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Author(s): Jakonen, Olli; Sokka, Sakarias

Title: Finnish cultural policy as public funding : regime view across policy domains

Year: 2022

Version: Published version

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Please cite the original version:

Jakonen, O., & Sokka, S. (2022). Finnish cultural policy as public funding : regime view across policy domains. Nordisk Kulturpolitisk Tidskrift, 25(3), 293-313. https://doi.org/10.18261/nkt.25.3.9

Nordisk Kulturpolitisk Tidsskrift

Universitetsforlaget

RESEARCH PUBLICATION

Årgang 25, nr. 3-2022, s. 293–313
ISSN online: 2000-8325
DOI: https://doi.org/nkt.25.3.9

Finnish cultural policy as public funding: Regime view across policy domains

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Abstract
Public funding is a key part of Nordic cultural policy. This article approaches the Finnish cultural policy regime from the perspective of state funding, which can be seen as a direct demonstration of public cultural policy. We perform an empirical investigation of the state funding for cultural activities using budget data from 2019 supplemented with information given by altogether 53 public officials representing Finnish ministries. Thus, we examine Finnish cultural policy as a public policy through the different governmental policy domains that support and govern artistic and cultural activities with public finances. Cultural support is investigated as a substantive policy aspect of different ministries throughout the Finnish state administration, including policy domains that often are not considered as part of "official" or "sectoral" governmental cultural policies. In this way the article overcomes the strictly sectorized perspective on public cultural policy and illuminates how the Finnish state cultural policy is constructed throughout the administration. Via an examination of public funding streams, we contemplate the central themes of interministerial governance of culture: the boundaries between the policy domains and the respective cultural responsibilities. In all, cultural policy can be regarded as a political balancing act between varying state policy domains that in fact fund and govern culture. From the funding perspective, the Finnish governmental cultural policy regime forms a complex terrain with various separate but also overlapping cultural policy domains. Furthermore, public officials are key players in matters pertaining to cultural budgets and the related information. Finally, there is still significant room for improved coordination among policy domains to implement integrated cultural policies.

Keywords
Cultural policy regime, public funding, policy domain, cultural domain, interministerial governance

Introduction
This article approaches cultural policy as a governmental activity directed towards culture (e.g., Mulcahy 2017), which leads us "to a range of country-specific sets of actions, organisations and choices as the focus of study" (Gray 2010: 223). Like the other Nordic countries,

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Finland is characterized by a quite stable, welfare-oriented Nordic-model (Mangset et al. 2008) cultural policy system with strong state involvement. Extensive funding instruments, a heavy reliance of artistic and cultural activities on public contributions, and bureaucratic structures for cultural administration are characteristic features of the system (See Sokka & Johannisson 2022).

We regard the distribution of economic resources as one of the key instruments in the construction and implementation of public cultural policy (e.g., Vestheim 2007). The realization of cultural policy often happens via the allocation of public funding, which has been described as "the most direct demonstration of cultural policy directives" (Katz-Gerro 2015:1). From this perspective, cultural policies appear as activities that governments and the state apparatus use for funding arts and culture in society at any given point in historical time (Duelund 2008). Following this, we examine how the Finnish state allocated so-called direct support[1]– subsidies and central government transfers – for culture in 2019.

Governments are not internally unified, and therefore "complexity in public policy is as much a function of the differences and tensions within government as it is a result of engaging with multiple external stakeholders" (Wyatt and Trevena 2020:11). Different policies naturally are often important for culture even when their declared goals are not primarily cultural (see UNESCO 2022: 49–50). Historically, several Finnish ministries have taken part in the decision making that affects cultural politics (e.g., Kangas 2001). Against this backdrop, we scrutinize state cultural policy as "a balancing act" between different visions of the role of culture in society within the state administration: "[T]he course of cultural policy depends on how government positions itself in relation to these strategic choices" (Matarasso and Landry 1999:9). In this article it is the public funding of culture that we regard as reflecting many of these tensions (see Katz-Gerro 2015: 2–3).

The starting point (see Jakonen, Kurlin Niiniaho, Oksanen-Särelä & Sokka 2021) for our analysis[2] was in the funding allocated for culture by the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture (from here on, abbreviation *MinEdC*). However, like Vincent Dubois (2015: 7) has stated, "although the borders of cultural policies have not been strictly defined in the past, they are probably even less so today." We thus also examine culture as a policy aspect of other policy domains (i.e., the different ministries with their agencies and expert organizations) throughout the Finnish state administration, aiming for an overall picture of how the state's cultural policy regime funds culture.

We address the following research problem:

- What kind of a cultural policy regime do the distribution of public funding for culture and the related administrative responsibilities throughout the Finnish state administration illustrate?

The problem is approached with the following research questions:

- How are the resources distributed among the different cultural domains?
- What kinds of cultural responsibilities do the different policy domains have?
- What are the key areas of interministerial cultural governance, and the sectoral responsibilities based on public funding streams?

1. Various other forms of support for the arts and culture, such as special social, fiscal and tax policy solutions, remain outside the focus of our analysis.
2. This article and its data are based on a research project on Finnish state funding for art and culture conducted at the Centre for Cultural Policy Research CUPORE.

The article is structured followingly. First, we introduce the central concepts of our article: regime, policy domain, sectoral cultural policy and interministerial governance. We present the structure of the Finnish state government in relation to this conceptual base. The position and goals of sectoral cultural policy are described. The next section deals with the research material and methodology. Here, research data sets combining quantitative and qualitative material and the classification of cultural domains are introduced. Then we move to the results of the study where the Finnish cultural policy regime is viewed by both cultural domain and policy domain. The government funding for culture is empirically illustrated in total both from the viewpoints of the cultural domains and the policy domains. Finally, based on cross-domain budget data and information gathered from public officials, the Finnish cultural policy regime is reflected as whole: from the clearly sectoral responsibilities to the themes of integrated, interministerial cultural policies. The article ends with conclusions and discussion.

Policy domains with cultural responsibilities forming the Finnish cultural policy regime

The concepts of "regime" and "policy domain" make up a starting point for our analysis of Finnish cultural policy. According to Vincent Dubois (2015; see also Mulcahy 2017: viii), cultural policy regimes built by European countries are based on national histories and varying cultural policy rationales, cultural fields, modes of funding, organizations, and governance. A cultural policy regime can be understood to cover "the purposes of state intervention in the cultural field" (Rius-Ulldemolins & Pizzi 2022: 18).[3] With *cultural policy regime*, we thus refer to *all the different culture-related administrative arrangements and responsibilities that all the ministries together have* in Finland.

Like Burstein (1991) states, numerous self-contained policy domains operate more or less autonomously with their own issues, actors, and processes (also Keast, Mandell & Brown 2006). Applying his definition of policy domain as "a component of the political system that is organized around substantive issues",[4] we use the concept of *policy domain to depict the set of responsibilities and goals that any given ministry covers*.

As Rosenstein (2021: 20) argues in her critical contemplation of the so-called cultural policy architypes, it is important to make a distinction between two specific dimensions of administration: policy instruments (such as subsidies, regulations, and other steering instruments) and bureaucratic structures (such as ministries, agencies, and art councils). The instruments do not link up with the bureaucratic structures straightforwardly. As we will show, many ministries use similar kinds of instruments, such as subsidies, to support culture – and even art – in several ways from their own point of view. In our empirical analysis of the funding, the Finnish cultural policy regime is composed of different policy domains that are upheld by a diverse set of ministerial policies. Most of the Finnish ministries are not primarily organized around support for the arts or culture, but they may still fund culture. In our analysis, we refer to *interministerial governance of culture* as *direct support to the cultural and creative sectors involving one or more ministries, not necessarily having direct, substantive responsibility for these sectors* (see UNESCO 2022: 49).

3. One could argue that the public steering and funding of culture in a specific national context is always related to the current, dominant strategies and ideologies of the state (e.g., Häyrynen 2018).
4. While this article examines culture as a target of public interventions, public policy is also affected by culture. Culture shapes both how the goals of public policy are defined, and the strategies of action employed to reach them (Burstein 1991).

Currently, there are twelve ministries with different departments and units responsible for the preparation of policies within their mandate. (**Table 1**).

TABLE 1. Finnish ministries and their mandate.

Ministry	The substantive base (cf. Burstein 1991) and the major goals of the policy domain
Prime Minister's Office	Services to the government, ownership steering by the state, inter-administrative cooperation, Finland's EU policy.
The Ministry for Foreign Affairs	Foreign and security policy, trade policy and development policy, significant foreign policy issues and international relations in general, coordination of international affairs.
Ministry of Justice	Legal order and legal protection, reinforcing the structures of democracy, safeguarding citizens' fundamental rights.
Ministry of the Interior	The police, rescue services, emergency response centre operations, border control, maritime search and rescue, and migration.
Ministry of Defence	National defence policy and national security, international cooperation in defence policy matters.
Ministry of Finance	General government finances, economic growth and public services and administration, budget and economic and fiscal policy, expertise in tax policy, preparing financial markets policy and shaping local government legislation and local government finances, public governance, and systems for managing central government finances.
Ministry of Education and Culture	The development of education, science, cultural, sport and youth policies, and international cooperation in these fields.
Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry	Domestic food production and sustainable use of renewable natural resources and the preconditions for economic activities and wellbeing derived from these.
Ministry of Transport and Communications	The provision of transport and communications services and the use of new digital services. The Ministry's administrative branch also includes the Finnish Broadcasting Company (Yleisradio Oy, *YLE)* steered by the Administrative Council appointed by the Parliament.
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Industrial policy, innovation and technology policy, internationalization of enterprises, functionality of markets, promotion of competition and consumer policy, employment and unemployment matters, regional development, energy policy, integration of immigrants.
Ministry of Social Affairs and Health	The planning, guidance and implementation of health and social policy, promoting wellbeing and health, health and social services, social insurance (pensions, health insurance, unemployment benefits), private insurance, occupational safety and health, wellbeing at work, gender equality.
Ministry of the Environment	Policies concerning the climate, communities, built environment, housing, biodiversity and sustainable use of natural resources, environmental protection.

Sectored responsibilities relating to culture within the Ministry of Education and Culture

The structure of Finnish public administration evolved with the growth of the welfare state's public sector where cultural policy was advanced in accordance with institutionalized administrative responsibilities and related instruments. The development was enhanced by the global spreading of cultural policy as a concept and as a governmental structure since the 1960s (Alasuutari & Kangas 2020). Accordingly, as the public administration was developed further and divided, administration of culture became one of the sectorized public policy areas (e.g., Kangas & Vestheim 2010; Mangset 2020).

Like in Denmark (see Bille 2022), the sectoral cultural policy in Finland relies heavily on legislation. Apart from guaranteeing stability of public funding for the arts and cultural services, this regulation has also sectorized cultural policy into many different, separately steered sub-areas. For example, Finnish cultural, library and educational policies are functionally separated. Thus, Finnish public cultural policy developed into a sectored policy, coving its own position inside the wider policy domain of *MinEdC*, referring here especially to the mandate of the Department for Art and Cultural Policy and its divisions that comprise a recognized part of the whole state administration. (Figure 1.) The responsibilities of *MinEdC* encompass a broad array of activities and are labelled as youth work, sports, science, education, religion, and cultural policy. According to the ministry itself, "cultural policy" covers policies for arts, culture, archival, museum and general library activities, multiculturalism and anti-racism work, and copyright. Many cultural matters are still also taken care of by other departments of *MinEdC*. For example, professional and basic arts education policies are implemented as part of the overall educational policies, and not by the nominal cultural policy department.

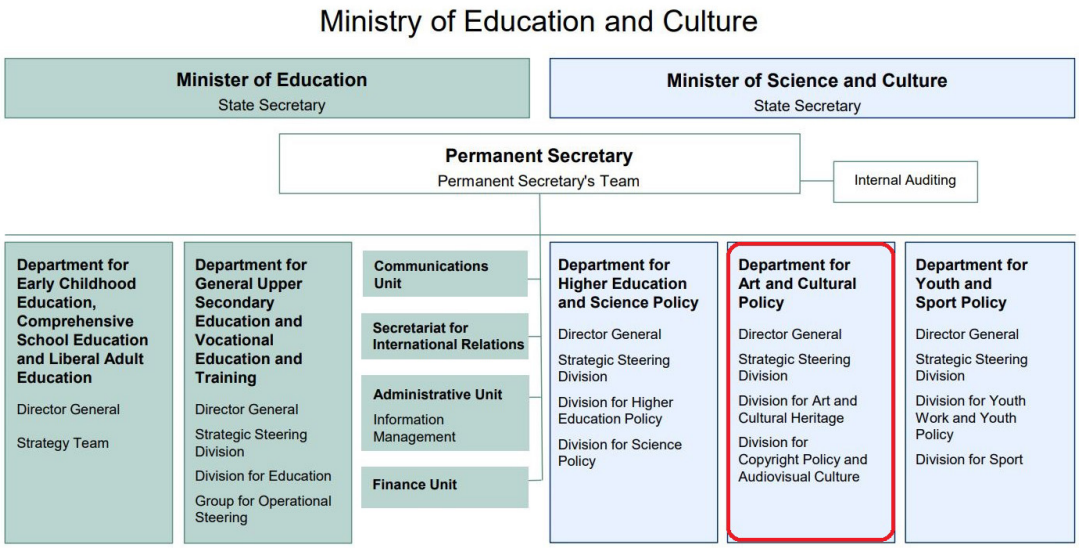

Figure 1. The organization of the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture and the position of the Department for Art and Cultural Policy.

Overall, this sectored organization of the nominal state cultural policy resembles the organization of cultural policy in many other countries: when cultural policy was established as a specific sectorial policy after WWII it concurrently became constricted to "a much narrower sectorial policy than before" (Mangset 2020: 8).

Art as a fundamental part of sectoral cultural policy

Both the narrower concept of arts policy and the broader concept of cultural policy have evolved in modern times (e.g., Saukkonen 2021). Public cultural policy with its administrative categories participates in the classification process of art: in a narrow sense cultural policy means the ways in which art is funded (e.g., Duelund 2008). During the development of cultural administration, art, and art-related activities also in Finland became placed in the core of the cultural policy (Kangas 2004), but cultural policy as such of course covers a much broader area of culture. As Rosenstein (2021: 19) argues, "…cultural policy is better

understood by looking at the history of […] nation's orientation toward the regulation of culture than its orientation towards support for arts."[5]

The constitution of cultural policy includes variables in time, and has varied from one country to another, but the core still commonly includes historical heritage, support of professional artists, and traditional cultural institutions such as libraries, museums, theatres, and concert halls, often complemented in varying ways with aspects like popular, regional, or migrant cultures, language, sports, media, leisure, after school and social activities, cultural education, community festivals and the amateur arts, or even zoos and botanical gardens (Dubois 2015; Mulcahy 2017).

In Finland and other Nordic countries, during the development of the welfare state, artistic activities were intermingled with cultural services. Art as a hobby also came to be included in cultural services, and it conveyed creative action that was available to everyone. Furthermore, the concept of art was supplemented by an extended concept of culture along the lines of cultural democracy (e.g., Duelund 2003). Today, we see even more layers added atop these older objectives of cultural policy (Sokka 2022). Naturally, the administration of these matters always depends on how culture is defined, and how public authorities value its various parts.

In general, the hegemonic position of high culture norms has clearly weakened when compared to the mid-20th century. Once again, cultural access and participation are emphasized, multiculturalism and cultural diversity are promoted, and local and community values are recognized more than ever before (Kangas 2004; see also Mulcahy 2006). At the same time, the number of forms of expression "recognized as art" has grown when areas considered to be popular or folk culture have become regarded as arts and, as a result, begun to receive public support. Even the arm's length administration traditionally focusing on the individual artists and the arts – the former Arts Council of Finland nowadays known as Arts Promotion Centre Finland[6] – has been reorganized to cover new cultural responsibilities besides art (Jakonen 2020).

Strategic emphasis on widened goals and integrated policies

It is well known that cultural policies developed at different times often coexist and intersect: "[D]ifferent rationalities and discourses are now overlapping in Nordic cultural policies making these policies quite multifaceted." (Saukkonen 2021: 182.) In Finland, cross-administrative policy programs and themes of cultural policy have during recent decades been strongly featured in policy development. New goals that deviate from the old "aesthetic rationality" and relate to the creative economy, wellbeing, regional vitality, cultural diversity, safeguarding of cultural rights, and sustainable development have become more directly tied to cultural policy (e.g., Kangas 2017). One illustration of the widened cultural policy goals is the current national strategy for sectoral cultural policy (see MinEdC 2017) prepared by the Department for Art and Cultural Policy of *MinEdC*. It deploys the concepts of creativity, culture, and arts, and covers the following, rather wide target areas and the related objectives:

- Creative work and production: The conditions for artistic and other creative work will be improved, and there will be more diverse ways to produce and distribute creative works.

5. Rosenstein refers to the case of Britain in particular.
6. Arts Promotion Centre Finland is a performance-steered agency operating under *MinEduC* and established in 2013. It continues the activities of the Arts Council of Finland, which was founded in 1968.

- Inclusion and participation in arts and culture: Inclusion in arts and culture will be increased and the differences between population groups in terms of participation will be smaller.
- Cultural basis and continuity: The cultural basis will be strong and vital.

Furthermore, the strategy emphasizes (like the similar strategy ten years earlier) many integrated policies with other policy domains: "Cooperation between the government's administrative branches in cultural matters […] priority will be given to cooperation in education, training, research, business, employment, taxation, social security, health and well-being, as well as in environmental policy, construction, land use and land use planning." (MinEdC 2017: 42). In all, this illustrates general tendencies to connect cultural policy to wide strategic orientations and state policies in multiple forms (Makarychev, Pyykkönen & Sokka 2020; Häyrynen 2018).

Along with the rise of the "governance paradigm" within cultural policy (see Kann-Rasmussen & Hvenegaard Rasmussen 2021; Wyatt & Trevena 2020), such themes as coordination and cooperation within the administration and with other societal actors have been considered important political-administrative strategies to overcome the limitations of "sectorized" top-down policies (also Torfing & Triantafillou 2013). Here, also from the public funding perspective, interministerial governance becomes indeed one of the key aspects of sectoral cultural policy "…to harness potential synergies with other ministries and government agencies." (UNESCO 2022: 49–50.)

Research material and methodology: defining cultural domains

This study focuses on looking at direct state funding for culture. To uphold a specific category called cultural policy, it is necessary to have a concept of culture that is discernible from other categories (Vestheim 2012). As a relatively recent report on public funding of culture in Europe observes: "[T]here were hardly two countries where the same was understood by culture" (Inkei 2019: 3; also OECD 2022). The demarcation of the area and priorities of cultural policy reflects not just what is generally considered to be culture, but also which definition is promoted by the public authorities and what the legitimate areas of intervention are in each society (Dubois 2015). Indeed, cultural policy is composed of two concepts – culture and politics – both of which can be given different definitions, narrower or broader (e.g., Røyseng 2014). These limitations naturally affect what is defined as public funding for art or culture. Do cultural expenditures entail only activities characteristic of the Department of Art and Cultural Policy, as has sometimes been claimed in public debates? Or are they seen as extending to the media or even sports?

Our viewpoint on cultural policy covers *the financing of culture in all the policy domains of the Finnish state administration*. In this sense, we fall somewhere in between the typologies of the narrow and broad understandings of politics and culture presented in previous research (cf. Røyseng 2014). Our understanding of politics is not the narrowest but narrow-ish: we do not comply with one sector or policy domain but still conform to the boundaries of the state administration. The same goes with culture. Our approach was initially based on a combination of an international framework (ESSNet) and the guidelines of the current national cultural policy (Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture 2017), and then supplemented with information gleaned from public officials positioned in dif-

ferent policy domains to cover the financial contributions within the whole cultural policy regime.[7]

Our article deploys a mixed-methods (see Levitt et al. 2018: 40) approach and is empirically based on two data sets: quantitative budget data and qualitative information from public officials. We reviewed the Finnish state budget for 2019 as well as the financial statements and the identified items containing funding for culture. Some budget appropriations were obviously cultural, such as the contents of the "earmarked" cultural budget under the Department of Art and Cultural Policy. Some budget items needed more contemplation. For this reason, we contacted public officials from different ministries (see Table 1), asking how their respective policy domain funds culture. A total of fifty-three experts from twenty different governmental organizations responded to our e-mail inquiries, representing diverse policy domains, and pondering a flexible perspective to both defining culture and how the state funds it.

The informants were crucial for the mapping of the culture-related responsibilities that the different policy domains have. First, they gave us their interpretation of what would count as cultural support within their respective domains. This kind of a mapping would have been impossible solely based on budget data and figures, especially as the whole regime notedly includes policy domains outside the nominal cultural domain. Secondly, some of the informants also sent us detailed budget data that helped us to make our coding of the funding more comprehensive. Eventually, of course, it was our task to decide, based on our analytical framework, what to include as cultural funding.

To identify different domains of culture, we applied the classification framework presented in the 2012 final report of the European Group of Experts on Cultural Statistics. The ESSNet framework[8] is structured according to ten "domains" and six forms of cultural "functions" (ESSNet-Culture 2012: 44). A cultural domain consists of a set of different artistic and cultural practices, activities, and products. There are several different functions attached to each cultural domain, from creating content to distributing and storing it. In the model, cultural activities are thought to take place on the scene of the identified domain and mode of activity: "…the unit of the framework is a cultural activity, which is at the crossing between a given domain and a given function" (ESSnet-Culture 2012: 43). [9]

In our case, the framework offers a way to analyze in what amounts the different domains of culture have been funded by the different policy domains that in our analysis together constellate the Finnish cultural policy regime. As noted above, we applied the information gathered from our informants to identify the cultural expenditures of each domain in the main and subcategories according to our application of the ESSNet cultural domain classification, which contains seven main domains and thirty-five subdomains (see Table 2). All the funding for the different domains and subcategories were coded as accurately as possible in Excel datasets. We used content analysis and coding to analyse the funding figures. The focus was on the euro amounts directly reflected in the state budget

7. We are not however interested in how culture is defined outside the state administration, which would obviously yield a broader understanding of culture. One should note that neither the ESSNet-based classification nor the Finnish sectoral cultural policy strategy includes for example sports, tourism, or education as such as cultural activities, which therefore are not seen as part of culture in our research.

8. The ESSNet report is based on broad-based European cooperation, which also considers the content of previous, highly collaborative cultural classification frameworks. The original aim of the framework was to make European cultural statistics more coherent. See also OECD 2022.

9. The data enable us to analyse the funding both by funding source (different sectors and units of state governance), funding form (e.g., central government transfer or subsidy, or budget funding and gambling revenues), and by target (cultural domains, forms of activities). However, the data did not allow us to systematically classify and analyse different "functions".

and other financial materials, such as discretionary grants from various agencies. We examined the funding both by policy domain and cultural domain.

As not all the funding can be unambiguously classified into a particular cultural domain, we also created a category called "other cultural activities" with subcategories. The goals of the official state cultural policy strategy (MinEdC 2017) were used as a starting point. The category includes activities that define culture broadly and/or cover several fields of art as well as targets that are impossible to classify into individual domains based on the existing data. These categories are often justified through certain policy objectives expressed in various governmental policy documents and strategies (e.g., promotion of cultural diversity, accessibility, cultural rights, the social dimension, children's culture, cultural export and country branding, wellbeing, creative and cultural economy) rather than as support for a specific, explicitly named cultural field.[10]

TABLE 2. The area of state-funded culture. Domain-based applied classification framework for cultural funding in Finland.

Domains for the classification of cultural funding in Finland (applied from ESSNet 2012 and MinEdC 2017).
1. Cultural heritage and archives including *museums, cultural heritage, cultural environments, archives*
2. Libraries and literature including *libraries, literature, books, cultural magazines*
3. Visual arts including *fine arts, photography, and other visual arts*
4. Performing arts including *music, theatre, dance, circus, and other performance arts*
5. Audiovisual culture and multimedia including *films, television and radio, videogames, media art and other audiovisual culture*
6. Architecture, design, and art crafts
7. Other cultural activities including such areas as *cultural diversity, children's culture, international dimension of culture, cultural wellbeing, cultural economy and industries, liberal adult education, copyright system, municipal cultural services, artist pensions* etc.

Results

Funding for culture across policy domains

The applied framework of classification covers all the cultural domains introduced above. According to it, the total state funding given to arts and culture was 1 328 million (1.3 billion) euros, representing approximately 2,5 % of the whole Finnish state budget in 2019. However, even this is not the whole picture. For example, the sum does not include professional cultural and artistic education on different educational levels. In the following, we present how the state of Finland funds different cultural domains from the highest to the lowest share of total funding. (Figure 2.)

10. Despite its breadth, our category of "other cultural activities" does not comprehensively describe the cultural practices, cultural activities or activities of Finnish civil society or other social sectors. It is based purely on the contents identified by the state through its funding machinery and on the various priorities of the statutory cultural policy.

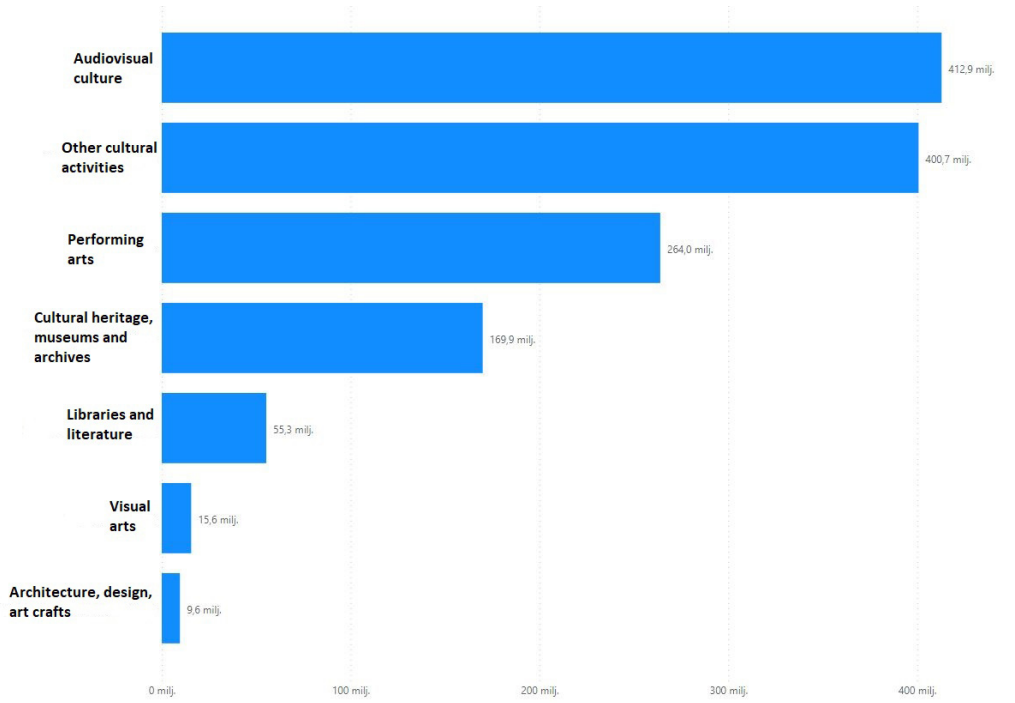

Figure 2. Funding for cultural domains within the Finnish regime in 2019.

Audiovisual culture receives most of the funding. The sum includes the funding allocated to the Finnish Broadcasting Company Yleisradio Oy (YLE) from the Ministry of Transport and Communications. This has often been excluded from Finnish analyses of culture funding, as "media" or "broadcasting" policies do not belong to the responsibilities of *MinEdC*. YLE notwithstanding, the state allocates funding to the audiovisual domain mainly via *MinEdC*.

A significant part of the state funding goes to performing arts, here including both music and theatre, the two art forms receiving the most state funding. The national art institutions under this domain (National Opera and National Theatre) receive significant sums. *MinEdC* is the primary financier of performing arts, although music also receives support from other policy domains.

Most of the funding for cultural heritage, museums, and archives, including the National Gallery, comes from *MinEdC*. This is also the case with the funding for libraries and literature. The funding data on libraries in this domain does not however include the funding of public libraries from the Ministry of Finance for municipalities and their provision of basic services.[11]

Compared to most other cultural domains, the state financing for visual arts is quite narrow. Almost all the state funding for visual arts is allocated through *MinEdC's* Department for Art and Cultural Policy and Arts Promotion Centre Finland. Unfortunately, it was impossible to separate the share of the funding that goes to the art-oriented work conducted by museums. Thus, in this article, also the activities of public art museums are categorised in the domain of museums and cultural heritage.

The share of funding allocated to architecture, design, and art crafts stands out as the most modest among the classified cultural domains. The funding in these domains comes

11. The Finnish system of municipal libraries is a key part of the cultural policy system – libraries are among the most frequently used and highly regarded local services. The funding for libraries is significantly higher than Figure 2 indicates, as the major funding stream allocated from the Ministry of Finance had to be classified to other cultural activities.

for the most part from *MinEdC* and, to a lesser extent, through the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment as part of cultural industry policies.

Several ministries have responsibilities for the widely defined "other cultural activities", which they often also fund. The Ministry of Finance is one of the most important "non-cultural" ministries when it comes to municipal cultural policy and thus the realization of local-level cultural policy. It grants central government transfers to municipalities, which are also used to fund local cultural activities, basic art education, and public libraries.[12] Other ministries allocate funding to activities in areas such as creative economy, cultural wellbeing, and diversity and integration. This indicates that when moving the focus from the support of traditional art forms to a comprehensive, more broadly defined cultural policy, the balance between the responsibilities of the policy domains becomes more complicated (cf. Dubois 2015). This topic was also discussed with several public officials representing different policy domains. For example, they contemplated the funding responsibilities concerning such strategically important themes (see MinEduC 2017) as creative industries and economy (*MinEdC* and especially the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment), cultural diversity and minorities (*MinEdC* and several other ministries) and heritage issues (*MinEdC* and especially the Ministry of Environment and Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry).

The size of the so-called "earmarked" cultural budget controlled by the Department of Art and Cultural Policy of *MinEdC* was approximately 450 M€ in 2019. It goes to show, that the total amount the Finnish state allocates to culture involves other policy domains. Still, this part of the state budget is often referred to when state funding for culture is discussed in public. [13] A large share of this funding goes to performing arts and cultural heritage. Vestheim (2012: 534) presumed that "classical and institutionalized high culture still has a hegemonic position in present cultural policymaking". Although Finnish cultural policy has to some degree expanded the scope of its strategic objectives, the institutionalized "high culture" institutions (national art institutions, museums, and the municipal network of orchestras and theatres) are indeed still prioritized in how the Finnish state funds culture within the sectorized area of nominal cultural policy (see Jakonen et al. 2021; Sokka 2022). However, the third biggest funding domain of this part of the state budget as well is "other cultural activities" – such as support for the copyright system, multicultural activities, and other goals where culture is defined widely. Interestingly, the information given by public officials was important even when examining the funding streams of sectoral art and cultural policy. There are budget articles impossible to classify in detail without an additional data handled by public officials.

Nearly all the policy domains fund the arts and culture to some extent, each from their own premises, based on their policy goals, even if it is not an expressed strategic goal. In our analysis, these policies were recognized as cultural by public officials and realized through public funding streams. The scale of the funding is shown in the following image, which illustrates the allocation of state culture funding by ministry (Figure 3.). On many occasions, public funding is allocated to cultural domains as a part of larger streams. In such cases, separating funding for culture from the budget data is often laborious. A good exam-

12. The central government transfers to local government are allocated as calculated lump sums and the municipalities are relatively free to use these transfers as they wish. Thus, the detailed amounts of state funding for municipal cultural activities, basic art education, and library services were impossible to analyse in detail with our research data and we had to settle for the lump sums. We coded this government transfer from the Ministry of Finance for municipal culture as a lump sum under Category 7, "other cultural activities".
13. See, for example, "Increase the culture budget to 1 per cent!" campaign: https://www.kulttuuribudjettiprosenttiin.fi/increase-the-culture-budget-to-1-per-cent/

ple is the science policy implemented by *MinEdC,* where the Department of Higher Education and Science allocates together with the Department of Art and Cultural Policy co-financing for science and cultural institutes and national digital infrastructure for governing cultural heritage. The science policy sector funds also cultural archives. In the budget, this cultural funding counts as science policy.[14] Again, without the information from public officials implementing science policy, it would have been difficult to find out and code these kind of funding streams.

Outside *MinEdC*, the most notable cultural funding streams are allocated from the Ministry of Transport and Communications (media policy), the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment (creative and cultural industries), and the Ministry of Finance (municipal cultural services), but also other ministries also have many responsibilities that make up a part of the whole cultural policy regime. Relatively lesser amounts of financing are however allocated from the other ministries.

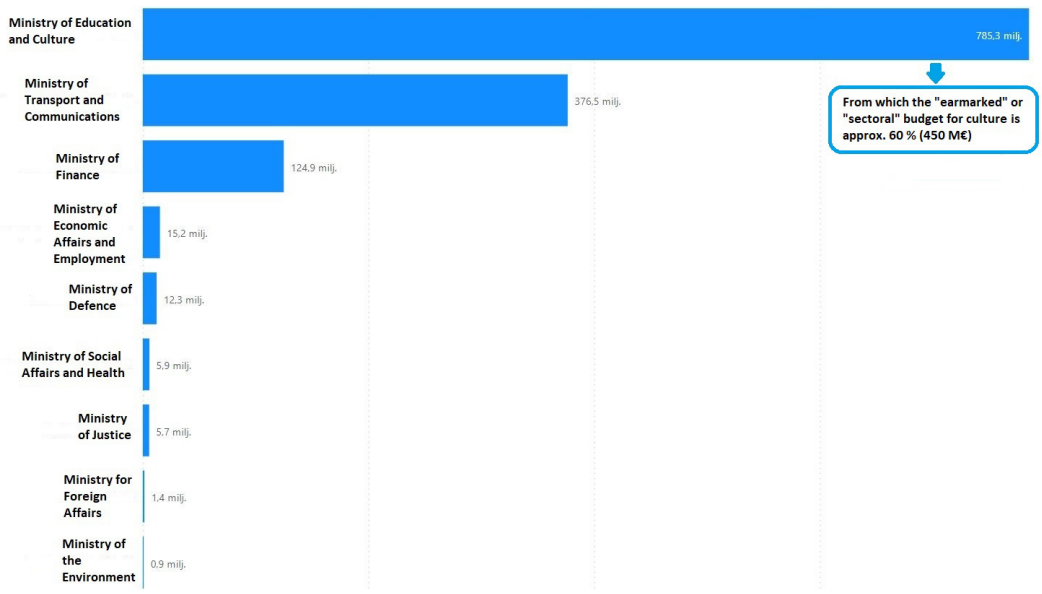

Figure 3. Cultural funding (M€) by policy domain in the Finnish regime in 2019.

The Finnish cultural policy regime

Ministerial responsibilities

Not surprisingly, the ministry nominally responsible for cultural policy, *MinEdC*, is the most significant supporter of arts and culture in Finland (785 M€ in 2019). It allocates state funds for each domain in our cultural domain framework. Within the whole *MinEdC*, the policy areas of education and science, for example, contain funding that is relevant for cultural policy even in its narrower meaning.[15]

The art and cultural policy "sector" formed inside *MinEdC* is quite narrow and still dominated by support for art and heritage institutions (cf. Vestheim 2012). It however also encompasses and strategically aims towards a broader array of activities than mere arts policy. Under its sectoral cultural policy (450 M€ in 2019), *MinEdC* is the most important

14. Other examples from within *MinEdC* are liberal adult education and basic art education (education policy), church art (church policy), and sport museums (sport policy). Recently, the funding for basic art education was moved under the Department of Art and Cultural Policy.
15. For example, funding for museums and archives, artist educations, research funding for artistic research and culture studies, etc.

funder and supporter of art and individual artists. Also, the agency for arts and individual artists governing the Finnish arts council system, Arts Promotion Centre Finland, operates under *MinEdC's* sectoral cultural policy. Furthermore, this sectoral administration also governs the financial contributions for municipal art institutions (theatres, orchestras, and museums) within the law-based state subsidies system.

While different funding streams are allocated to media policies (content production, education etc.) from *MinEdC* under our audiovisual culture domain, media policy still forms a clear sectoral division and a separate policy domain within the Finnish state cultural policy. Measured solely with state funding, the Finnish Broadcasting Company (YLE)[16], funded by the Ministry of Transport and Communications, is Finland's largest publicly supported cultural institution (approx. 380 M€ for content production and over 500 M€ in total). Although *MinEdC* is not responsible for these broadcasting and media policies, the sectorial cultural policy strategy also recognises how the "different phenomena of the media and cultural worlds are intertwined" (MinEdC 2017: 27).

Finnish municipalities are supported through central government transfers, and within cultural policies municipalities have an important role for the realisation of cultural democracy and the promotion of local culture. The Ministry of Finance manages the budget article of the state share of funding for basic municipal services calculated in support for libraries, general municipal cultural activities, and basic art education (125 M€ in 2019). In contrast, the state subsidies for the municipal network of museums, theatres and orchestras are allocated from *MinEdC*.

Cultural trade and export policy[17] is certainly not a new trend but *MinEdC* has deployed more economy-oriented "cultural export" policies as a part of "creative economy" discourses since the early 2000s. This is intertwined with the tasks of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The ministry has traditionally promoted international trade and economic relations, which also includes the promotion of cultural exports. Currently, the ministry is taking care of international media and cultural relations and making Finland known internationally under the heading of "country image work". Another form of cooperation between the ministry for Foreign Affairs and cultural actors is implemented through the management of state-owned science and cultural institute properties located abroad.

The key areas of the Ministry of the Environment related to cultural domains are landscape management and protection, management of the cultural environment and architectural heritage, and building protection. The management of built heritage is the ministry's key channel for cultural policy funding. In the field of culture, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry supports the development of rural culture and the preservation of cultural, architectural, and archaeological heritage and traditional landscapes through various channels, including EU programs.

As we have stated, the spreading of a more comprehensive and anthropological conception of culture has complexified how culture and cultural policy are understood from a social and political point of view (Dubois 2015). Cultural diversity and democracy have become an important part of the official cultural policy of *MinEdC* (e.g., Kangas 2017) but the Ministry of Justice is responsible for ensuring everyone's constitutional right to their own language and culture. Culture is thus a human right and a source of democracy. The Ministry of Justice has also cultural responsibilities regarding specific budget expenditures. The administrative sector of the ministry funds the preservation and promotion of Sámi

16. The nationally important Radio Symphony Orchestra also operates as part of and funded by YLE.
17. In addition, cultural foreign policy and cultural diplomacy have a long history. They played a key role, for example, in relations between Finland and the former Soviet Union.

languages and culture and supports the rehabilitation and maintenance of cultural-historical sites through open prison work.

Key areas of interministerial governance

The following figure (Figure 4.) illustrates the spread of cultural funding from different ministries to different cultural domains. As we have brought out already above, it is the public officials who have the best knowledge of the various budget mechanisms and funding streams in their respective areas of administration in each policy domain (cf. Murto 2016). Thus, it was the combination of qualitative expert information and budget data that made possible to construct the Finnish cultural policy regime with interministerial responsibilities. One should note that, despite the important information gathered from more than 50 public officials, we had to make several compromises with our funding classifications. For example, the category of cultural economy/creative industries included under "other cultural activities" covers also funding eventually channelled for many art forms as a part of wider industry policies of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, but these shares could not be separated within the limits of our research.

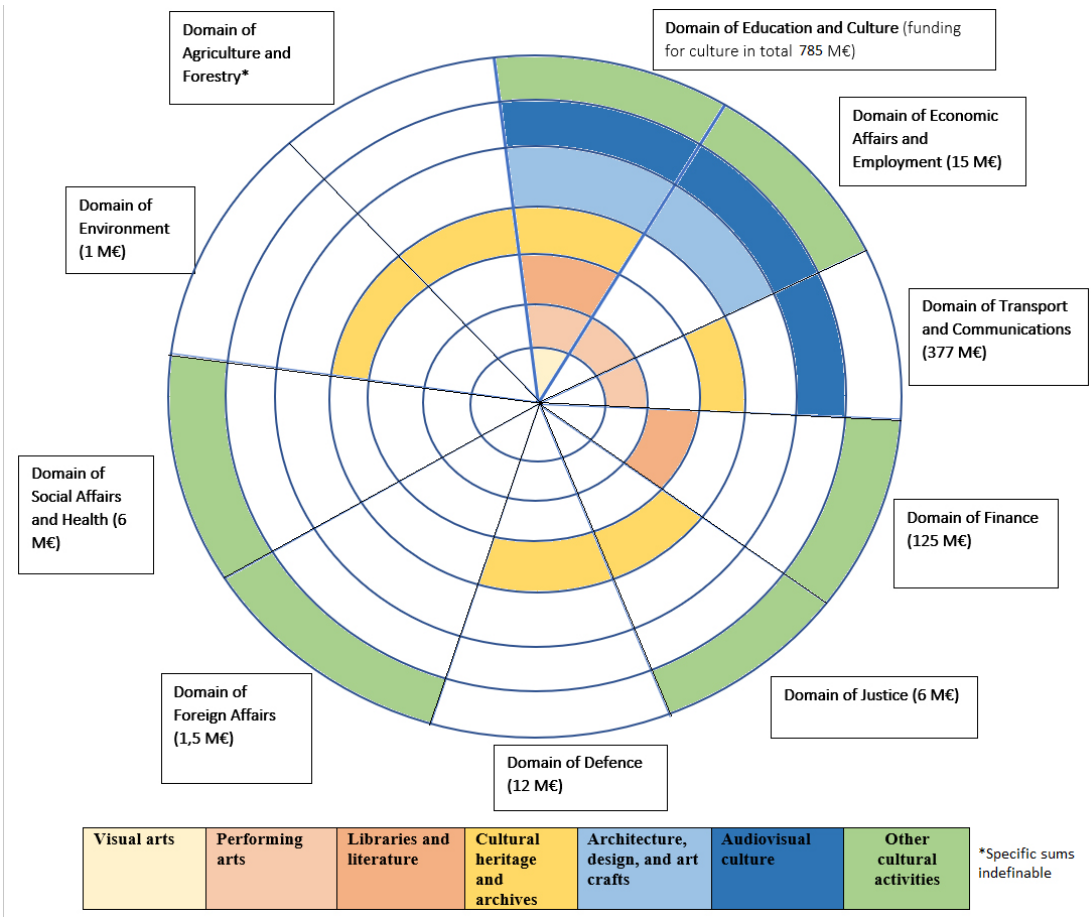

Figure 4. The Finnish cultural policy regime. Spread of funding for different cultural domains from different policy domains and common areas of funding (interministerial governance).

There indeed are several key areas of interministerial governance of culture within the Finnish regime. For example, the cultural domain of heritage and archives as well as the domain of "other cultural activities" are funded by six policy domains, performing arts by four domains, and audiovisual culture by three policy domains.

Obviously, *MinEdC* with its different departments is an important supporter of different forms and aspects of heritage, especially those related to artistic and historical heritage (archives, museums, intangible heritage, church art, etc.). Still, for example, the support for heritage is also divided under several other policy domains and related to the substantive base and policy goals of each domain (cf. table 1). The Ministry of Defence, for one, allocates funding for the War Museum and various museums that cooperate with the Defence Forces.

The policies and funding related to cultural and creative industries forms a central theme in the interministerial governance (see also MinEdC 2017). The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment funds culture and individual art forms (like music and design) as part of policies pertaining to creative industry and economy, audiovisual industry, business and enterprise, and intangible value creation.[18] Although the amount of funding was relatively modest (15 M€ in 2019), it was allocated to four different cultural domains and many of the art forms that the sectoral cultural policy also supports. These policies are implemented through a complex combination of different funding instruments, policy programs, and government organizations.

In the early 2000s, in line with international discussion, the concepts of creative industries and creative economy were adopted in Finnish policy making as well (see Häyrynen 2018; Oksanen et al. 2018)[19] and during the past 20 years cultural activities have been regarded more and more intensively from the point of view of employment and business policy in national strategies. It has however not been easy for the administration to create common visions for mapping and developing the creative economy. Up to this date, there is no agreed-upon standard definition for the creative sectors or industries in Finland (cf. OECD 2022). Interestingly, the COVID pandemic has raised awareness of the essential role of creative industries as part of cultural production networks and exposed their unfinished status in Finnish cultural policies (Luonila et al. 2022).[20]

Media policies and broadcasting have historical importance in fostering national cultures and cultural public spheres. These cultural policy issues have become even more complex due to the rise of private global corporations such as HBO and Netflix (See Antoniazzi & Bengesser 2022; Mangset 2020). Furthermore, television and radio have historically played a significant role as a supporter and mediator of the arts, also by educating audiences (Mulcahy 2017). The realm of media can thus be seen as central also to arts policy, both as a medium and as a means of access to other art forms, although media policy is often perceived – in Finland and elsewhere – separate from the "actual" cultural policy.[21]

Compared to many European countries, Finland has been rather distinctive in the distribution of expenditure between the state and local authorities (see Saukkonen & Ruusuvirta 2012). Finnish municipalities are supported by central government transfers and administrative arrangements have divided the implementation of these culturally important central government financial flows (for municipal cultural policy, basic art education,

18. EU Structural Funds have also been a major channel for financing projects that serve networking and business development in the creative industries.
19. Of course, many of the activities under these concepts existed in one way or another well before they were ideologically labelled as cultural or creative industries in the present sense (see also De Beukelaer & Spence 2019).
20. In any case, from 2020 onwards a specific creative economy roadmap has been implemented by actors representing the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, *MinEduC*, and the creative industries.
21. For example, in Denmark, the Ministry of Culture is responsible also for broadcasting. Such cultural policy issues as digital and streamed culture are linked to this policy domain. When launching the streaming service "Areena" in 2007, YLE became a global pioneer in the field of internet television and radio services. Despite commercial services like Netflix, Yle Areena is still the most popular streaming service in Finland.

and libraries) among two ministries. Earlier, *MinEdC* allocated the central government transfers as well, before they were moved to the mandate of the Ministry of Finance in 2010.

During the last decades, following international developments, the interest in the health impacts of culture has been growing in Finnish debates (Laitinen et al. 2020; see also Fancourt & Finn 2019). For many years, the wellbeing effects of culture have been an area of cross-administrative development and programming in public administration and a strategic target of sectoral cultural policy (see MinEdC 2017). This policy area fits well with the aims of the welfare state cultural policy implemented in Finland since the 1960s but at the same time presents new instrumental orientations and justifications to the governance of cultural issues (see Häyrynen 2018; Sokka 2022). The cultural policy role of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health is focused on the welfare effects of culture and cultural rights. The ministry has also funded arts and culture as part of the implementation of the impact objectives of its own administration. Governmental programs have been implemented since the 2010s, and also Arts Promotion Centre Finland has allocated subsidies to support wellbeing effects of art and culture.

Discussion: Interministerial governance without interministerial coordination?

Our research project was a one-year cross-sectional study on the cultural contributions in the Finnish state budget. Our starting point was that cultural policy regimes can be identified and analysed especially through public financial support for the arts and culture (Dubois 2015; Katz-Gerro 2015). However, our aim here was not so much to present euro sums but to examine what the current Finnish state cultural policy looks like when viewed through funding streams when we go beyond the "sectoral" perspective. Our goal was to empirically illustrate cultural policy from a comprehensive perspective, in terms of "interministerial governance" (see UNESCO 2022) and a "non-sectorial" framework (see Mangset 2020). We investigated the actual implementation of policies on public funding within the different policy domains following their respective strategies. Apart from the vast and detailed budget data, the information gathered from public officials and experts operating the state's funding machinery played a key role in our research (see also Vestheim 2012: 537–538) – both in defining culture and recognizing cultural appropriations within different domains and by discussing the various, overlapping cultural policy responsibilities within the Finnish regime. Altogether fifty-three experts from twenty different organizations (ministries and agencies) gave us information and descriptions of cultural funding.

We set the following question: *What kind of a cultural policy regime do the distribution of public funding for culture and the related administrative responsibilities throughout the Finnish state administration illustrate?* The Finnish state cultural policy regime – the purposes of state intervention in the cultural field (Rius-Ulldemolins & Pizzi 2022) – forms a complex set of governance responsibilities and funding implemented by several ministries and their subordinate agencies as well as other actors (see also Wyatt & Trevena 2020). As funders of art and culture, the different policy domains of the state administration have diverging ideologies, rationalities, historical backgrounds, and procedures (see Vestheim 2012). Accordingly, due to the historical development of the administrative arrangements and sectored responsibilities (see Kangas & Vestheim 2010) within the policy domains, the concepts of culture and cultural activities are given different meanings and objectives in different areas of Finnish government. In her cross-ministerial examination of cultural strategies, Kraatari (2017) concluded that Finnish ministries often see culture as a tool for achieving goals of their own

policy domains and do not necessarily follow the goals and definitions of the Ministry of Education and Culture (*MinEdC*). Culture is defined and interpreted in the respective ministries mainly from the perspectives of their own policy objectives, be they employment and economic growth, cultural diversity and integration, or wellbeing and health.

As for the much-debated question of instrumentalism (e.g., Mangset 2020), there has not been a significant reallocation of public resources for instrumental purposes (creative economy, welfare etc.) within the Finnish sectoral cultural policy (Jakonen et al. 2021; Sokka 2022). Finnish sectoral cultural policy relies heavily on legislation, which has been used to guarantee the stability of public funding for the arts and cultural services (e.g., Saukkonen 2014). Although our study dealt only with funding data from one year, we still can conclude that the discourses of instrumentalism do not match with the "hard" evidence from funding streams. The largest funding streams under sectoral policy are allocated to established institutionalized targets, such as national institutions and municipal network of art institutions. Instrumentalism can however be identified in various individual subsidy forms (for creative economy, well-being etc.), strategic goal settings, subsidy and grant criteria, application and report forms, and, for example, performance management themes (see Jakonen 2020; Jakonen & Sokka 2021). Thus, following the general changes in government steering ideologies common to all the policy domains (e.g., Torfing & Triantafillou 2013), instrumentality has been integrated into various forms and instruments of cultural policy governance, but it is less visible in the direct allocation of resources. Furthermore, to examine instrumentalism, we need to extend the focus to other policy domains besides sectoral cultural policy. Public funding for culture then becomes illustrative of systematic administrative practices where the arts and culture are used for promoting some governmental or administrative objectives defined in advance – either primarily cultural or other objectives (Makarychev, Pyykkönen & Sokka 2020).

According to our study, almost all the policy domains of the Finnish state administration participate in the funding of culture in their own way. When investigated empirically, altogether ten policy domains allocated direct funding for art and culture, based on differing but also overlapping strategic policy goals. We refer to this as interministerial governance of culture (see UNESCO 2022). From this perspective, the most important cultural policies in Finland-funded variously by *MinEdC* and other policy domains alike-are the ones concerning the audiovisual industry, broadcasting and the media, cultural and creative industries, and local cultural policy. In addition to these, also the funding of different heritage issues is notably allocated from several policy domains.

To follow the argument of Rosenstein (2021: 21), also from an administrative and public funding perspective, the Finnish cultural policy system as an actual governance system appears profoundly hybrid: culture is funded through varying funding and governance arrangements. This is the case especially when taking a more comprehensive perspective on culture to contain more than just art or artist support. But as we have researched, even the arts are funded from multiple sources and domains. In all, by comparing the funding streams of sectoral cultural policy to other policy domain's contributions to culture, our research on funding empirically illustrates how the specification of culture as a "sectoral" policy domain has become more uncertain (see Dubois 2015). As we have analysed, the redefinition of culture and the spreading of a more anthropological notion of culture, as well as ideas such as creative economy, have made it harder to clearly define the borders and responsibilities of sectoral cultural policy in relation to other policy domains (cf. MinEdC 2017).

The different policy domains with their specific administrative structures and strategies have cultural funding responsibilities. Culture can indeed be a substantive issue (cf.

Burstein 1991) also within other policy domains beyond the official cultural policy sector. Domains responsible of such issues as industry, wellbeing, democracy, media, environment, and even defence deal with and fund culture. Again, the relationship between the cultural responsibilities of the different policy domains of the Finnish regime is connected to a particular national history and the related cultural policy governance arrangements (see Dubois 2015; Duelund 2003; Kangas 2004). The Finnish regime consists of various, historically formed cultural policies between which different "balancing acts"–strategic choices in relation to culture and its support–take place (see Matarasso & Landry 1999).

Referring to Mangset (2020: 7–8; see also Sokka 2014), we can ask whether a more collaborative cultural policy would be more beneficial and fruitful than "imprisoning" culture in an "bureaucratic iron cage" within a specific department of public administration (in our case, the Department of Art and Cultural policy under the *MinEdC*). Then the question is, how could this sectorised cultural policy with its rigid established administrative, legal, and funding structures widen the scope of cultural policy in relation to the other policy domains supporting culture. In relation to which cultural domains and policy themes should this be done? Furthermore, art and art-related activities were the basis when cultural policy was defined as a welfare state sector and ministerial responsibility in accordance with the principle of rationalisation of public administration (Kangas 2004). As Saukkonen (2021: 182) points out, "[t]he autonomy of the field of the arts has occupied a central position" within Nordic cultural policy. So how to reorganise cultural policy mandates without endangering the important support for artistic creation and cultural activities and values that the sectoral administration is responsible for safeguarding?

Our final notions are related to the role of public officials and the coordination of interministerial governance. The study confirmed that a single official is often responsible for a very narrow area of responsibility–a certain subsidy form or financial instrument–in light of the entire state administration and the complex issues related to budgets and budgetary policy (see also Jakonen & Sokka 2021). The officials do have a central role and power (see Murto 2016) in narrowly defined, sectoral issues, but no actual responsibility for considering how their actions fit into the overall cultural policy regime (Jakonen & Sokka 2021; Sokka 2014). Indeed, many key cultural issues–such as accessibility, education, sustainable development, cultural economy, and diversity–could be better addressed through more open and effective cooperation between the different sectors of government.

As integrated and comprehensive cultural policies obviously need cross-administrational coordination (see e.g., Torfing & Triantafillou 2013), the question arises, how could the state funding for culture be better coordinated between different cultural policy domains? Like a recent report by UNESCO (2022: 49) states, "[i]nterministerial cooperation […] for the governance of culture is premised on the existence of a ministry–or an agency with ministerial status–that has responsibility for the cultural and creative sectors…" In our analysis, *MinEdC* is the only ministry that covers in a versatile manner all the artistic and cultural domains, and has also specialized knowledge of the related substance, making it a feasible guide for developing a more coordinated cultural policy regime. Obviously, this cannot be done if the other policy domains are not ready to accept this expertise role for the *MinEdC*. However, other policy domains are also needed to bring in their expertise and stakeholders to achieve integrated governance of culture within the whole regime. As Sokka (2022: 60–61) observes: "There clearly remains work to be done before we can talk of 'a new model of governance of culture' that would include inter-sectorial co-operation and decentralisation of government".

In all, there is a need for further contemplation on cultural policy domains, their structures, logics, and relationships, both empirically and from theoretical perspectives. More research should be conducted on the governance of integrated cultural policies. Furthermore, as for funding, we agree with Inkei (2019) that the focus of research should be shifted from the amount(s) of funding to the quality, soundness, and effectiveness of public financing.

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