions discuss the implications of the Manhattan effect. What does it mean for symbolic economy? Does it make culture a self-referential activity?

## The Manhattan Phenomenon

In *The Cultures of Cities*, the sociologist Sharon Zukin has outlined some of the reasons why symbolic economy, defined as cultural institutions, images of place, and traditional philanthropy, has grown in importance in recent years.<sup>1</sup> Her analysis links the growth of symbolic economy partly to the decline of industrial work, and to the suburbanization that has characterized the American cities since late 1950s. As industrial jobs have disappeared due to increased automation and globalization, all developed economies have witnessed a significant increase in services and managerial jobs, and also in what can loosely be called the culture industries, including art and design.

Suburbanization has created an increasingly bland visual and experiential environment. While old downtowns were amalgams of a variety of lifestyles by people from all walks of life, suburbs came to represent standardization of lifestyles into essentially middle-class family, ethnic, commuting and consumption formats.<sup>2</sup> The recent renaissance of downtowns, well exemplified by the Harborplace in Baltimore and the Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco, is not just an industrial, but also aesthetic and lifestyle statement, if Zukin's analysis is right.

Zukin bases her analysis on New York City, which has undergone a significant change under the most recent two decades. Take the example of Lower East Side, which was dominated by images of street crime, drug economy, low-wage jobs, immigrant populations and unemployment just twenty years ago. Today this area is home to some of the most fashionable neighborhoods in New York. Much like Soho in the 1960s and 1970s, the image of Lower East Side changed rapidly with lofts, designer shops, off-

Broadway performance arts, and fashion. Of course, this development has been uneven within Lower East Side, which still has areas of disrepute. However, it also is home to re-branded and renamed areas such as the Nolita (North of Little Italy) district, which is flocked by trendy upcoming designer shops, and East Village, named after the coveted Greenwich Village.<sup>3</sup>

Although a great many of New York's symbolic industries are linked to tourism industry, this is not always the case. In fact, a good deal of the economy is based on local demand, based on decisions made by people who live, work and consume in New York City, and even more specifically, Manhattan. In particular, when we are speaking about more esoteric forms of culture — modern music, contemporary dance, performance art — rather than the public magnets of Broadway, the more likely it is that the audience lives in Manhattan. It is the demand from local population, living largely within walking distance that provides the bread for artists out of the neon lights of the Great White Way.

This paper coins the term "the Manhattan Phenomenon" to the concentration of both the supply and demand of the higher end of the symbolic economy into the same areas that, in consequence, come to acquire a specific, cultured look and feel. The aim of this paper is not to study New York, or similar world cities, but to show that similar phenomena characterized much smaller cities just as well. We demonstrate that the Manhattan Phenomenon is at work in Helsinki, Finland, with a population of about 1/15 that of the Metropolitan area of New York. The analysis highlights several types of processes ranging from public policy to consumer opinion that in our opinion explains the Manhattan Phenomenon.

## ***Small Mannhattans***

Much like New York City, Helsinki has a compact, fairly small city center, demarcated by sea on three sides. If New York is the cultural capital of the United States, and Manhattan the hub of activity, Helsinki and its Southern part has a similar role in Finland. For instance, most design shops, practically all antique shops, and most independent theater groups in the country are based in Helsinki. Further, within the metropolitan area, most activity concentrates to South Helsinki.

This concentration of cultural activity is all the more remarkable, given the way in which the metropolitan area of Helsinki has grown over the post-war period. While in early 1950s, about 1/3 of the city's population lived in the city core — defined as areas in which people live in densely populated neighborhoods in apartments — only about 10% of the population lives in that area today. The reasons for the change can roughly be classified in two main categories. First, the city region has grown substantially during the last 50 years. From about 450.000 inhabitants in 1950, the region has grown to the present figure of roughly 1.3 million. Practically all this growth has taken place in suburban Helsinki rather than in the old city core. Secondly, the core has been through some depopulation until early millennium, after which it has again gained some population. Just like in other industrialized countries, people with children have been moving away from the city core into greener pastures in the suburbs.

The results of these trends have come to be felt in many ways in the city. Jobs have been moving with population; most of the menial work, as well as basic office work, has been moving to the suburbs. In contrast to what has happened in the United

States, though, the pattern in Helsinki has been more European. Largely due to active welfare policy and city planning that creates socially mixed housing areas (with a provision of different housing options like social housing, regulated and unregulated market choices), there are no poor districts in the city core. However, there are neighborhoods that have gentrified thoroughly, giving former working-class districts near to harbors an increasingly middle-class and cultured character — that, in return, is reflected in the house prices. Also, the city core has gained employment in business services and shops.<sup>4</sup>

However, this specialization goes deeper than that. From the standpoint of this paper, southern neighborhoods within the city core have come to be the epicenter of symbolic economy. South Helsinki covers 11 neighborhoods that were mostly built into their present form in the early 20th century. The main business district of the region extends over four of these neighborhoods, while close-by districts provide a base for government-sponsored arts. Neighborhoods in the fringe of the central business district collect more experimental art establishments and design shops. In contrast to New York, with its immense symbolic economy, Helsinki does not have off-off-Broadway type areas (rather, they remain individual establishments), nor fashionable areas far away from the city center. In a sense, Helsinki offers a home for culture in even more compact form than Manhattan, outside of which there is fairly little supply.

Many types of selection processes explain this fact, which is partly self-evident. The national and the local government place their central cultural establishments — like the national theatre and central concert halls — typically to central places in capitals. The largest commercial cultural establishments locate to areas with good traffic connections,

both for public and private transport, and an active restaurant life.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, smaller shops and avant-garde art tends to locate in nearby areas for reasons of lower cost. Old, semi-residential neighborhoods with small spaces to rent can house experimental dance groups and independent artists, but not ballet companies.

However, not just economic and practical reasons explain the tendency to locate to areas around the city center. Industries have a tendency to locate themselves to certain streets and neighborhoods, as in the case of the antique district in Dublin or the Design District in Helsinki.<sup>6</sup>



**Picture 1. Semiotic processes at work: antique district in Dublin and design district in Helsinki.**

As more businesses congregate into an area, they may come to give a special character to that area. When people recognize the area by that quality, they know to go

there in search for items like antiques in Francis Street, or design in some of Helsinki's southern neighborhoods. In consequence, shopkeepers in these lines of business have reasons to locate themselves to these areas. Groups that name these areas with signs like those in Picture 1 may vary from newspapers to business associations (as in the case of Dublin) or NGOs (as in the case of Helsinki' design district). Finally, as this paper will show later, just like businesses, people may also select these areas as desirable destinations for working, living, and just hanging around because of their publicly recognized qualities.<sup>7</sup> Ultimately, a good deal of demand for various forms of culture is local, especially when it comes to more sophisticated forms of culture. These processes create lively areas in and around the city center.

We argue that the sum aggregate of these processes is the Manhattan Phenomenon. In final analysis, it describes an activity pattern rather than just the concentration of business and other establishments. The main import of the concept is that it shows that a good deal of culture is self-referential within certain neighborhoods and areas. The result is a relatively dearth of certain types of culture outside these areas. In Manhattan, such cycle may contain its seeds of destruction, as the case of Soho shows. When Soho became a fashionable neighborhood in the course of the 1970s due to artists' locating there, the moneyed classes started to buy into the neighborhood, ultimately driving all but the most successful artists and galleries out.<sup>8</sup> In a place like Helsinki, neighborhood creation and destruction alike are of course far slower, but still in existence. For example, at present, Helsinki has three main antique districts. However, over the last two decades, the center of antique trade has been constantly moving between these three key districts.



## ***South Helsinki and the Manhattan Phenomenon***

A good deal of supply of culture in Helsinki concentrates into the relatively small the city center, which covers about 6km<sup>2</sup> out of the city's land area of over 300 km<sup>2</sup>. At least three kinds of processes explain this pattern; government and city policy, market actors' decisions, and ideologies at work in the art world.

First, Helsinki not just being the center of the largest metropolitan area in the country, but also the capital, gathers a great deal of key national cultural institutions — including art museums, central opera halls, and the biggest and most powerful theatres — as well as most important administration and funding bodies. Both the City of Helsinki and the national government tend to place these institutions into the central areas. In particular, the area around the Töölö Bay, which is located in the middle of the town is home to the National Theatre, Opera House, Finlandia Hall, the Museum of Modern Art, National Museum, and the Music Hall that is currently being built. The City of Helsinki has placed its main theatre and one of its museums into the same area, making the bay waterfront an unparalleled concentration of the key (high) cultural institutions of the country. Several other key city and national institutions, such as the Design museum and the Museum of Architecture, are placed in adjacent neighborhoods in South Helsinki. However, these neighborhood are not "imprinted" by these marbled institutions in the same way as the Töölö Bay.

Alternatively, they are placed in old industrial and other run-down neighborhoods in an effort to enliven these areas. The Cable Factory ( Kaapelitehdas) is the prime example of such effort in the western part of the city center, and the Arabia

neighborhood, built around a former ceramic factory, in the eastern part. The latter neighborhood is home to several schools that train students for various positions in the cultural sector. Helsinki's suburbs are similarly creating arenas for cultural activities that will dislocate cultural activities to some extent in the future even if Espoo, the largest and the wealthiest suburb west from Helsinki, has built two major cultural institutions to rival Helsinki's supply. In the neighborhood of Tapiola, a well-known example of garden city ideology in the 1960s, there is a major museum of modern art, and the neighborhood of Leppävaara (Alberga) has a major concert hall within a shopping center. In the Northern suburb of Vantaa, a concentration of museums is built around the National Science Museum in the main urban center of Tikkurila. In addition, the City of Helsinki runs two art museums outside the central city both having been established around the estates of wealthy businessmen and art collectors. Still, even with these exceptions, the heaviest concentration of high culture is in the city center of Helsinki, and in particular in the Töölö Bay area.

However, this is not the whole story. Depending on what kind of symbolic business one focuses, there has been significant growth in supply over the last four decades. For example, the number of art galleries in Helsinki has almost six-folded in that time, and the number of antique shops has grown even more. In more industrial areas of culture, the number of kitchen decoration shops, high-end furniture shops, and bathroom decoration shops has increased even more. More recently, business has grown to an extent that the term "semiotic neighborhoods" has been denoted to describe some neighborhoods.<sup>9</sup> These neighborhoods are business-intensive, but still well over 10% of all business in these areas belong to the symbolic economy. In Helsinki, the former

central-city working-class neighborhood of Punavuori in particular is characterized by art, antique and design shops.

The explanation for this geography of culture combines economics, geographic and symbolic barriers, and class barriers. Obviously, rents are lower in semi-residential neighborhoods than in the CBD. In these neighborhoods, there is a significant number of pedestrians and inhabitants to maintain demand for a variety of businesses. Former working-class districts, also, have an additional benefit. They have a large supply of small business premises and small homes that attract artists and young people. In terms of geography, other candidate neighborhoods are either isolated by water, or by university and a government districts. Furthermore, old class divisions also play their part.

Punavuori is a traditional working-class district, and although it has gentrified thoroughly since the end of the 1960s, wealthiest apartment owners in other parts of South Helsinki have less need for small businesses to share the costs of living by earning rental income from small businesses at their premises. Punavuori, however, has had artists and small businesses all along, unlike other working-class districts around the CBD. With practically no tradition in art and design shows, the Kallio-Harju neighborhood immediately towards the north of the city center, which collects a young, trendy population, still continues to attract thrift shops and cheap bars rather than Italian and Danish furniture shops. A variety of shopping maps and other semiotic devices establish different reputations for these neighborhoods (see "Design District" Helsinki in Picture 1, which denotes an area which is mostly located in Punavuori).<sup>10</sup>

## ***The Geography of Demand***

It is not only producers and shopkeepers who create small Mannhattans. People show their cultural sensitivities in more subtle ways too. If analysis so far suggests that as most cultural amenities of the city region are located in the city core, and to South Helsinki in particular, this area also attracts certain kinds of residents, prone to consume culture. Following Bourdieu,<sup>11</sup> we can expect that an area that attracts cultural production also attracts people who define culture as the main element of their *habitus* while people who eschew from symbolic economy search for other types of amenities like green pastures and large apartments. This is certainly the case among the more established set of traditionally well-off people in Paris. As Michel Pinçon and Monique Pinçon-Charlot have shown, people whose choice of residential area is not determined by financial restrictions tend to congregate to certain areas primarily in West Paris and in Neuilly. As they note, the congregation of, say, the French financial elite to Paris's 16th *arrondissement* and the French academic elite to the city's 5th and 6th *arrondissements* results from social choices. These two *arrondissements* that, with their ample selection of cultural facilities, bookshops, and literary cafes, provide a far better match to the latter group's *habitus* than the posh 16th district, or Neuilly.<sup>12</sup>

Similar analysis of the Helsinki region does not exist, but a few indications point out similar social forces are at work in this town region too, although in less obvious fashion than in Paris. People who situate cultural activities into the core of their *habitus* tend to live on certain central city areas. Based on the information at various cultural events, a mapping exercise of cultural audiences in Helsinki show that a great deal of the

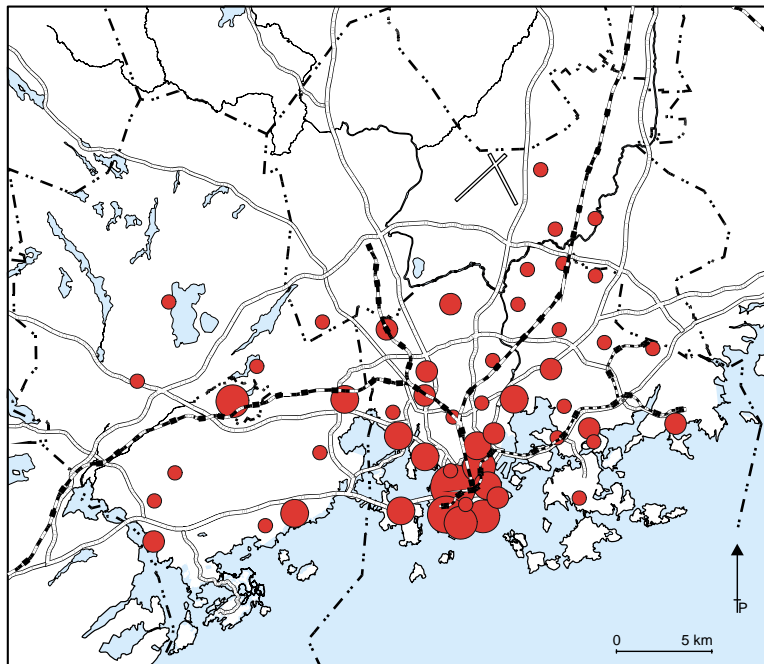
participants live in a rather small area. Audience studies consistently provide and reaffirm the information that the place of residence of these visitors, data based on zip codes given by the respondents, mostly concentrates at the Helsinki city centre, i.e., at the very heart of the city.

The city centre of Helsinki, the area roughly within a five kilometre range drawn from Töölö Bay area — the centre of many cultural institutions — mainly consisting of blocks of flat houses within a grid urban system, and well serviced by public transportation system, has some 160.000 residents. This figure represents 12,3 per cent of the Helsinki region's population, 28,5 per cent of the City of Helsinki's population or 3,1 per cent of all the Finns. Indeed, 160.000 people would make the sixth largest city in the country. This population deserves further scrutiny as it shows unique consumption patterns in terms of participation in cultural events both within the CBD in Helsinki and a number of festivals throughout the country.

Audience research carried out in Helsinki cultural events show that the city centre population is grossly over-represented in any event, be they high art or popular culture in nature. Further, the data gathered over a number of years also shows that Punavuori and Kallio area, much discussed in this article, have increased their relative share in the cultural event audiences. We believe that people living in these quarters of the city demonstrate particular cultural sensibilities that is reflected not only in their selected place of residence but also in their leisure, pleasure and consumption patterns that best find their expression in the cultural offering the city centre and its certain zones provide.

For example, an audience study of one of the main annual festivals of the area, Helsinki Festival, a large annual cultural event, with selection ranging from rock music to

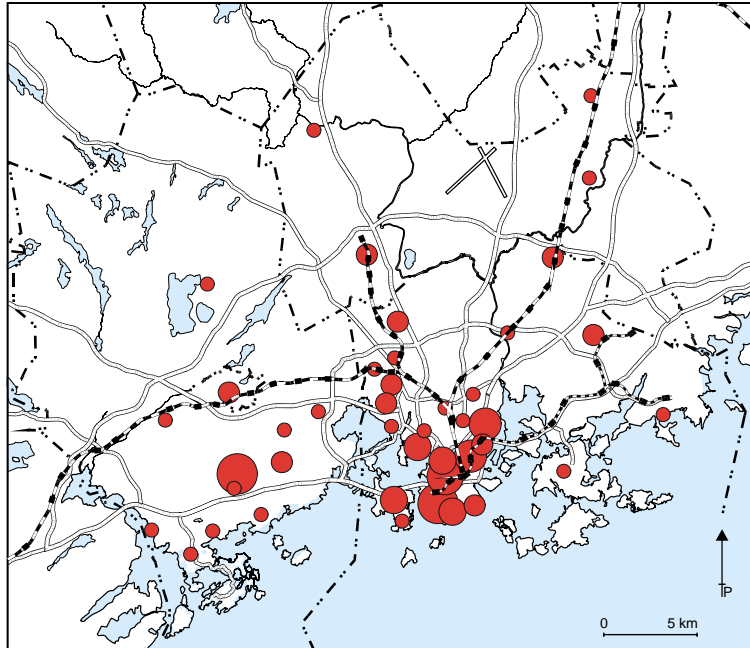
ballet and experimental theatre. A breakdown of data from some of its extremes shows just how intensely people who consumer culture concentrate to the traditional city core of Helsinki. In 2002, Kunsthalle Helsinki, the city's main house for art, arranged the exhibition *So What* by Maaria Wirkkala. This exhibition mostly consisted of abstract, even conceptual installations that questioned space and various everyday objects like popcorn machines. In *So What*, the audience was largely Helsinki-based despite large national publicity (Picture 2). There are only two exceptions to this pattern. First, a handful of visitors came from districts along the main railway line towards the north. Secondly, there are three significant concentrations of guests in neighborhoods outside the Helsinki proper, all three being in the largest and wealthiest concentrations of residents in the upscale suburb of Espoo.



**Picture 2.** The audience of the painter Maaria Wirkkala's *So What* exhibition in Kusthalle Helsinki, 2002

Another public event in Helsinki festival is the Night of the Arts. As the name suggests, this event consists of hundreds of art installations and performances that unfold over one evening and night in August. Most activities in 2002 concentrated to the city center. However, the Night of the Arts is specifically designed to lower the threshold of audiences to art, and it is advertised widely for the same purpose. It also gets lots of media coverage, and had become institutionalized over its 15-year existence by 2002. In this the spirit of openness, work shown during the night varies from classic opera arias to amateur performances. Still, the audience mostly comes from the city core, as Picture 3 shows. Again, a small part of the audience is gathered from the vicinity of the main railway line to the north. Also, there is a concentration of a large number of guests in one of Espoo's south-central neighborhoods (ball on the left), which is explained by a small data collection coincidence where many persons from this particular area happened to be included in the survey.

Of course, our data is suggestive rather than conclusive. Based on what we have, it is impossible to know exactly what is the role of symbolic economy in explaining how people select where they live. It obviously plays a role in some decisions, but even then, other more obvious facts are involved. Still, as Pinçon and Pinçon have well formulated, decisions about where certain kinds of people choose to live are not solely — or even primarily — explained by economic and practical reasons. Lifestyle and class issues play a role in particular for those people whose decisions are not bound by financial concerns.<sup>13</sup> Much like in Paris, Helsinki has neighborhoods in which people who consume culture choose to live. Mostly, these consumers are students and academically trained women firmly rooted in the middle-classes.



**Picture 3.** The audience of the Night of the Arts event in August, 2002

Tony Bennett, Michael Emmison and John Frow provide data inspired by Bourdieu from Australia and argue that the nature of cultural consumption can be analysed in terms of public and private relations of distinction.<sup>14</sup> They talk about four kinds of activities that they call subsidised culture (participation in public musical performances, orchestral concerts, ballet, opera, etc.), public culture (visits to arts galleries, museums, libraries, etc.), private culture (ownership of sculpture, art posters, art books, etc.) and public broadcasting (watching public service television stations). Their data suggest that private culture represents the most distinguished hierarchy of selectiveness, followed by public and subsidised culture. That is, ownership of art objects, in our terminology consumption of objects of symbolic economy, distinguishes the population the most where particularly education and social class makes a difference. What is interesting from our point of view is the fact that also place of residence plays



significant role meaning that the inner city population is prone to exhibit selective and distinguished consumption and participation practises as against those living in suburban or provincial city districts. This, we believe, provides further evidence to support our claim that geography of demand in Helsinki follows tendencies of the Manhattan phenomenon.

### ***Consumption and Images of the City***

Some of the best consumers of symbolic economy are people who manufacture its products. As Koskinen has shown, not just advertising industries and book publishers, but also traditional design disciplines such as architects, industrial designers, and interior decorators prefer to set up their offices in South Helsinki. Even newer forms of symbolic business tend to make South Helsinki their place of choice. For instance, new media consultancies, as well as video and sound production companies find their premises in a relatively small area around the CBD.<sup>15</sup> Even people who may not live in these areas still end up spending lots of their active time in these neighborhoods because of work. The reasons for locating to this part of the city, of course, are partly similar to companies in the distribution of symbols: what we are dealing with is a combination of economic and cultural reasons.

That there is something special in these neighborhoods is also reflected in individual rather than institutional choices. Recently, the sociologist Liisa Knuuti asked two kinds of people to draw "treasure maps" of Helsinki. In her study, she compared the restaurant and café maps of what she called "knowledge professionals" to those of "skill

professionals." The former group consisted of people with a university degree in the natural sciences or in engineering. The latter group consisted of people with a degree in design. The difference of their treasure maps is illustrative. While the knowledge professionals' map covers the CBD, and had only few outliers outside it, the treasure map of sill professionals was far more extensive, covering not only the CBD, but also practically all adjacent neighborhoods.<sup>16</sup> In terms of residential choices, there is similar preference at work, but only weakly. In both groups, more wealthy professionals preferred to live next to major parks and the seaboard. Accordingly, few professionals tend to live in the densely populated central areas made of stone and concrete.<sup>17</sup> However, there is a difference in preferences, and this difference corresponds to the habitus of the two groups in the knowledge-skill professionals study.

Finally, both popular imagination and fiction place hugely different stories to these areas. When we look at recent popular novels that take place in the Helsinki region, there is a clear difference between suburban stories telling about middle-class lives, as in Kari Hotakainen's novel *Juoksuhaudantie*, and between stories that are situated to the inner city. that tend to describe lives of idle youth. These stories, on the other hand, build characters that crystallize popular imagination very differently depending on the place. Thus, a novel called *Pussikaljaromaani* by Mikko Rimminen studies the lives of three idle, beer-drinking men in their late twenties in the former working-class districts of Kallio and Harju in a sympathetic tone. Another recent novel, *Helsinki 12*, by Tuomas Vimma, is situated in another former working-class district of Punavuori. *Helsinki 12*, which refers to the zip code of the area, is a murder and sex fantasy of a young, narcissistic man working in the new media sector. Foremost, this is a novel of

conspicuous consumption providing endless lists of most desirable designer brands and object to aspire in clothing, lifestyle and dining, things that can only be bought and consumed in this particular zip code of the city. While it would be possible to situate *Pussikaljaromaani* to *Helsinki 12*'s neighborhood – people loiter even in better neighborhoods — the reverse would not be possible, given the nature of business population in the neighborhoods in which the stories take place.

## ***Conclusions***

The starting point of this article was Sharon Zukin's observation of the geographic concentration of symbolic economy in Manhattan. This small island has an astonishing concentration of art galleries, design, antiques, and fashion shops, museums, media companies, and new media companies, as well as practically any imaginable kind of symbolic economy. This concentration has generated a complex geography within Manhattan, ranging from international luxury boutiques that dominate the most expensive shopping streets in Midtown and SoHo, to smaller, experimental and (possibly) upcoming artists and designers in cheaper, more out-of-reach places in Lower East Side and Chelsea.

In this paper, we have shown that something similar is taking place in Helsinki, which is about fifteen times smaller than New York. Corrected for size, the concentration of art, design, more sophisticated forms of popular culture to South Helsinki is every bit as astonishing as the concentration of the at world to Manhattan and a few neighborhoods of Brooklyn. In Helsinki, the place to get Acme cartoons instead of Disney, or Fritz Lang

movies instead of Hollywood blockbusters is South Helsinki. As this paper has shown, in geographic terms, production and consumption of symbols concentrates in a small area in Helsinki. This is also reflected in audience choices: people who follow culture tend to live in areas in which culture is produced. In this regard, South Helsinki is much like in Manhattan. As such, there is nothing specific in Helsinki — or Manhattan, for that matter. Similar concentration of culture is a fact in Copenhagen, Toronto, and Amsterdam. This is why we coined the term "The Manhattan Phenomenon": it captures a social fact that has many interesting implications for cultural life more generally.

If one wants to have an explanation for the Manhattan Phenomenon, one encounters a complex set of partly interlinked historical processes. In Helsinki, this structure results from several processes that have their roots in various historical eras and phases of economy. These processes include decisions by the city and the state, entrepreneurial actions, inhabitants' decisions, consumers' choices, and semiotic processes. All these play their part in creating this geography. Although it is a safe guess that in every city, the Manhattan phenomenon has to be explained by unique factors — for instance, by the Olympics and resistance to Franco's dictatorship in Barcelona — there are similarities as well, mostly due to economics and cultural processes.<sup>18</sup> While the CBD gathers fashion shops and international brands, smaller brands and avantgarde locates to cheaper neighborhoods close by, setting in motion a reputation cycle in which areas that get an artistic and hip reputation attract artists and hip businesses. Thus, although symbolic business has grown since the 1960s in most metropolitan areas of the world, this growth has tended to benefit small areas only. These areas, however, have

become the hotbed of symbolic activity. Many types of processes co-exist and overlap in these areas.

Of course, there are many types of confounding things in the process, including the location of entertainment districts (esp. bars and restaurants) that develop around the largest cultural establishments like opera houses and concert halls. Also, it is difficult to distinguish design from brand products that are ubiquitous and thus difficult to analyze in terms of place. Brand products concentrate in city center, but are also found from more upscale shopping malls typical to better-off neighborhoods and suburbs. Perhaps due to these confounding things, popular reputations of place easily become fuzzy and, in consequence, are unreliable guides to research.

What comes to the consequences of the Manhattan phenomenon, we feel that they can take both positive and negative forms. From the positive side, one can mention quick cultural exchanges between various layers of symbolic economy. For example, designers see what takes place in the art world, and advertising agencies can peek into avantgarde fashion, which cross-breeds symbolic imagination. Culture is something that evolves and develops in big cities, and the Manhattan phenomenon may well be one of the factors that explains this feature. In addition, the concentration of symbolic economy secures job markets for people in the cultural sector, which is notorious for its short-term employment and back-and-forth hopping between projects. Bigger job markets bring security in this business.<sup>19</sup> Finally, with size comes diversity and originality that arouses international interest and guarantees a cosmopolitan touch.

On the negative side, one can mention an uneven distribution of symbolic economy, which benefits only a few people on constant basis. While people who work

and live in Small Mannhattans explore symbolic economy simply by being there, the rest of the metropolitan area — not to mention rural areas — can enjoy its fruits only through "mediatized" versions. Similarly, elitism looms behind the corner. Much like jazz musicians in Howard S. Becker's classic description, those who have access to ore sophisticated forms of symbolic economy and gossip behind it may come to treat those with less access to it as "squares" who can be ignored and ridiculed in terms of taste.<sup>20</sup> Being cosmopolitan may also become a form of parochialism — much as in Manhattan art world, with its tendency to regard the rest of the world with disdain.

### ***Appendix: Note on Data***

This essay builds on several sources. What comes to producers and distribution, they have been described in Koskinen.<sup>21</sup> The audience studies have been described in Cantell, the Helsinki festival audience study used in this paper is from yet unpublished series of surveys on the visitors of this festival.<sup>22</sup>

### ***References***

<sup>1</sup> Sharon Zukin, *The Cultures of Cities* (Malden, MA: Blackwell 1999), pp. 3–8

<sup>2</sup> Michael Johns, *Moment of Grace. The American City in the 1950s* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 2003).

---

<sup>3</sup> Sharon Zukin, *Loft Living. Culture and Capital in Urban Change* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989).

<sup>4</sup> See Seppo Laakso, *Yritystoiminnan alueellinen erikoistuminen pääkaupunkiseudulla* (Helsingin seudun suunnat 1/2002, Helsinki: Tietokeskus, 2001). [The Spatial Differentiation of Business Activity in the Capital Region, in Finnish].

<sup>5</sup> Zukin, *op. cit.* (1995).

<sup>6</sup> Ilpo Koskinen, "Semiotic Neighborhoods," *Design Issues* 21, Issue 2 (2005): 13–27.

<sup>7</sup> See Liisa Knuuti, "Kaupungin aarreaitta." In *Rauhaa ja karnevaaleja. Tieto- ja taitoammattilaisten asumistavoitteet Helsingin seudulla*. Edited by Mervi Ilmonen et al. (Yhdyskuntasuunnittelun tutkimus- ja koulutuskeskuksen julkaisuja B 78. Espoo: Teknillinen korkeakoulu, 2000).

<sup>8</sup> Zukin, *op cit.* (1989)

<sup>9</sup> Koskinen, *ibid.*; Ilpo Koskinen, *Tuleeko keskustasta kauppakeskus? Semiootinen kauppa pääkaupunkiseudulla*. (Helsinki: Kuluttajatutkimuskeskus, 2004). [Will the CBD become a shopping center?, in Finnish]. Available at [www.nrcr.fi](http://www.nrcr.fi).

<sup>10</sup> For these devices, see Bruno Latour, "Drawing Things Together." In *Representation in Scientific Practice*. Edited by Michael Lynch and Steve Woolgar (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press 1991).

<sup>11</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1986).

<sup>12</sup> Michel Pinçon and Minique Pinçon–Charlot, *Dans les beaux quartiers* (Paris: Seuil 1989)

---

<sup>13</sup> Pinçon and Pinçon, *op. cit.*; Michel Pinçon and Monique Pinçon–Charlot, *Paris mosaïque* (Paris: Calmann–Lévy, 2001).

<sup>14</sup> Tony Bennett, Michael Emmison and John Frow, *Accounting for Tastes. Australian Everyday Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

<sup>15</sup> Ilpo Koskinen, "Kulttuurikorttelit," *Yhteiskuntasuunnittelu* 39 (2001), 9–28.  
[Culture Blocks, in Finnish].

<sup>16</sup> Knuuti, *op. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> Jukka Hirvonen, "Neljän ammattiryhmän asumisen sijoittuminen Helsingin seudulla." In *Rauhaa ja karnevaaleja. Tieto- ja taitoammattilaisten asumistavoitteet Helsingin seudulla*. Edited by Mervi Ilmonen et al. (Yhdyskuntasuunnittelun tutkimus- ja koulutuskeskuksen julkaisuja B 78. Espoo: Teknillinen korkeakoulu, 2000); Heli Korhonen, "Asunnosta toiveiden kodiksi." In *Rauhaa ja karnevaaleja. Tieto- ja taitoammattilaisten asumistavoitteet Helsingin seudulla*. Edited by Mervi Ilmonen et al. (Yhdyskuntasuunnittelun tutkimus- ja koulutuskeskuksen julkaisuja B 78. Espoo: Teknillinen korkeakoulu, 2000).

<sup>18</sup> Viviana Narodsky, "A Different and New Refinement. Design in Barcelona, 1960—1990," *Journal of Design History* 13 (2000), 337—343.

<sup>19</sup> Allen J. Scott, *The Cultural Economy of Cities* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2000).

<sup>20</sup> Howard S. Becker, "The Professional Dance Musician and His Audience," *American Journal of Sociology* 57 (1951): 136–144.

<sup>21</sup> Koskinen (2005).



---

<sup>22</sup> Timo Cantell, *Festivaalien yleisöt. Helsingin juhlaviikot, Joensuun Laulujuhlat* (Helsinki: Taiteen keskustoimikunta, tilastotietoa taiteesta, nro 19, 1998). [The Audiences of Festivals. Helsinki Festival, Song Festival in Joensuu, in Finnish].