

JYU DISSERTATIONS 757

Vappu Renko

Making Regional Cultural Policy Possible

Construction and Practices in Finland
Contrasted to Sweden



UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Editors

Olli-Pekka Moisio

Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of Jyväskylä

Päivi Vuorio

Open Science Centre, University of Jyväskylä

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ABSTRACT

Renko, Vappu

Making regional cultural policy possible: Construction and practices in Finland contrasted to Sweden

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Regions are faced with manifold and contradictory expectations in Finnish cultural policy. On one hand, national cultural policy aims to enable equal opportunities for artistic work and cultural participation across the country. On the other hand, the regions are expected to build on distinct regional cultural traits to promote culture as part of regional development. This dissertation examines how regions are able to address the manifold expectations by constructing regional cultural policy.

The study focuses on the statutory regional cultural administration, which currently includes four organisations: 1) the regional councils, 2) the Regional State Administrative Agencies, 3) the Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment and 4) the Arts Promotion Centre Finland's regional offices and arts councils. All organisations participate in constructing regional cultural policy, which is here understood as a line of activities related to culture at the regional level. The organisations have different tasks and geographical areas of operation. The possibilities of regional cultural policy construction in this multi-actor and multi-border context are here contrasted to Sweden, where self-governing regions hold the main responsibility for regional cultural policy.

The study asks: How has Finnish regional cultural administration been constructed since the 1960s and positioned in relation to the local and national levels? What regional cultural policy practices are currently implemented in Finnish regional cultural administration and how? How is the construction of regional cultural policy made possible within the current Finnish regional cultural administration in contrast to Sweden?

The study builds on qualitative and quantitative datasets analysed by mixed methods in three research articles included in the study. The theoretical framework derives from theories of state rescaling and a governance framework used in the study of policy processes.

The study shows that, unlike in Sweden, in Finland cultural policy authority has mainly been redistributed within state regional administration. In the Finnish regional cultural policy model the object of regional decentralisation has mainly been administrative, whereas in Sweden, political and fiscal decentralisation have also been applied. Currently, the Finnish regional organisations' possibilities to construct regional cultural policy are complicated by blurred administrative borders, dispersed national direction and the lack of coordination and collaborative structures. Clarifying the regional cultural administration's operational areas and responsibilities as well as establishing a structure for collaborating with arts and cultural actors in the region would enhance the regional level's legitimacy in cultural policymaking.

Keywords: regional cultural policy, policy construction, Finland, Sweden

TIIVISTELMÄ

Renko, Vappu

Alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan mahdollisuudet: rakentuminen ja käytännöt Suomessa suhteessa Ruotsiin

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Alueisiin kohdistuu suomalaisessa kulttuuripolitiikassa moninaisia ja ristiriitaisia odotuksia. Yhtäältä kansallisella kulttuuripolitiikalla pyritään mahdollistamaan yhtäläiset mahdollisuudet taiteelliseen työskentelyyn ja kulttuuriosallistumiseen eri puolilla maata. Toisaalta alueiden odotetaan korostavan omia erityispiirteitään ja erottuvan muista osana alueellista kehittämistä. Tässä väitöskirjassa tarkastellaan, kuinka alueet voivat vastata moninaisiin odotuksiin rakentamalla alueellista kulttuuripolitiikkaa.

Tutkimus keskittyy kulttuurin aluehallintoon, joka tällä hetkellä koostuu neljästä organisaatiosta: 1) maakuntien liitoista, 2) aluehallintovirastoista, 3) elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskuksista sekä 4) Taiteen edistämiskeskuksen alueellisista taidetoimikunnista ja aluetoimipisteistä. Kaikki organisaatiot rakentavat osaltaan alueellista kulttuuripolitiikkaa, joka ymmärretään tässä aluetason kulttuuria koskevana toimintalinjana. Kullakin organisaatiolla on toisistaan poikkeavat tehtävät ja maantieteelliset toimialueet. Alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan rakentamisen mahdollisuuksia tässä monitoimijaisessa ja -rajaisessa kontekstissa tarkastellaan suhteessa Ruotsiin, jossa itsehallinnollisilla alueilla on päävastuu alueellisesta kulttuuripolitiikasta.

Tutkimuksessa kysytään: Miten kulttuurin aluehallintoa Suomessa on rakennettu 1960-luvulta lähtien ja asemoitu suhteessa paikalliseen ja kansalliseen tasoon? Millaisia alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan käytäntöjä alueellinen kulttuurihallinto Suomessa toteuttaa ja millä tavoin? Miten alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan rakentaminen on Suomen nykyisessä kulttuurin aluehallinnossa mahdollista suhteessa Ruotsin vastaavaan?

Tutkimus pohjautuu laadullisiin ja määrällisiin aineistoihin, joita analysoidaan monimenetelmällisesti kolmessa väitöskirjaan sisältyvässä tutkimusartikkelissa. Tutkimuksen teoreettinen viitekehys nojaa valtion uudelleenskaalauksen teorioihin sekä politiikkaprosessien tutkimukseen hallinnan kontekstissa.

Tutkimus osoittaa, että toisin kuin Ruotsissa, Suomessa kulttuuripoliittista valtaa on pääosin jaettu valtion aluehallinnon sisällä. Suomen alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan mallissa desentralisaatio on ollut pääosin hallinnollista, kun taas Ruotsissa on toteutettu myös poliittista ja taloudellista desentralisaatiota. Nykyisellään Suomen kulttuuripolitiikan epäselvät aluerajat, eri suunnista tuleva kansallinen ohjaus sekä koordinaation ja toimijoita kokoavan yhteistyörakenteen puute kulttuurin aluehallinnossa vaikeuttavat aluehallinnon organisaatioiden mahdollisuuksia rakentaa alueellista kulttuuripolitiikkaa. Kulttuurin aluehallinnon toimialueiden ja vastuiden selkeyttäminen sekä rakenteen luominen yhteistyöhön taide- ja kulttuuritoimijoiden kanssa alueella vahvistaisivat osaltaan aluetason legitimitettä kulttuuripolitiikan toteuttajana.

Avainsanat: alueellinen kulttuuripolitiikka, politiikan rakentaminen, Suomi, Ruotsi

Author

Vappu Renko
Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy
University of Jyväskylä
vappu.m.renko@jyu.fi
ORCID 0000-0002-4431-8710

Supervisors

Mikko Jakonen
Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy
University of Jyväskylä

Anita Kangas
Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy
University of Jyväskylä

Marja Keränen
Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy
University of Jyväskylä

Reviewers

Katja Lindqvist
Faculty of Social Sciences
Lund University

Esa Pirnes
Counsellor for Cultural Affairs Emeritus
Ministry of Education and Culture Finland

Opponent

Katja Lindqvist
Faculty of Social Sciences
Lund University

FOREWORD

Writing this foreword feels like the end of one era. As I began my doctoral studies back in 2014, I had no idea of how long this process would take, nor how much I would learn along the way. I am thankful for it all. Above all, I am thankful for all the support I have received from so many brilliant people along the way.

First and foremost, I wish to thank Professor Emerita Anita Kangas, whom I was lucky to encounter during my internship at the Ministry of Education and Culture back in 2011 and who has ever since then encouraged, supported and guided me in conducting my doctoral studies. Her wisdom and relentless patience in reading numerous drafts and pointing me forward have made this dissertation possible. She has also kindly collaborated in two articles included in this dissertation.

I have also been extremely lucky to have had two other brilliant supervisors, Professor Emerita Marja Keränen and Professor Mikko Jakonen. Their always perceptive and constructive ideas have been essential during the process of writing and finalising this dissertation. I am truly grateful for having had a group of supervisors with whom I have been able to have so many rewarding and encouraging discussions. I am truly thankful for the time and effort each of them has put into supervising this dissertation.

Writing the articles included in this dissertation would not have been possible without my collaboration with the accomplished and inspiring colleagues from whom I have learned so much. I wish to thank Professor Roger Blomgren, Senior Lecturer Jenny Johannisson and Professor Emeritus Hannu Tervo for the excellent collaborations, which will hopefully continue in the future. Jenny and Roger's research on regional cultural policy in Sweden has greatly inspired this work focusing on Finland.

The contribution of the interviewees was crucial for preparing the last article included in this dissertation. I wish to thank all the interviewees for kindly taking their time and providing excellent information for the article. Without these discussions, I would not have been able to understand the various regional cultural policy practices.

The studies conducted by Senior Lecturer Katja Lindqvist and Counsellor for Cultural Affairs Emeritus Esa Pirnes have inspired this work in many ways. I am grateful that they agreed to serve as the preliminary examiners of the dissertation. Their wide expertise, adept comments and further suggestions significantly helped me in finalising the dissertation. I am also thankful that Katja Lindqvist kindly accepted the invitation to serve as my opponent at the public defence of the dissertation.

I have conducted this dissertation research at the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy at the University of Jyväskylä, where I have been lucky to have encountered so many encouraging and supportive people, including Professor Miikka Pyykkönen (who has also kindly served in the follow-up group of this dissertation), Senior Lecturer Kaisu Kumpulainen and University Teacher Miia Huttunen, among others. The doctoral seminars brought not only good

discussions but also encounters with amazing people such as Mari Aholainen, Olli Jakonen, Alekski Lohtaja, Taija Roiha, Tatiana Romashko, Johanna Tuukkanen and Taneli Viitahuhta, among others. I am grateful for your encouragement and support. In finalising the dissertation, the meetings with and support of Alekski, Olli and Taija were incredibly valuable.

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Most of this study has been conducted alongside other jobs in various organisations in the cultural domain. I feel that the broad experience I have gained in these workplaces has also been extremely valuable for the dissertation work. I am grateful to many brilliant colleagues who have supported me along the way, including (but not by any means limited to) Riikka Thitz, Juha Huuskonen, Ki Nurmenniemi, Jaana Eskola, Eleni Tsitsirikou, Stephanie Roiko, Anna Vilkkuna, Sirje Niitepöld, Turkka Ylinen and all SICians. I am also grateful for the great friendships we have maintained even after we have changed jobs.

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I was also lucky to be selected as a co-editor of the Finnish Cultural Policy Research Yearbook together with Olli Jakonen. Having the chance to read various inspiring texts in the context of the yearbook published by the society has also greatly contributed to my own writing and research.

For their help and support in finalising and publishing this dissertation, I wish to thank Riitta Liimatainen, Olli-Pekka Moisio, Päivi Vuorio and Jari Kaukua as well as the administrative services of the University of Jyväskylä. For the excellent proofreading of this dissertation, I wish to thank Anna Sinkkonen. For helping out with the maps, I wish to thank the talented Severi Nokela and Fanny Renko.

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Last but not least, I wish to thank myself for doing this work, for believing in me and for pushing forward even when I felt like quitting. I am incredibly grateful for this process and everything I have learned along the way. I am exactly where I need to be.

In Alppila, Helsinki, on 14 February 2024

Vappu Renko

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1 INTRODUCTION

Different regions in Finland have been suggested to have distinct cultural traits and identities. The perceptions of regions were actively constructed in the process of building Finnishness and the Finnish nation state (e.g. Topelius, 1876; Vilkuna, 1949; 2014). In the 19th century, cultural expressions such as regional songs and seals were created to represent distinct regional traits and promote regional identities (e.g. Kolbe & Kervanto Nevanlinna, 2003; Paasi, 1984; see also Häyrynen, 2015). In the 1920s, the idea of regions was revived as regional associations [Finnish: *maakuntaliitto*] were established to promote cultural development in their respective regions.

Upon the emergence of the welfare state in the 1960s, culture was distinguished and demarcated as a specific area of political concern in Finland and other Nordic countries (e.g. Duelund, 2008; Kangas, 2001; Kangas & Pirnes, 2014; Klockar Linder, 2014). Decentralisation was introduced as a guiding cultural policy principle (Kangas, 2004, pp. 133–134; Duelund, 2008, p. 510; see also Irjala & Eikås, 1995). Decentralisation is often defined as a shift of state power and authority from central to more local branches of the state (Cox, 2009; Mwangi & Wardell, 2012; Büchs, 2009, p. 39). In cultural policies, this meant assigning the expanding welfare functions and services to local and regional authorities (cf. Löfgren & Ringholm, 2009, p. 505). The state harnessed all administrative levels (national, regional and local) to promote culture as one of the main sectors of public policies.

The regional administrative level was thus involved in promoting the national cultural policy aims of the welfare state. These included creating favourable conditions for artists' work everywhere in the country and ensuring that all members of society have equal access to cultural services (Kangas, 2001, p. 62; Heikkinen, 2003; Kulturanalys Norden, 2018). The cultural policy aims reflected the general regional policy objectives, which included creating equal opportunities around the country and evening out regional differences (see Sotarauta & Karppi, 2013, p. 98). The state objectives were pursued by the regional cultural administration across the diverse and manifold regions.

In the 1990s, a shift from the welfare state towards a competition state began to emerge in Finland. The competition state has generally been characterised as a state that actively engages in promoting and facilitating competition in its policies as a means of driving economic growth, innovation and efficiency. The concept is often associated with neoliberal economic ideologies, which gained prominence in the latter half of the 20th century. (E.g. Hall, 2013; Gilbert, 2002; Hemerijck, 2012; Jessop, 2004; Julkunen, 2017; Moisio & Leppänen, 2007; Yliaska, 2014.)

In Finnish regional policy, the competition state tendencies again emphasised the regions' distinct cultural traits and identities. Regions were encouraged to stand out and highlight their distinctive regional features (Remahl, 2008, p. 121; Sotarauta, 2018, p. 3). Regional policy and cultural policy became increasingly intertwined as regions were expected to build on their distinct regional cultural traits to promote culture as part of regional development. This reflected a "cultural turn" in regional development, which has been recognised in Finland as well as in other Nordic countries (e.g. Alexander et al., 2017; Ilmonen, 1998; 2009a; 2009b; Lindeborg & Lindkvist, 2013; Lindqvist & Lorentzen, 2015). Arts and culture were adopted as instruments of regional development.

The state started to pursue a programme-based regional policy in order to achieve a better coordination between aims, strategies and actions across different administrative levels (Sotarauta, 2015). This "new regional policy" emphasised growth, vitality and regional development. In 1993, the responsibility for regional development was addressed to new regional councils [Finnish: *maakunnan liitto*], which were formed by merging the regional associations with the regional planning associations [Finnish: *seutukaavaliitto*]. This regional administration reform can be interpreted as an adaptation to the regional policies of the European Union (EU).

In 1995, Finland entered the EU, which strongly pushed for a "Europe of the Regions" with various policy instruments to reduce disparities across the member states (e.g. Sjöblom, 2020; Kettunen & Kull, 2009). The various EU funding instruments designated for regions further encouraged regional distinctiveness and competition. The emphasis on regions also provided new political opportunities for subnational authorities and other actors (Sjöblom, 2020).

In developing different regions, both the EU and the state have increasingly emphasised cooperation, partnerships and networks (e.g. Sotarauta, 2015). The reliance on variable, collaborative and network-based structures and interventions reflects the tendency of *governance* in regional development (e.g. Sjöblom, 2020).

The concept of governance has been widely used and broadly defined to address "the way in which collective impacts are produced in a social system" (Hill & Hupe, 2002, p. 13). As a style of governing, governance has been distinguished from the hierarchical control of the government (which entails formal and institutional processes to maintain public order and facilitate collective action) and defined as a more cooperative style in which both

government actors and non-government actors from the private sector and civil society participate in constructing and implementing policy through various partnerships and networks (e.g. Colebatch, 2014; Kooiman, 1993; Rhodes, 1996; 1997; Stoker, 1998). This understanding of governance can be traced back to European and, broadly, international contexts in which governance was introduced as one way to address collective and complex societal issues (Mayntz, 2003, pp. 27–28).

Currently, regions are faced with manifold and contradictory expectations in Finnish cultural policy. On one hand, national cultural policy aims to enable equal opportunities for artistic work and cultural participation across the country. On the other hand, regions are expected to build on distinct regional cultural traits to promote culture as part of regional development together with various actors from different societal sectors (public, private, third).

Despite these various expectations, previous studies have suggested that regional cultural policy agency is lacking in Finland. In Finnish cultural policy, the regional level has been described as “weaker regions” (Sokka, 2022, p. 51), and it has been argued to have “only limited” and “marginal” importance in cultural policy (Sokka, 2022, p. 51; Lefever & Kanerva, 2022, p. 4). The suggested marginal position of the regional level of Finnish cultural policy appears to contradict with the manifold expectations placed on regions in cultural policy. This contradiction serves as a starting point for this study. Here, I am interested in *how regions can address the manifold expectations by constructing regional cultural policy in Finland*.

In this study, regional cultural policy is understood as a line of activities related to culture at the regional level (Palonen, 2003). From a governance perspective, constructing regional cultural policy involves a variety of both government and non-government actors. This study focuses on regional government organisations that have statutory cultural policy tasks and responsibilities, and that therefore form the regional administrative structure for cultural affairs in Finland. I have chosen this focus because there are no recent studies focusing on regional cultural policy administration in Finland as a whole. Despite its suggested limited and marginal importance, regional cultural administration has been established and maintained, and it represents one part of public cultural administration along with the state and municipalities.

Currently, Finnish legislation distributes cultural policy power and responsibilities among four organisations: 1) the regional councils, 2) the Regional State Administrative Agencies [Finnish: *aluehallintovirasto*, henceforth AVI], 3) the Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment [Finnish: *elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskus*, henceforth ELY] and 4) the Arts Promotion Centre Finland’s regional offices and arts councils (Kangas & Pirnes, 2014, p. 31). These organisations have different tasks and geographical areas of operation: there are 18 regional councils, 6 AVIs, 15 ELYs and 13 regional arts councils. In addition, the Arts Promotion Centre has 11 regional offices [Finnish: *aluetoimipiste*].

Even though I focus on regional cultural administration, I recognise that the multiplicity of government organisations creates various possibilities for cooperation both among the government organisations and with non-government actors that are involved in regional cultural policy construction (such as artists and cultural actors residing and operating in different regions, publicly supported arts and cultural institutions, arts and cultural organisations, regional cultural foundations, and regional centres for photography, dance and children’s culture). While I focus on regional cultural administration and do not analyse other actors and their activities as such, I discuss the variety of actors involved in regional cultural policy construction which was recognised in the interviews conducted with public officials in regional cultural administration. In this way, the study brings forth how the public officials see governance in regional cultural policy construction.

The multiplicity of government organisations and non-uniform borders in Finnish regional cultural administration create a distinct context for regional cultural policy construction. The multiplicity of actors in state regional cultural administration and the lack of a self-governing regional level in cultural policy distinguish Finland from most other Nordic countries (see Kulturanalys Norden, 2023). This divergence is notable since the neighbouring country of Sweden in particular has served as an established reference point for Finnish cultural policy and other policies that have been developed “according to the Swedish model” (e.g. Karvonen, 1981; Sippola, 2016; Temmes, 2008; Hirvi-Ijäs & Renko, 2020). The Nordic countries share many similar cultural policy traits that are often referred to as the “Nordic Model” in cultural policy. The Nordic model includes the public authorities’ substantial responsibility for cultural life, welfare-oriented support systems for individual artists, the promotion of equal access to culture, relatively strong local and regional cultural administrations and institutional infrastructures, and a combination of relatively strong ministries for cultural affairs and arm’s-length bodies. (Mangset et al., 2008; see also Duelund, 2003; Valtysson, 2016.)

To better understand the connection between regional cultural policy construction and the administrative structures, I contrast the possibilities of regional cultural policy construction in Finland to those in Sweden, where self-governing regions hold the main responsibility for regional cultural policy. The self-governing, politically elected county councils were reintroduced into the Swedish political system in a major municipal reform already in 1862.¹ The primary argument for the reform was the need for a more efficient regional and local administration following industrialisation. The regions’ role in cultural policy has been increasingly emphasised since 2011 through the introduction of the Cultural Cooperation Model [Swedish: *kultursamverkansmodellen*], which marked a “major shift in Swedish cultural policy” (Lindqvist, 2022, p. 117). The

¹ In the 1630s, the implementation of a county reform had abolished the county councils [Swedish: *landsting*] as the political decision-making bodies of the then self-governing provinces [Swedish: *landskap*].

model includes the allocation of national funding to the regional level based on regional cultural plans.

This study is structured as follows. This introductory chapter is followed by Chapter 2, which provides a context for this study. I will present a brief overview of Finnish cultural policy and its intertwinement with regional policy (Chapter 2.1). I will also introduce the current regional administrative structure for cultural affairs in Finland and the government organisations' administrative divisions (Chapter 2.2) as well as previous studies on the regional level in cultural policy in Finland and abroad (Chapter 2.3).

Chapter 3 describes the focus of this study. Building on the introduction, I will first explain the definition of regional cultural policy in the context of this study (Chapter 3.1). I will then present the research questions of this study (Chapter 3.2) and explain how each research article included in this study contributes to these questions (Chapter 3.3).

Chapter 4 introduces the theoretical background that provides tools for answering the research questions. Chapter 4.1 presents theories of state rescaling that are used to explain the construction of Finnish regional cultural administration. Chapter 4.2 describes a governance framework used in the study of policy processes that provides means to analyse the current practices in regional cultural policy construction.

Chapter 5 introduces the datasets and methods applied in this study (Chapters 5.1 and 5.2). I will also reflect on the data and methods and their limitations (Chapter 5.3).

Chapter 6 includes the results of this study. I will answer the research questions by explaining the construction of Finnish regional cultural administration in contrast to Sweden (Chapter 6.1), presenting the current cultural policy practices implemented by regional cultural administration (Chapter 6.2) and analysing the possibilities of constructing regional cultural policy within the current Finnish regional cultural administration in contrast to Sweden (Chapter 6.3).

Chapter 7 concludes the study and discusses the implications of the key results and their importance for further regional cultural policy research.

2 CONTEXT: THE REGIONAL LEVEL AND CULTURAL POLICY IN FINLAND

Cultural policy construction in different countries is affected by distinct societal and institutional contexts. In this chapter, I am describing the Finnish context by providing a brief overview of Finnish cultural policy and its intertwinement with regional policy. I will also introduce the current regional administrative structure for cultural affairs in Finland in contrast to Sweden, and present how the regional level in cultural policy has been approached in previous studies in Finland and abroad.

2.1 Formation of Finnish cultural policy and its relation to regional policy

Cultural policy as an articulated policy sector is a relatively recent historical phenomenon. In Finland and other Nordic countries, this policy sector, consisting of “the structured actions of specific public authorities”, became formulated since the 1960s onwards (e.g. Mangset, 2020, p. 398; Duelund, 2003, p. 13). This was preceded by the state’s increasing involvement in promoting cultural affairs. In the formation of Finnish cultural policy, three broad phases have been distinguished: nation building (1860–1960), the welfare state (1960–1990) and competition society (1990–)² (Heiskanen, 1994; Kangas, 1999, pp. 159–167; 2004, pp. 21–41).

In Finland, the formation of cultural policy began during the 19th century with measures such as the establishment of national arts and cultural institutions and allocation of artist grants. In the course of nation building, culture presented an important instrument in the creation of national unity. (Sokka, 2022, p. 49.) This highlighted the national level as the main container of power and

² The phase of competition society has also been addressed using terms such as cultural policy of the market economy (Ilmonen, 1998) and fragmented cultural policy (Luttinen, 1997).

responsibility in cultural issues. In addition, various local theatres and orchestras were established, many of which served as predecessors of the municipal arts and cultural institutions still functioning today (Sokka, 2022, p. 49).

Soon after Finland gained independence, the state gradually took over many of civic associations' tasks. In this process, one of the key elements of Finnish cultural policy was established: the state and the local government share the responsibility of supporting arts and culture (Sokka, 2022, p. 49; Kangas, 2003, p. 84). However, during the first phase of the formation of Finnish cultural policy, the role of organisations and individual persons was at least as significant as the state's role (Kangas & Pirnes, 2015, p. 24).

In the 1960s, culture began to become part of the tasks of the Finnish welfare state. The administrative structures for arts and culture policies were established and developed (Kangas & Pirnes, 2015, p. 25; see also Numminen, 2020). During this time, UNESCO's international influence was significant in distributing information about different ways of organising cultural policy as a public policy sector. It also highlighted decentralisation in connection with the delegation of cultural policy authority to communities (e.g. UNESCO, 1968, p. 12).

In Finland, key cultural policy aims included spreading (high) culture to all individuals and all parts of the country (i.e. the democratisation of culture). Achieving an equal geographical spread of cultural arrangements was a goal common to all the Nordic countries (see e.g. Bille, 2022, pp. 21–22; Duelund, 2008, p. 490). While all the Finnish administrative levels worked together to achieve the welfare state aims, public services were mainly channelled through municipalities, making decentralisation local.

In line with cultural policy, regional policy shared the welfare state aim of evening out differences in the development of different areas (Sotarauta & Karppi, 2013, p. 98).³ In the 1970s, regional policy started to cover the whole country through regional development plans that also addressed culture (Sippola, 2016, pp. 90–91). Cultural and regional policies became increasingly intertwined as regionality [Finnish: *alueellisuus*] began to affect the allocation of state subsidies in cultural policy as well (Häyrynen, 2002, p. 37).

In cultural policy, the focus shifted from the democratisation of culture to cultural democracy, whereby the aim was to stimulate self-expression and people's own local culture. The state wanted to make sure that people all around the country had the chance to both attend cultural activities and create culture themselves. Here, the local level remained in focus, and legislation on local cultural activities was established in 1970. The law on local cultural activities was strongly committed to regional equality in the provision of basic cultural services. Accessibility, democratisation and cultural democracy were key themes in a report published by the Committee on Cultural Activities [Finnish: *kulttuuritoimintakomitean mietintö*] in 1974. The report also introduced the concept of cultural policy in an official context (Kangas & Pirnes, 2015, p. 25).

³ In Finland, legislation on regional development first came into force in 1966. At the beginning, regional policy included the expansion of industrialisation and focused on distinct regions. (Myllylä, 2016, p. 86; Niittykangas & Tervo, 1995, p. 326.)

Approaching the 1990s, a shift from the welfare state towards a competition state began to emerge in various policy sectors (e.g. Gilbert, 2002; Hemerijck, 2012; Jessop, 2004; Julkunen, 2017). New modernisation programmes inspired by New Public Management (NPM) were implemented, aiming towards greater efficiency – often in economic terms – within the public sector (Peters, 2011, p. 7; Löfgren & Ringholm, 2009, p. 505). In cultural policy too, the competition state tendencies became visible. This highlighted the connection between cultural policy and broader policy rationales and ideological shifts.

The arguments for decentralisation changed as a reflection of the emerging ideological wave and as a reaction to the economic stagnation of the time (Mangset, 1995, pp. 73–74). In the competition state, the arguments stressing the collective elements of decentralisation (increasing democracy, transferring power from central to local bodies, strengthening local culture) gradually gave way to ones emphasising more individualistic elements (effectiveness and efficiency in the cultural sector, closer connection between the economy and culture) (Kangas, 2004, p. 133).

In line with the aim of efficiency (and combined with the economic decline), the state's administrative organisation was narrowed down, and tasks and responsibilities were transferred to the local level (e.g. Karvonen & Rintala, 2004, p. 168) or the private or third sector in many policy sectors. In Finnish cultural policy, municipalities that were already providing cultural services were given more freedom to finance and provide the services as they saw fit. This increased the municipalities' possibilities to formulate and profile their cultural services and, as a result, to increasingly differentiate themselves as providers of public cultural services. The state's norm steering was reduced, information steering was increased, and municipalities were expected to take more financial responsibility for service provision.

In regional policy, a shift “from being a centralised national government policy aimed at lagging or declining regions, to a more decentralised one promoting growth and vitality in all regions” was visible (Airaksinen & Åström, 2009, p. 599). The changes in the regional administration of cultural policy were intertwined with broader administrative changes and the EU accession, which significantly affected Finnish regional policy by introducing structural funds policies that also included culture (Sjöblom, 2020).

In the context of shifting regional policy aims and new justifications for culture based on its positive effects (often labelled as the instrumentalisation of culture⁴), regional development took a “cultural turn”, whereby culture was increasingly perceived as an instrument in local and regional policies (e.g. Alexander et al., 2017; Ilmonen, 1998; 2009a; 2009b). Culture-led development

⁴ In Denmark, for example, “(t)he instrumentalisation of culture began in the 1980s with an increasing focus on the impact of culture on employment and economic growth. This was enhanced during the 2000s with the advent of the experience economy and a focus on the creative industries and their contribution to the national economy (Bille, 2011). Later, the instrumentalisation of culture spread to health impacts, social impacts, and the integration of citizens of different ethnic backgrounds. At the same time, cultural policy for children has increased in importance.” (Bille, 2022, pp. 21–22.)

strategies were broadly adopted at the local and regional levels in the hope of strengthening their competitive position (Miles & Paddison, 2005, pp. 833–839). Culture’s role in improving citizen’s welfare and surroundings, boosting tourism and improving the economy was increasingly highlighted. In this way, the cultural and regional policy sectors became increasingly intertwined, and the dominant discourses and actors in regional development and cultural policy began to merge together to a deeper extent (Ilmonen, 2015, p. 2).

In today’s cultural policy, the features of the different phases are visible: the different policy rationales and reform trends have complemented and supplemented each other through a process of layering (Greve et al., 2020, p. 697; Christensen & Lægheid, 2011). This has been described as a sedimentation in which new layers are added to the existing ones, slowly shifting some cultural policy rationales (Sokka & Johannisson, 2022, p. 11). In this way, despite the increasing competition state tendencies, many studies have pointed out that the welfare principles have remained relevant in the cultural policies of all the Nordic countries (e.g. Bille, 2022, p. 37; Kulturanalys Norden, 2022, p. 7).⁵ For example, the democratisation of culture and cultural democracy continue to coexist (cf. Bille, 2022, p. 31). At the same time, deriving from governance, the emphasis on collaboration and cooperation among and between public sector and other actors has been highlighted (e.g. Greve et al., 2020, p. 702; Osborne, 2006, pp. 382–384).

In the course of the different phases described above, a “modern, sectorial” cultural policy has been established in Finland (cf. Mangset, 2020, p. 398). Currently, the development of Finnish cultural policy is the statutory responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Culture [henceforth: MEC]⁶. However, it has been noted that cultural policy is connected to various other policy sectors (such as regional policy, as described above), and thus demarcating the cultural policy sector is not straightforward (see e.g. Dubois, 2015; Häyrynen, 2006; Jakonen, 2022). Per Mangset (2020, p. 404, 406) has suggested that while cultural policy as a sector involves the risk of limiting culture within “a bureaucratic iron cage”, public cultural policy could be seriously weakened by spreading jurisdiction across many departments. The marginal position of the cultural policy sector in relation to many other policy sectors has already been noted (e.g. European Task Force on Culture and Development, 1997). At the same time, the connections between cultural policy and other policy sectors create a demand for the coordination and collaboration of different policies across different administrative structures (see e.g. Lindqvist, 2024, p. 24).

The Finnish cultural policy sector has often been described as rather stable, and it has been suggested that the established cultural policy structures have largely shielded cultural policies from political upheavals (Jakonen, 2022; Sokka

⁵ For example, “public funding for culture in the Nordic region is still very much integrated into a welfare-oriented perspective; that is, public funding should contribute to universal equal access to artistic and cultural activities, regardless of place of residence.” (Kulturanalys Norden, 2022, p. 7).

⁶ In 2010, the name of the ministry was changed from the Ministry of Education [Finnish: *opetusministeriö*] to the Ministry of Education and Culture [*opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö*].

& Johannisson, 2022, p. 12). Still, it must be noted that political parties and decisions play a central role in a democratic system and remain influential in steering both cultural and regional policies (see e.g. Sipponen, 1993; Lindqvist, 2024).

2.2 Current Finnish regional administrative structure for cultural affairs

In Finland, the current regional administrative structure for cultural affairs builds on a “two-pillar system” (SM, 2004) similar to Finnish regional administration in general. On one hand, it relies on regional councils that are based on the regional associations established in the 1920s and function as collaborative forums for the municipalities within each region. The regional councils consist of delegates from municipal councils. The regional councils are statutory joint municipal authorities, which means that every municipality in Mainland Finland must be a member of a regional council. On the other hand, the regional administrative structure builds on state regional administration, which is further organised in various administrative organisations.

In this context, Finnish regional administration has often been described as caught in the middle. Timo Reina (2012) describes the position of the regional level between the local and national levels as being “between two fires”: on one side, the central government pushes the national policies, and on the other, the local government expects support for its actions. In Finnish sports policy, Jouko Kokkonen and Teijo Pyykkönen (2018) describe regional sports administration as “a silent middleman within the administrative hierarchy”.

It must be noted that in Finnish regional administration, a significant change took place in 2021 when Parliament adopted a government proposal for legislation on establishing wellbeing services counties and reforming the organisation of healthcare, social welfare and rescue services. Starting from 2023, altogether 21 wellbeing services counties were established and entrusted with the health, social and rescue services duties that previously were the responsibility of municipalities and joint municipal authorities. The establishment of these self-governing regional bodies is linked to a long series of regional reforms in Finland and represents a significant change as more power in policy construction now lies in the directly elected regions. However, unlike in Sweden, the Finnish regions do not have the right of taxation.

As the regional reform is connected to healthcare, social welfare and rescue services, culture *per se* is excluded from the wellbeing services counties’ tasks, and it is not mentioned in the legislation establishing the counties (611/2021). Municipalities are still expected to collaborate with the new counties in promoting the objectives of the Act on Cultural Activities in Local Government (166/2019). This highlights the role of culture as an instrument in increasing wellbeing as well as in local and regional development. Overall, the Finnish

regional administrative structure for cultural affairs still builds on the two-pillar structure, consisting of the regional councils and three organisations representing state regional administration (the AVIs, the ELYs and the Arts Promotion Centre Finland’s regional offices and arts councils). (Figure 1.) These organisations are the focus of this study.⁷

FINLAND	SWEDEN
NATIONAL LEVEL	
REGIONAL LEVEL	
Regional councils	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Statutory joint municipal authority responsible for regional development • 18 (+ the independent region of Åland) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representative regional level • 21 (of which Gotland is a municipality with the same responsibilities as a regional council)
State administration on a regional level	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6 Regional State Administrative Agencies (+ independent region of Åland) • 15 Centres of Economic Development, Transport and the Environment • 13 regional arts councils and 11 regional offices of the Arts Promotion Centre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 21 County Administrative Boards
LOCAL LEVEL	

Source: Renko, 2022.

FIGURE 1. Administrative structures for cultural affairs at the regional level.

The 18 regional councils are mandated by law to act as public authorities responsible for two key tasks: regional development and land use planning (see Figure 2). In the context of regional development, the regional councils are responsible for including culture in harmonising and coordinating the plans and development aims with the general regional programme (7/2014, section 17). They also play an important role in channelling the EU’s structural funding in Finland. In this context, culture is often included. For example, in the 2007–2013 programme period, over EUR 200 million was channelled to approximately 700 culturally oriented European Social Fund (ESF) and European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) projects in Finland. (Jakonen & Mitchell, 2015.)

⁷ It must be noted that in August 2023, the government started a new regional reform to create new regional vitality centres [Finnish: *elinvoimakeskus*]. The reform plans include the AVIs and ELYs. <https://vm.fi/-/valtion-aluehallinnon-uudistus-kaynnistyy> [accessed 16 January 2024.]



FIGURE 2. Administrative divisions of the regional councils.

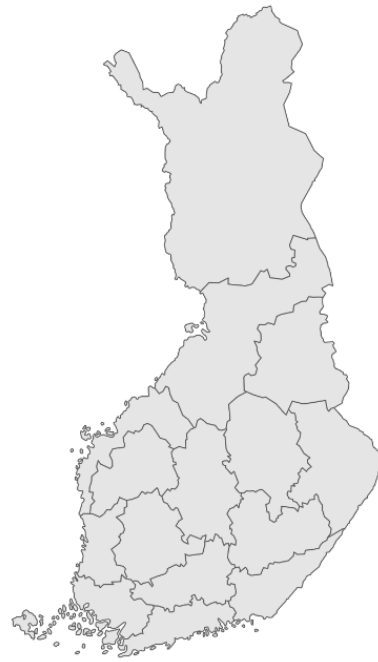


FIGURE 4. Administrative divisions of the ELYs.

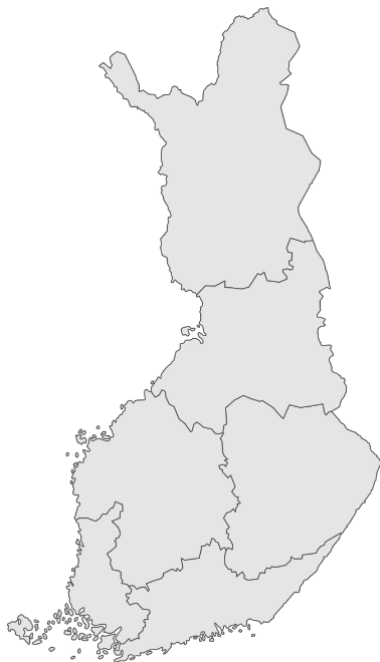


FIGURE 3. Administrative divisions of the AVIs.

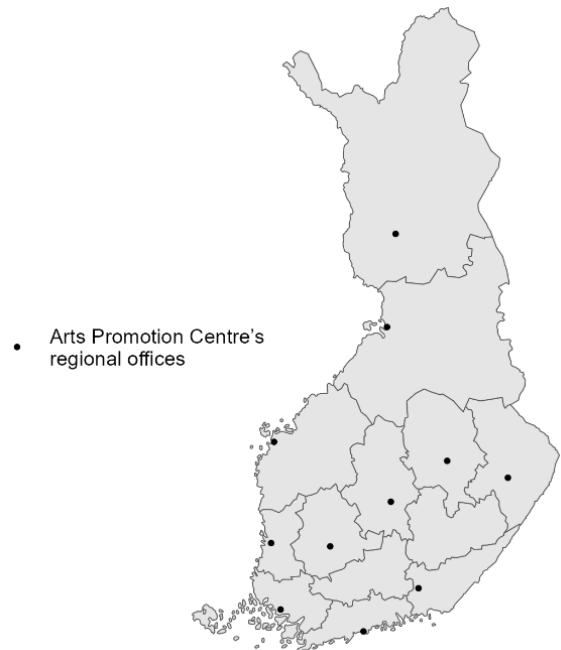


FIGURE 5. Administrative divisions of the regional arts councils and the locations of the Arts Promotion Centre's regional offices.

The AVIs' general tasks include the realisation of basic rights and legal protection, accessibility of health and social services, sustainable use of the environment, domestic safety, and healthy and safe living and working environments in their respective areas of operation. The AVIs' operations are governed by legislation and various ministries that assign them duties at the regional level. In cultural policy, the AVIs have been assigned tasks related to supporting the operations of public libraries by organising training, granting government aid, producing information and conducting assessments. Cultural services are also evaluated every two years as part of the evaluation of basic public services conducted by the AVIs.¹²

The ELYs are responsible for promoting regional competitiveness, wellbeing and sustainable development. Culture is included in this context as the ELYs help "actors in culture and the creative economy to improve their competence, provide them with more employment opportunities and a better operating environment and to develop arts and cultural services".¹³ Administratively, the ELYs belong to the administrative branch of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment but are also steered by various other ministries and multiple government agencies.¹⁴ In addition to the regional councils, the ELYs are responsible for channelling EU funds (ESF and ERDF) to the Finnish regions (see Figure 4).¹⁵

The operational areas of the six AVIs cover multiple counties, excluding Lapland where AVI covers a single region (see Figure 3).¹⁶ The operational areas of the 15 ELYs differ from the county division in Häme, Southeast Finland and Ostrobothnia, where the ELY areas cover two regions (see Figure 4).¹⁷ The ELY centres are divided into three categories depending on how many of the three areas of responsibility (Economic Development, Transport, Environment) they deal with.

⁸ https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/d/dd/Regions_of_Finland_labelled_FL.svg/800px-Regions_of_Finland_labelled_FL.svg.png [accessed 16 March 2024.]

⁹ <https://avi.fi/vastuullisuusraportti/aluehallintovirastot-lyhyesti> [accessed 16 January 2024.]

¹⁰ <https://www.ely-keskus.fi/ely-keskukset> [accessed 16 January 2024.]

¹¹ <https://www.taike.fi/fi/tietoa-taikesta/organisaatio/yhteystiedot> and <https://www.taike.fi/fi/tietoa-taikesta/asiantuntijaelimet/alueelliset-taidetoimikunnat> [accessed 16 February 2024.]

¹² The AVIs have, however, never conducted evaluations related to cultural services. The Ministry of Education and Culture first assigned this responsibility to the University of Jyväskylä and in 2017, it was transferred to the Center for Cultural Policy Research Cupore.

¹³ <https://www.ely-keskus.fi/en/web/ely-en/culture> [accessed 17 November 2022.]

¹⁴ In addition to the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, the ELY centres are steered by the Ministries of the Interior, Education and Culture, Agriculture and Forestry, the Environment, and Transport and Communication as well as the Finnish Transport Infrastructure Agency. The centres also follow the goals of the Finnish Food Authority, the Finnish Immigration Service and Business Finland. <https://www.ely-keskus.fi/en/web/ely-en/organisation> [accessed 17 November 2022.]

¹⁵ <https://www.ely-keskus.fi/eu-rahoitus> [accessed 12 March 2023.]

¹⁶ Valtioneuvoston asetus aluehallintovirastoista 906/2009, section 1.

¹⁷ Valtioneuvoston asetus elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskuksista 1373/2018, section 1.

The Arts Promotion Centre Finland [Finnish: *Taiteen edistämiskeskus*, shortened as *Taike*] is an agency included in the MEC's administrative branch. It is responsible for promoting the arts as well as aspects of culture that are not covered by any other official body. Each year, the Arts Promotion Centre Finland awards about EUR 45 million in grants, prizes and subsidies to around 3,500 artists and communities.¹⁸

At the regional level, the regional arts councils function as the centre's expert bodies (along with the Central Arts Council and the national councils). The 13 regional arts councils allocate grants and awards within their respective regions. In 2019, the regional arts councils included 116 members that were in charge of allocating a total amount of EUR 3.2 million to artists and artist groups. (Uusikylä et al., 2021.) The regional arts councils reflect the application of the arm's length principle in public arts funding in Finland (see Chartrand & McCaughey, 1989).¹⁹ The regional arts councils operate in connection with the Arts Promotion Centre's regional offices, which function as expert bodies and carry out regional collaboration. At the moment, the Arts Promotion Centre has 11 regional offices (see Figure 5). Their geographical areas of operation are not presented on *Taike*'s website.²⁰

The multi-actor nature of Finnish regional cultural administration is highlighted when contrasted to Sweden. In Sweden, the main responsibility for regional cultural policy has been assigned to the 21 self-governing regions. The Swedish regions are authorities that are governed by regional assemblies directly elected by citizens every four years. In cultural policy, the Swedish regions allocate financing based on regional taxation as well as national funding granted to the regions within the framework of the Cultural Cooperation Model. The regions receive national funding in the form of a general subsidy granted by the Swedish Arts Council [Swedish: *Kulturrådet*] and based on a cultural plan that each region must produce in cooperation with municipalities and in dialogue with the cultural sector and civil society.

The Swedish regions play a central role in financing and maintaining many regional cultural institutions. In 2021, the regions' financial contribution to culture was around SEK 4.8 billion of which SEK 2.3 billion was channelled via the Cultural Cooperation Model (SOU, 2023, p. 76). At the regional level, the largest shares of financing are allocated to performing arts and other cultural expenses (including support for libraries, adult education [excluding folk high schools] as well as visual arts, literature, and design and crafts) (Lindqvist, 2022, p. 122). In Finland, the arts and cultural institutions (museums, theatres and orchestras) are financed and maintained by the local and national levels.

¹⁸ <https://www.taike.fi/en/about-us/organisation/funding-and-management> [accessed 12 March 2023.]

¹⁹ *Taike* continues the activities of the Arts Council of Finland, which was founded in 1968. <https://www.taike.fi/en/about-us/organisation> [accessed 12 March 2023.]

²⁰ <https://www.taike.fi/en/about-us/organisation/contacts> [accessed 12 March 2023.] In addition to the regional organisations, the Arts Promotion Centre Finland includes 40 regional artists who initiate and carry out national and regional arts promotion projects throughout Finland, implementing the Arts Promotion Centre's development programmes.

The Swedish regional administrative structure for cultural affairs also include the County Administrative Boards [Swedish: *länsstyrelse*], which represent state administration at the regional level. However, in cultural policy, their responsibilities are limited to coordinating regional development in line with the national cultural heritage policy goals.

Unlike the Arts Promotion Centre Finland, the Swedish Arts Council does not have distinct regional offices or regional arts councils. Each year, the Swedish Arts Council distributes approximately SEK 2.5 billion to arts and culture. The majority of the funding is distributed to the Swedish regions through the Cultural Cooperation Model.²¹ The Swedish Arts Grants Committee [Swedish: *Konstnärdsnämnden*] provides grants for individual artists and international collaborations and projects.

The contrasting with Sweden also highlights the multi-border nature of Finnish regional cultural administration. The administrative regions are established by legislation that defines their names, numbers, borders, areas of operation, tasks and responsibilities. The borders delineate the geographical area within which each regional government organisation holds policy power and responsibilities.

In Sweden, the geographical borders concerning regional cultural policy are distinctly defined: the regional councils and County Administrative Boards have similar administrative borders. In contrast, Finnish regional cultural administration is characterised by incoherent administrative borders. Table 1 shows the administrative borders within Finnish regional cultural administration and their relation to the basic administrative division (regions)²² and the newly established, self-governing wellbeing services counties.

The administrative borders of the regional councils are equivalent to the division of regions²³. Interestingly, the areas of the new wellbeing services counties do not match the traditional division of regions. All the organisations that belong to the state regional administration for cultural affairs have different administrative borders (Table 1). The regional arts councils operate in multiple regions in Häme (Häme and Päijät-Häme), Ostrobothnia (South Ostrobothnia, Ostrobothnia and Central Ostrobothnia) and North Ostrobothnia and Kainuu. In addition, the Arts Promotion Centre Finland has 11 regional offices whose geographical areas of operation are not clearly defined. The Arts Promotion

²¹ <https://www.kulturradet.se/en/about-us/swedish-cultural-policy/> [accessed 12 March 2022.]

²² The administrative division of regions [Finnish: *maakunta*] was established already in the first constitutional law (94/1919): "Yleistä hallintoa varten on Suomi edelleen oleva jaettuna lääneihin, kihlakuntiin ja kuntiin." (section 50); "Lailla säädetään myöskin, millä tavoin ja kuinka laajalti kansalaisten itsehallintoa on sovittava kuntia suurempiin hallintoalueisiin." (section 51). The division is based on the historical provinces and can be traced back to the administrative reforms of the 17th century when Finland was still part of Sweden (Haveri, 1997; Reina, 2012, pp. 13–14).

²³ "Tässä laissa tarkoitetaan: 1) *alueella* maakuntajakolaisissa ([1159/1997](#)) tarkoitettujen maakuntien alueita lukuun ottamatta Ahvenanmaan maakuntaa" (section 5, Laki alueiden kehittämisestä ja Euroopan unionin alue- ja rakennepolitiikan toimeenpanosta 756/2021)

Centre only presents these regional offices' location at the local level. The offices are in 11 large cities around the country.²⁴

The differences in the regional administrative organisations' areas of operation mean that Finland (unlike Sweden) does not have a clear division of administrative regions in cultural policy – even though there has often been an aim to define the administrative regions based on one strong regional actor (Kangas & Ruokolainen, 2012, p. 10). The different operational areas of the organisations involved in regional cultural administration create a situation in which the concept of administrative region is blurred in Finnish cultural policy.

The administrative regions of Finnish cultural policy are further complicated by the division of tasks within the regional administrative organisations. Tasks are not distributed evenly among the AVI agencies and ELY centres. For example, the Swedish-speaking library services are handled by one AVI division operating in the whole country.²⁵ The regional councils have also organised their operations in different ways: some regional councils have public officials that focus on culture, while other regional councils have decided to assign cultural tasks to public officials that also have tasks related to other policy fields. The Arts Promotion Centre's regional offices may carry out projects that include multiple regions or even the country as a whole, in this way further obscuring the regional divisions.

²⁴ The regional offices are in Helsinki, Joensuu, Jyväskylä, Kouvola, Kuopio, Oulu, Pori, Rovaniemi, Tampere, Turku and Vaasa. <https://www.taike.fi/fi/tietoa-taikesta/organisaatio/yhteystiedot> [accessed 17 November 2022.] All these are among the 17 largest cities by population in Finland.

²⁵ <https://avi.fi/tietoa-meista/tehtavamme/opetus-ja-kulttuuri> [accessed 6 July 2023.]

TABLE 1. Regional government bodies' areas of operation in Mainland Finland.²⁶

Administrative division: regions (18) ²⁷	Wellbeing services counties (21) ²⁸	Regional government organisations in the administrative structures for cultural affairs			
		Regional councils (18)	AVIs (6)	ELYs (15)	Regional arts councils (13) ²⁹
Uusimaa	Itä-Uusimaa	Uusimaa	Southern Finland	Uusimaa	Uusimaa
	Keski-Uusimaa				
	Länsi-Uusimaa				
	Vantaa and Kerava				
Kanta-Häme	Kanta-Häme	Häme		Häme	Häme
Päijät-Häme	Päijät-Häme	Päijät-Häme			
Kymenlaakso	Kymenlaakso	Kymenlaakso		South East Finland	South East Finland
South Karelia	South Karelia	South Karelia			
South Savo	South Savo	South Savo	Eastern Finland	South Savo	South Savo
North Savo	North Savo	North Savo		North Savo	North Savo
North Karelia	North Karelia	North Karelia		North Karelia	North Karelia
Lapland	Lapland	Lapland	Lapland	Lapland	Lapland
Southwest Finland	Southwest Finland	Southwest Finland	South-western Finland	Southwest Finland	Southwest Finland
Satakunta	Satakunta	Satakunta		Satakunta	Satakunta
Pirkanmaa	Pirkanmaa	Pirkanmaa	Western and Inland Finland	Pirkanmaa	Pirkanmaa
Central Finland	Central Finland	Central Finland		Central Finland	Central Finland
South Ostrobothnia	South Ostrobothnia	South Ostrobothnia		South Ostrobothnia	Ostrobothnia
Ostrobothnia	Ostrobothnia	Ostrobothnia		Ostrobothnia	
Central Ostrobothnia	Central Ostrobothnia	Central Ostrobothnia			
North Ostrobothnia	North Ostrobothnia	North Ostrobothnia	North-ern Finland	North Ostrobothnia	North Ostrobothnia and Kainuu
Kainuu	Kainuu	Kainuu		Kainuu	

²⁶ In addition, there is the autonomous region of Åland [Finnish: *Ahvenanmaa*]. With its own Parliament with the right to pass legislation on culture, for example, Åland represents a special region excluded from this regional cultural policy study. For more on Åland's status, see e.g.: <https://um.fi/the-special-status-of-the-aland-islands#history> [accessed 5 August 2022.]

²⁷ <https://www2.stat.fi/en/luokitukset/maakunta/> [accessed 5 August 2022.]

²⁸ <https://soteuudistus.fi/hyvinvointialueiden-nimet-ja-niihin-kuuluvat-kunnat> [accessed 18 November 2022.]

²⁹ <https://www.taike.fi/fi/alueelliset-taidetoimikunnat> [accessed 18 April 2022.] The operational areas of the 11 regional offices are not clearly defined, see <https://www.taike.fi/en/about-us/organisation/contacts> [accessed 18 November 2022.]

2.3 Previous studies on the regional level in cultural policy

As the chapters above show, the development of Finnish cultural policy as a policy sector and the current administrative structure for cultural affairs have been discussed in previous research. At the same time, in Finland and many other countries, cultural policy research has paid significantly less attention to the regional level than the national level, which holds most power in and the main responsibility for public cultural policy construction and financing. In Finland, where the main responsibility for public cultural service provision lies with municipalities, the local level of cultural policy has also been extensively analysed (see e.g. Kangas, 1991; 2003; 2015; Kangas & Ruokolainen, 2012; Ruusuvirta & Saukkonen, 2014; Ruusuvirta et al., 2008; 2012; Saukkonen & Ruusuvirta, 2008; 2009; Renko & Ruusuvirta, 2018; Ruusuvirta et al., 2020).

In this chapter, I provide a context for my research by presenting an overview of previous studies that have addressed the regional level in cultural policy in Finland and abroad. While I focus on previous research on cultural policy specifically, I also include studies that have addressed culture in regional policy research. Both cultural and regional policies are broad concepts, and their research is not limited to these administrative sectors.

Regional cultural policy studies in Finland

Focusing on regional cultural administration, this study builds on previous studies that have identified the current administrative organisations and the multi-actor nature of Finnish regional cultural administration (Häyrynen, 2006, pp. 75–78; Kangas, 2001; Kangas & Pirnes, 2015; Kangas & Ruokolainen, 2012, pp. 10–11). In this context, many studies have focused on the cultural policy operations of individual organisations. These include Marko Haajanen and Sakarias Sokka's (2002) study on the role of the regional councils in defining cultural policy. The regional councils' culture-related strategies have been analysed by Kari Ilmonen (1994; 1998) and Simo Häyrynen (2002; 2003), whose studies concerning the region of North Karelia have addressed the connections between regional identities and cultural policy.

Previous studies have brought forth the variety of actors and networks connected to the regional level in cultural policy beyond regional cultural administration. For example, there are publicly supported arts and cultural organisations and networks that have regional operations. These include arts and cultural organisations (museums, theatres, orchestras) that often have regional activities (some have been especially assigned a regional responsibility), as well as regional networks of third sector cultural organisations with a focus on a specific art form (e.g. photography, dance) or target group (e.g. children's culture) that are also often supported by the public sector. Different reports have addressed state-funded actors with regional operations which include arts and cultural institutions (Uusi-Seppä, 2017; OKM, 2009a; 2009b; 2010b) and regional

centres for photography, dance and children's culture (Korkeakoski & Pääjoki, 2009; OKM, 2010c; Talaskivi, 2023). Non-government arts and cultural actors with regional activities also include regional cultural foundations. Their fields and networks have been analysed in Jarmo Mäkinen's study (2005). Kimmo Kainulainen and Timo Lakso (2001) have examined how differing cultural policy views are reconciled in constructing regional plans.

In cultural policy, "region" and "regional" are multifaceted concepts that are not limited to the regional administrative level or administrative borders. The ambiguity of the concept of region is not limited to cultural policy research. For example, many studies on the regional differentiation in wellbeing in Finland build on data gathered at the local level and approach groups of municipalities as regions (see e.g. Riihinen, 1965; Karvonen & Rintala, 2003; Karvonen & Kauppinen, 2009). In regional development, "regional" may refer to a village, a municipality or its distinct area, a group of municipalities as well as a region (Sotarauta, 2018, p. 2).

As Simo Häyrynen (2015, pp. 39–43) points out, the mental map of Finland is divided by various historical provinces with more or less imagined cultural differences. The construction of regions and regional identities in Finland have been extensively analysed, among others, by Anssi Paasi (1986; 2003; 2010; 2011; 2013) in his many studies. These studies point out the existence of various borders and their intersecting and overlapping nature: in addition to the administrative regions, historical and cultural regions can also be identified. These various borders also bear significance for cultural policy, as shown, for example, in Solène Marié's study (2020) on the development of cross-border cultural networks in border cities and Thomas Perrin's (2010) study on cross-border cultural activities developed in the context of Euroregions.

A growing strand of research has addressed culture's role in regional development, thus connecting the cultural policy and regional policy perspectives (see e.g. Benneworth, 2004; Hautamäki, 2009; Ilmonen, 2009a; 2009b; 2015; Paasi, 1990; Ruokolainen, 2008; Kaunisharju, 2009; OPM, 2002; 2003; OKM, 2010a; 2015; on the role of culture in the regional economy, see e.g. Kainulainen, 2005; Luonila et al., 2022; Ruokolainen et al., 2019). In this context, culture has been approached as part of regional policy that aims to improve the conditions within a certain region. In the context of regional development, many studies have focused on the EU's structural funds as one instrument in Finnish regional cultural policy (e.g. Hirvonen, 2002; Jakonen, 2015; Kangas & Hirvonen, 2000; 2001; Pekkala, 2012; OPM, 2006; Jakonen & Mitchell, 2014; 2015; Kangas, 2002). Cultural planning is a field of study that has a long tradition, within which regional development has been approached from a bottom-up perspective, for example (see Vahlo, 2014).

The studies presented above analyse and provide ways to approach and understand what "regional" means in Finnish cultural policy. In practice, the understandings of the concept are applied in administrative reports conducted at the national level. These reports have been largely published by the MEC.

In the 2000s, the MEC has commissioned multiple studies addressing regional arts and culture administration. These reports show that during this time, regional arts administration in particular has been perceived as an object of development. The reports have also addressed the connections between the administrative framework and policy implementation in the arts policy context. While the reports have made many suggestions on strengthening and clarifying regional arts administration, the administrative framework has often not been modified accordingly in practice.

Building on an international evaluation of the Finnish system of art councils, a committee conducted a report on the development of the resources and administrative status of the regional arts promotion system (OPM, 2005). The report proposed an increase in the resources of regional arts promotion and cooperation. It also suggested that the regional art councils could be attached to the Arts Council of Finland both administratively and operationally to improve their administrative status, which was perceived to be unclear at the time. According to the report, the “model would preserve the independence of the regional art councils and strengthen their position as regional actors”. (Ibid., p. 5.)

In 2009, the MEC commissioned two assessments related to regional cultural administration. Pertti Palttila’s report on the regional promotion of the arts was published in March (OKM, 2009b). This report suggested that the position of the regional arts councils could be strengthened by increasing their tasks and resources as well as recognising the significance of arts and culture in regional development (ibid., p. 23–24). In November, Rauno Anttila’s report on the possible “regionalisation” [Finnish: *alueellistaminen*] of the Arts Council of Finland was published (OPM, 2009). According to this report, there were no grounds for regionalising the organisation’s activities.

In 2010, a report was published, evaluating the collaboration between the regional organisations promoting the arts (Ruokolainen, 2010). The report pointed out the complexity of the incrementally constructed regional structures of arts promotion: “If the structure was created now, out of nothing, it would probably not be made to resemble the current one”.³⁰ The report urged the state to define what kind of network of regional centres it wished to maintain in different fields of arts and culture. (Ibid., p. 31–32.) At the end of the report, various models were suggested to organise the regional arts centres – and, more broadly, the regional level of cultural policy (ibid., pp. 34–41).

In 2021, the MEC commissioned an external evaluation of the activities of the Arts Promotion Centre Finland, which was established to continue the activities of the Arts Council of Finland in 2013 (Uusikylä et al., 2021). This evaluation addressed concerns of centralising the Arts Promotion Centre’s activities to the capital region, stating that the Arts Promotion Centre’s regional presence had diminished, and the regional arts councils were considered the “last

³⁰ Translation by the author. [Finnish: “Mikäli rakenne luotaisiin tällä hetkellä tyhjästä, sitä ei todennäköisesti tarkoituksella tehtäisi nykyisen kaltaiseksi.”] (Ruokolainen, 2010, p. 31).

and most essential” part left of the centre’s regional activities. In the report, many interviewees were concerned that the role of the regional arts councils was being narrowed down to distributing regional grants, while they should also be involved in creating regional strategies and promoting arts within their respective regions. (Ibid., 94–95.) The difficulties recognised in the Arts Promotion Centre’s regional activities were related to diminishing regional funding, personnel and number of offices. At the same time, many respondents within the Arts Promotion Centre experienced that the centre should play a role in considering regional needs and safeguarding regional accessibility in arts – partly due to the decreasing arts funding and operations in smaller municipalities in particular. (Ibid., p. 96.)

The multiplicity of studies conducted within the MEC show that the national level has consistently wished to gain knowledge about the structure and activities of regional cultural administration. However, what is notable in these studies is that they generally have not addressed regional cultural administration as a whole by including all the organisations that have statutory cultural policy responsibilities related to cultural affairs at the regional administrative level. Instead, the focus has often been limited to a certain regional organisation and, mainly, to regional arts administration. Even in the most recent MEC report (OKM, 2018) that deals with arts and culture as part of regional development, the regional cultural policy actors mentioned include the regional councils, the ELYs, the Arts Promotion Centre, municipalities as well as arts and cultural actors. This leaves out the AVIs, which have been recognised as part of regional cultural administration in previous cultural policy research (e.g. Kangas & Pirnes, 2015).

In recent proposals to develop the MEC’s regional policies, the governance aim of including various actors and sectors (public, private, non-profit) in regional cultural policy is embedded. In a report published in 2018, the key proposals included 1) building up the creative sectors and cultural entrepreneurship in the regions, 2) improving access to cultural services regionally and locally and 3) developing a regional knowledge base to support decision-making and step up strategic cooperation with the regions (OKM, 2018). These proposals were accompanied by various measures such as investigating the regional centres of photography and film as well as constructing a regional knowledge base of arts and culture (for a preliminary study on the culture-related regional knowledge base, see Antikainen et al., 2018). The report also suggested that the regional actors could form a regional network and formulate a common vision of the aims and operations for arts and culture within the region. (OKM, 2018, pp. 57–58). In many ways, this aim resembles the regional cultural plans included in the Swedish Cultural Cooperation Model.

The Arts Promotion Centre’s most recent strategy, spanning to 2030, highlights artists’ possibilities to work all around the country. According to the strategy, the centre will have “five regional areas of operation”, where the public officials will be responsible for regional network operations and development. The centre also aims to strengthen the use of arts and culture regionally, set aims

for the Arts Promotion Centre's cooperation with the regional councils and promote cooperation with "municipalities and other regional officials".³¹

Regional cultural policy studies in other countries

In different countries, cultural policy has been established and developed as a public policy sector in various societal and institutional contexts. The other Nordic countries present an important context and reference point both for Finnish cultural policy (e.g. Duelund, 2008; Mangset et al., 2008) and its administrative structures and reform processes (e.g. Læg Reid, 2018; Lähteenmäki-Smith, 2006). As mentioned at the beginning, the lack of a self-governing regional level in cultural policy distinguishes Finland from most other Nordic countries, where – maybe for this reason – the regional cultural policies have been studied more extensively.

Peter Duelund and Tor Larsson (2003) have analysed regional cultural policy developments especially in Sweden and Denmark. Focusing on a single Nordic country, studies addressing regional cultural policies have recently been conducted in Denmark (e.g. Hansen, 2013; 2015; Thyrrstrup Pedersen, 2015), Norway (Bakke, 2003; Sand, 2017), Iceland (e.g. Guðmundsson, 2003) and Sweden, where the increase of the power and responsibilities of the regional cultural policy level in the 2000s has inspired a broad strand of regional cultural policy research focusing on the Cultural Cooperation Model's implementation and implications (see Johannisson, 2003; 2010b; 2011; 2012; 2014; Blomgren & Johannisson, 2013; 2014; 2015; 2016). Jenny Johannisson has also discussed the broader importance of the sense of place in cultural policy research (e.g. Johannisson, 2009; 2010a).

Focusing on the connection between the administrative structures and the construction of regional cultural policy in Sweden, Katja Lindqvist's study (2019) brings forth the implementation of and paradoxes in the regional museum education policy in the region of Skåne. Lindqvist finds that the region's strong control over constructing cultural policy resulted in a poor outcome as the museum was not included enough in the policy design. The centralised control of policy implementation thus led to leaving the expertise of the external partners unutilised. Lindqvist (2016, p. 64) states that the dilemmas and paradoxes in collaborative policy implementation in the cultural sector are "an area poorly researched from a policy implementation and governance perspective". In addition, she concludes that more research on cultural and regional policy implementation is urgently needed (ibid., p. 85).

In different countries, the regions' position in administrative structures varies. This is also reflected in the structure and practices of regional cultural administrations in different institutional contexts. Beyond the Nordic countries, the regional level in cultural policy has been broadly studied especially in

³¹ <https://www.taike.fi/fi/taiteilijoilla-monipuoliset-mahdollisuudet-tyoskennella-eri-puolilla-suomea> [accessed 21 August 2023.]

countries with a federalist system that combines a general government (the central or “federal” government) with regional governments in a single political system, dividing the powers between the two. In this way, the regional governments also have a lot of power and responsibilities in cultural policy. In this context, a recent publication by Diane Saint-Pierre and Monica Gattinger (2021) examines cultural policy principles, definitions, objectives and outcomes as well as describes cultural policy history and developments in Canada’s current ten provinces and three territories. The publication therefore emphasises the connection between cultural policy and geographical place.

Other examples of regional cultural policy research in federal contexts include studies from Australia (Gibson & Klocker, 2005; Gibson & Connell, 2012; Daniel, 2014; Regional Arts Australia, 2019; Forbes-Mewett & al., 2021), Belgium (Jaumain, 1997), Brazil (de Paiva Britto, 2016), Germany (Ogorek & Pu, 2019), Malaysia (Haigh, 2020), Russia (Koptseva et al., 2017) and Switzerland (Marx, 2018; Rössel & Weingartner, 2016). In 2010, the *Cultural Trends* journal published a thematic issue titled “Centre/Periphery: Devolution/Federalism: New Trends in Cultural Policy”, which discussed regional cultural policy in various countries, including Poland (Murzyn-Kupisz, 2010) and Spain (Gutiérrez Lozano, 2010).

3 FOCUS OF THIS STUDY

This dissertation builds on the broad range of previous research presented in the previous chapter. It is noteworthy that while the complexity of the multi-actor and multi-border nature of Finnish regional cultural administration has been recognised, previous studies have rarely analysed regional cultural administration as a whole within a single study. Instead, previous research has tended to focus on one organisation of Finnish regional cultural administration at a time.

Previous studies have often been based on written datasets produced within administrative structures, such as legislation, administrative reports, strategies and plans. While these datasets provide important information about the tasks and operations within administration (and are also analysed in this study), they are often limited to the perspective of a certain organisation and do not offer means to understand policy construction in practice. Previous studies have also tended to exclude the public officials' perspective. Therefore, it seems that while the role of the regional level has been suggested to be limited and marginal in Finnish cultural policy (Sokka, 2022, p. 51; Lefever & Kanerva, 2022, p. 4), there are no studies that actually analyse regional cultural administration in its entirety and its role in constructing regional cultural policy in Finland. In this study, my aim is to participate in filling in this gap.

The contribution of this study lies in addressing all the organisations of Finnish regional cultural administration within a single study and including the public officials' perspective. This makes it possible to better understand the division of responsibilities between different levels of government, which has been found to be blurred and underexplored in research on the Nordic countries' cultural policies (KAN, 2018). In addition, this study contributes to combining the analysis of the structure of regional cultural administration with the analysis of regional cultural policy construction and implementation (cf. Lindqvist, 2019).

In this chapter, I will describe the focus of this particular study. First, I will define what I mean by regional cultural policy in this study. After that, I will describe the research questions and present the research articles that provide answers to the research questions.

3.1 Defining regional cultural policy

According to an often-quoted definition by Thomas Dye (1972), public policy can be defined as “whatever governments choose to do or not to do”. This concise definition builds on the key role of government that generally refers to “the formal institutions of the state and their monopoly of legitimate coercive power” (Stoker, 1998, p. 17). A government is thus characterised by its ability to make decisions and its capacity to enforce them. From this perspective, public policy encompasses the decisions and actions taken by government entities (such as laws, regulations and programmes). In addition, public policy includes the government decisions to refrain from taking action. As Peter Hill and Michael Hupe summarise (2002, p. 4): “Policy involves behaviour as well as intentions, and inaction as well as action.”

From a governance perspective, Dye’s definition is narrow: by focusing on formal government institutions’ actions (or inactions), it leaves out the non-government actors’ role in public policy, which has been found to be increasingly influential. As stated at the beginning, a shift from government to governance has highlighted the non-government actors’ role in public policy. From a governance perspective, public policy is not only what the government itself chooses to do, but what different government and non-government actors from the private sector and civil society do together. For example, in the Nordic countries’ regional policies, the formal institutions of regional policymaking are linked with various regional networks (Airaksinen & Åström, 2009). It has also been noted that the new network modes of local and regional governance have presented a clear departure from the traditional representative chain of command (Löfgren & Ringholm, 2009, p. 506, 513).

The government has still remained central: at a fundamental level, the state remains a key actor in governance and chooses the ways it governs (Peters, 2011, p. 7). In this study, my focus is limited to public policy that derives from the actions of the government and, moreover, the organisations that are by legislation included in the regional administrative structure for cultural affairs. As presented in Chapter 2.2, these include the regional councils, the AVIs, the ELYs and the regional arts councils and offices of the Arts Promotion Centre Finland. While I here focus on the government, governance tendencies become visible in the context of the regional cultural administration’s connections and activities.

I here rely on a definition of policy by Kari Palonen (1993; 2003) that leaves the actors involved in policy construction open. According to Palonen, policy can be defined as a distinct set of activities: a line, project, plan, programme or doctrine. Policy has a teleological connotation, an orientation towards the future, which is considered to be a priority over the present state of affairs as well as the activity itself. In this way, policy is oriented towards changing the state of affairs. (Palonen, 2003, p. 175.)

Policy arises from a process over time (Hill & Hupe, 2002, p. 4). While policy aims for change, it must be noted that it does not need to be successful in order to be considered policy: policy is a plan that consists of different measures, some of which are and can be put into practice and others cannot.

In this study, I understand regional cultural policy as a line of activities related to culture at the regional administrative level. As numerous cultural policy studies have pointed out, the concept of culture as the core of cultural policy is multifaceted and ambiguous (see e.g. Mulcahy, 2006; Gray, 2015). Broadly, in a cultural policy context, culture refers to the arts, humanities and heritage (e.g. Schuster, 2003, p. 1). Here, I confine myself to culture as it is defined as an object of public policies. From this perspective, cultural policy is what the government bodies choose to do – or not to do – for *culture* as it is defined within the established regional cultural administration (Dye, 1972, p. 2; Ahearne, 2004; 2009). This approach is in line with previous regional cultural policy studies in which regional cultural policy is understood as the activities related to culture at the regional government level (see e.g. Johannisson, 2010a, p. 129; Lindqvist, 2019).

Policy is constructed through the inclusion and coordination of various acts, moves or measures through which they are turned into a relative unity of activities: into a policy (cf. Palonen, 2003, p. 175). This broad definition is here understood to include (but not to be limited to) the different stages or phases that have been distinguished in policy in various studies. Such policy stages are often simplified as input, throughput and output (e.g. Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000). In particular, policy implementation as a distinct activity that refers to the activities undertaken to realise policy is often distinguished from policy construction (see e.g. Peters & Pierre, 2006; Hupe & Hill, 2006).

Palonen (1993; 2003) identifies policy as one aspect of politics. He calls the other three aspects of politics polity, politicization and politicking. These four aspects are presented in Table 2. They can be placed in four intertwined dimensions that together cover the contingencies within politics (Palonen, 2022, p. 265). While this study focuses on the aspect of policy in the context of regional cultural administration, it recognises the importance of the other aspects of politics for the construction of policy.

Policy represents a regularising aspect of politics. It consists of the inclusion and exclusion of activities and represents the regulation and coordination of performative operations for specific ends and by specific means. Polity represents a (metaphorical) space with specific possibilities and limits: what may or may not happen in politics. Politicization marks the opening of something as political, which can therefore challenge the existing polity. Politicking refers to a performative aspect in using the available possibilities in politics. (Palonen, 2022, p. 265.)

Space and time are dimensions that distinguish politics as a phenomenon. Space is related to politics at a certain moment. In this context, polity is something that is understood as definitely political (i.e. whose political nature is not contested), and policy represents an established line of activities. Polity is

nominal, which means that it is a metaphorical space, whereas policy is operative, referring to concrete activities. Politicization and politicking represent the processes taking place over time that further affect the other aspects that are represented by polity and policy. (Table 2.)

The aspects of politics are not connected to specific actors or societal sectors. The scope and contents of regional cultural policy are defined and (re)negotiated over time by opening something cultural as political (i.e. politicization) and including culture in exercising power (i.e. politicking). In addition, the distribution of power shares related to cultural policy (i.e. polity) at a certain moment affects who holds the legitimate power shares and is therefore able to take part in constructing regional cultural policy.

TABLE 2. Policy as an aspect of politics.

Dimensions	Space	Time
Nominal	polity (arena)	politicization
Operative	policy (line)	politicking

Source: Palonen, 2003, p. 470.

3.2 Research questions

As described in the introduction, this research is motivated by my interest in how regions can address the manifold expectations placed on them by constructing regional cultural policy in Finland. "Region" is a multifaceted and ambiguous concept that can be understood historically and culturally, for example (cf. Paasi, 1984). Here, I focus on Finnish regional cultural administration in which the concept of "region" is not straightforward (see Chapter 2.2). Administratively, regions are defined by political decisions in the context of different public agencies. Following shifting aspects of politics, administrative regions tend to change over time. As Johannisson (2010a, p. 134) points out, a region is not "given or static, but something that is continuously shaped, reproduced and transformed in social interaction between a wide range of different agents". This notion highlights the temporal shifts as well as the intertwinement of the administrative structure and actors' operations.

In this context, the main research question of this study is: *How does the multi-actor and multi-border context of Finnish regional administration make the construction of regional cultural policy possible?* To broadly understand the current situation, I have divided the main research question into three more detailed questions:

- 1) *How has Finnish regional cultural administration been constructed since the 1960s and positioned in relation to the local and national levels?*
- 2) *What regional cultural policy practices are currently implemented in Finnish regional cultural administration and how?*
- 3) *How is the construction of regional cultural policy made possible within the current Finnish regional cultural administration in contrast to Sweden?*

The first subquestion (henceforth Q1) addresses the administrative framework that creates certain possibilities and limits for the organisations of regional cultural administration to construct regional cultural policy in Finland. Through this subquestion, I focus on the construction of regional cultural administration and its positioning and reasoning in relation to the other administrative levels to help understand the current administrative structure. Previous studies have shown that Finnish regional cultural policy administration has been actively constructed as part of other administrative structures for cultural affairs since the 1960s (e.g. Kangas & Pirnes, 2015, p. 25; Numminen, 2020). This also creates the temporal starting point for this analysis even though it must be noted that the administrative structures that were established upon the emergence of the welfare state were deeply rooted in previous historical developments. For example, many administrative features in Finland were developed after Swedish ones during the almost 700 years (from the 1100s to 1809) that Finland constituted a Swedish region (Lindqvist, 2014).

The second subquestion (henceforth Q2) focuses on the current regional cultural policy activities that are implemented by regional cultural administration. This question thus sheds light on the practices of regional cultural policy construction. Based on the definition of policy as a “relative unity of activities” (cf. Palonen, 2003, p. 175), constructing regional cultural policy requires both the involvement of all the organisations of regional cultural administration as well as the coordination of their acts, moves or measures related to culture.

In answering Q2, I see it as important to include the public officials’ perspective, which has often been excluded in previous studies. Public officials are actively involved in regional cultural policy construction especially through undertaking the activities to realise policy (i.e. policy implementation). Their experiences of collaboration and networks also shed light on the variety of non-government actors involved in constructing regional cultural policy. In this way, while the analysis does not cover regional actors that do not have statutory cultural policy responsibilities, the variety of actors involved in constructing regional cultural policy is recognised from the perspective of public officials.

The third subquestion (henceforth Q3) deepens the analysis by contrasting the possibilities of regional cultural policy construction in Finland to those in Sweden. Sweden is an established point of reference for Finland in various policy sectors (see p. 16) and in terms of regional administration, the history of the two countries is in many ways intertwined. The contrasting here highlights the intertwinement of the administrative structure and practices in regional cultural policy, bringing forth the ways in which the multiplicity of actors in Finnish

regional cultural administration contributes to and limits the possibilities to construct regional cultural policy in relation to Sweden, where the self-governing regions have the responsibility to conduct regional cultural plans within uniform regional borders. However, it must be noted that while the self-governing regions render Swedish regional cultural administration more centralised than the Finnish one, Swedish regional administration in general is by no means straightforward; the country's regional governance has even been referred to as a "regional mess" (MacCallion, 2008).

In the currently complex context of Finnish regional cultural administration, descriptive questions are needed to understand the various regional organisations' operations and interactions within the administrative structure. By answering the research questions presented above, I can provide a broad overview of the regional cultural administration's possibilities to construct regional cultural policy in Finland. This is important because these possibilities are fundamentally connected to the question of the purpose of the regional level of Finnish cultural policy administration: whether the regional level is merely for promoting the national and local policies, as often suggested in other policy sectors (e.g. Reina, 2012), or whether it can also respond to distinct regional aims and needs. The question is also important from the perspective of legitimacy. As Mangset (2020, p. 408) states, the legitimacy of public cultural policy structures derives from their fulfilling their main objectives. If they consistently fail to do that, they will at some point be exposed to a legitimisation crisis (*ibid.*).

3.3 Research articles

The research questions presented above are answered based on the three research articles included in this dissertation. Each article provides answers to particular questions in the context of their distinct approach. Table 3 presents the research articles, and the research questions of this study to which the articles contribute. Henceforth, the articles are referred to with the abbreviations A1, A2 and A3. My own contribution to the co-authored articles is explained in Appendix 1.

TABLE 3. Articles included in the dissertation.

Abbreviation	Name of the article	Key topic	Research question(s) to which the article contributes
A1	Renko, V., Kangas, A. & Tervo, H. (2020). Kulttuuritoiminta ja alueellinen erilaistuminen. Kulttuuritoiminnan rahoitus Suomen kunnissa 2010-luvulla. <i>Focus Localis</i> , 1(1), 55–76.	Differentiation of the local level of Finnish cultural policy in terms of cultural activity financing	Q1
A2	Renko, V., Johannisson, J., Kangas, A. & Blomgren, R. (2021). Pursuing decentralisation: regional cultural policies in Finland and Sweden. <i>International Journal of Cultural Policy</i> , 28(3), 342–358.	Construction of the regional level of cultural policy in Finland and Sweden	Q1, Q3
A3	Renko, V. (2022). Making regional cultural policy: regional government bodies' cultural policy activities in Finland. <i>Nordisk Kulturpolitisk Tidsskrift</i> , 25(1), 61–76.	Regional cultural administrations' cultural policy activities in Finland and Sweden	Q2, Q3

A1 describes the local context of constructing regional cultural policy in Finland. Understanding the local context is essential since by legislation, municipalities hold the key responsibility for cultural service provision (166/2019). Together with the state, they maintain arts and culture institutions that are significant in promoting decentralisation and democratising culture as key cultural policy aims (Kangas & Pirnes, 2015, p. 92). Municipalities have broad possibilities to organise cultural activities as they see fit. While each municipality must provide cultural activities, they have considerable leeway in defining what kinds of activities they provide and how (except for library services whose provision is mandatory).

Administratively, regional cultural policy administration lies between the national and local structures, which both create expectations and limitations for regional cultural policy construction. A1 sheds light especially on the local needs for regional cultural policy agency and contextualises cultural activities as a public service. Based on quantitative data on cultural activities' financing, it shows how municipalities differ in their willingness and possibilities to invest in cultural service provision. The data cover three consecutive years (2012, 2014, 2016), thus providing information about the stability or change of the situation over time.

The local situation and needs are important for regional cultural administration because they have close administrative connections. Each of the

309 municipalities in Finland (in 2023) – except for the 16 Ålandic municipalities with a special status – is included in the operational areas of each of the four organisations of Finnish regional cultural administration. In particular, the relation between municipalities and the regional councils is tight since the regional councils are the region's statutory joint municipal authorities; every local authority must be a member of a regional council. In state regional administration, the AVIs are mandated by law to evaluate the cultural services provided by municipalities as part of evaluating the basic services across the country.

In the context of this study, A1 helps to understand the position of Finnish regional administration in relation to the local and national levels (Q1). It explains the needs and arguments for regional cultural policy construction that derive from these perspectives and brings forth the implications of the local level's differentiation for regional cultural policy.

A2 analyses the processes of constructing the regional levels in Finnish and Swedish cultural policies since the 1960s. The article builds on the concept of decentralisation, which has served as a guiding principle of the welfare state cultural policies in both Finland and Sweden. It also draws on the concept of regional decentralisation, which is defined as the transfer of state power to the regional level. With the focus on the regional administrative level in Finland and Sweden, the article analyses the channelling of state power and authority towards regional cultural administration and, as a result, the shifting cultural policy agency of the regional level over time.

The analysis builds on a broad range of administrative documents that define the regional organisations and their names, tasks and jurisdictions in cultural policy. The article applies different categories of decentralisation generated from previous research, recognising three different objects of decentralisation and three extents of decentralisation. Based on the analysis, A2 describes the object and extent of regional decentralisation in the two countries' cultural policies. It also outlines the different periods that can be recognised in the construction of the regional levels in Finnish and Swedish cultural policies over time.

In the context of this study, A2 directly provides answers to the question of how Finnish regional cultural administration has been constructed since the 1960s (Q1). In addition, by including the two countries, A2 underlays contrasting Finland to Sweden in terms of the possibilities to construct regional cultural policy (Q3).

A3 focuses on the current cultural policy activities implemented by regional cultural administration in Finland in contrast to Sweden. The analysis focuses on two case regions: Central Finland in Finland and Värmland in Sweden. The two regions were selected for the analysis based on their many similarities: both are characterised by a similar number of municipalities (22 in Central Finland and 17 in Värmland), including one considerably larger regional centre (Jyväskylä in Central Finland and Karlstad in Värmland) with a university, for example. The distance of these regions from the countries' capitals Helsinki and Stockholm is

similar. The two regions therefore provide similar geographical settings within which the regional cultural administrations operate and construct regional cultural policies.

The article focuses on recognising regional cultural policy activities that reflect the ways by which the organisations within regional cultural administration can make use of their operating possibilities. These activities may be related to decisions about the content of a policy and the organisational arrangements for its delivery (constitutive set of activities), the formulation of and decision-making about desired outcomes (directive set of activities) and the actual management of the realisation process (operational set of activities) (Hupe & Hill, 2006, p. 21, 23). The activities were identified from interview data, which were supplemented by administrative documents and legislation. The interviewees included public officials working with culture in different organisations of regional cultural administration.

In the context of this study, A3 directly provides answers to the question of the current regional cultural policy practices implemented by regional cultural administration (Q2). In addition, it includes data on Sweden, making it possible to contrast the two countries in terms of regional cultural policy construction (Q3).

Overall, the three research articles included in this study build on broad datasets and multiple perspectives on regional cultural policy and its construction over time. They provide a firm basis to answer the main research question of this study concerning the possibilities of constructing regional cultural policy in the multi-actor and multi-border context of Finnish regional administration.

4 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

As described above, the current Finnish regional cultural administration has a multi-actor and multi-border character that creates a distinct context for the possibilities to construct regional cultural policy. To answer the research questions related to regional cultural administration's possibilities to construct regional cultural policy in this context, I rely on theories of state rescaling and a governance framework used in the study of policy processes. In this chapter, I will present these theories and, in doing so, formulate analytical tools to answer the research questions of this study.

Firstly, I will focus on theories of state rescaling which help explain the allocation of power towards and within the regional administrative level in cultural policy over time. In this theoretical framework, decentralisation – which presents a guiding cultural policy principle of the welfare state – can be understood as one aspect of state rescaling and can thus be connected to and explained by the broader shifts of power between different administrative levels.

Secondly, I will present a governance framework used to study policy processes. This framework provides a way to distinguish different elements involved in policy construction within the regional administrative level. The sets of activities recognised in this framework help to understand and categorise the current regional cultural policy practices.

4.1 Decentralisation as an aspect of state rescaling

Decentralisation is often defined as a shift of state power and authority from central to more local branches of the state (Cox, 2009; Mwangi & Wardell, 2012; Büchs, 2009, p. 39). In the context of this study, regional decentralisation refers to the transfer of state power to the regional level (see Renko & al., 2021). To understand this process in a broader societal context, I draw on theories of state rescaling. Decentralisation is widely identified as a pivotal question in rescaling for it directly links state action with spatial scale (Lobao & al., 2009, p. 7). Jorge

Martínez-Vázquez and Andrey Timofeev (2009) argue that state rescaling itself can be interpreted as cyclical variations in decentralisation over time.

Theories of state rescaling can be traced back to the “spatial turn” that emerged in social sciences in the 1980s, connecting policy and geographical place. As a multifaceted process, rescaling has been increasingly discussed in studies on changing statehood, society and spatiality, especially in interdisciplinary research on political geography, political science and history (e.g. Antunes & Loughlin, 2020; Brenner, 1998; 1999; 2000; 2004; Jessop, 1990; 2002; Gualini, 2006). Rescaling theories have also been applied and developed in Finnish context (e.g. Leppänen, 2011; Moisio, 2012; Mäkinen, 2005; Sjöblom, 2020).

State rescaling theories approach the state as a political, economic, social and cultural construct. This construct builds on various scales that originally referred to certain geographical levels or territorial hierarchies. From this perspective, the state builds on “the nested hierarchy of bounded spaces of differing size, such as the local, regional, national and global” (Delaney & Leitner, 1997, p. 93). In other words, the state is a complex scalar configuration. To reflect this, Neil Brenner (2004) has suggested the concept of statehood to better describe the complex nature of state scalar organisation than “the state” as a singular noun (see also Leppänen, 2011, p. 3).

As a process, rescaling addresses the allocation and reallocation of power shares across different scales, which can be defined geographically as well as socially (see e.g. Brenner, 2001, p. 592)³². In an administrative context, the different administrative levels (national, regional, local) can be understood as distinct scales. Each scale holds different power shares that are constantly allocated and reallocated through rescaling, that is, a complex process of changing and remaking entrenched scalar configurations (Brenner, 2001, p. 592; Swyngedouw, 2000; Wissen, 2009).

The idea of shifting relations between different scales is at the core of theories of rescaling. Rescaling theories highlight that the significance, function, history and dynamics of one scale can only be understood in relation to other scales (Mäkinen, 2005, p. 51). The national scale is the main container of state power, that is, “the power of the social forces acting in and through the state” (Jessop, 1990, p. 270). For a long time, the national scale has been the essential geographical unit of socioeconomic organisation, accumulation and regulation (Lobao & al., 2009, p. 3). In this way, the national has presented a “dominant” scale in contrast to the more “marginal”, such as subnational, scales (see Jessop & al., 2008, p. 393). The stagnant position of a certain scale in relation to another has also been referred to as a scalar fix (Brenner, 2001, p. 607).

While the national level represents the main source of power and authority within a nation state (Pierre & Peters, 2000, p. 25), many studies on state rescaling have pointed out the decline of the national level in relation to the others. Bob Jessop (2004, p. 35) has stated that theories of state rescaling often imply that the power of the nation state has flowed upwards to international institutional

³² On the changing concept of scale, see e.g. Leppänen, 2011, pp. 23–32.

structures or downwards to the regional and local levels and/or has redifferentiated vertically.

According to Jessop (2013), the challenging of the national scale derives from two perspectives in particular: the nation state is “too small to solve the world’s big problems and too big to solve its little ones”. As a response to the national scale being too small, the supranational scale has been highlighted in the context of European integration, for example. On the other hand, as a response to the national scale being too big, the subnational levels have been granted greater roles in economic growth and redistribution to promote market entrepreneurship and the privatisation of services. The emphasis on the subnational levels has been recognised as one key element of neoliberal state transformation (Lobao & al., 2009).

Highlighting the complexity of rescaling processes, the shift of state power to both supranational and subnational scales is in many ways interconnected. For example, in studies on European integration, rescaling has been identified as a process that includes a transfer of state authority to both the European and the regional levels (e.g. Loughlin & Antunes, 2020; Sjöblom & Andersson, 2018).

As Alice Cohen and James McCarthy (2015, p. 6) point out, “[o]ne important political reality is that states do not much like sharing power”. Why, then, is state power allocated from the national to other scales such as the regional administrative level? State rescaling theories suggest that the nature of different scales and their relations is malleable and constantly changing since the scalar configurations are actively produced, reproduced, modified and contested through human social struggles (Gualini, 2006; Brenner, 2001, pp. 597–598, 604; 1998; Collinge, 1999). Danny MacKinnon and Jon Shaw (2010, p. 1248) argue that the key object of the struggle is not necessarily scale itself but the “processes and institutionalised practices that are themselves differentially scaled”.

The sharing of state power is also affected by broader societal tendencies. Many rescaling theories have connected the decline of the national scale especially since the 1980s to a broader societal shift towards a neoliberal era of governance with a leaner and increasingly competitive state (Brenner, 2004; Jessop, 2002; Harvey, 2005; Lobao & Hooks, 2003). Broadly, rescaling thus derives from historically constructed and global political, economic and ideological power structures (Leppänen, 2011, p. 1; Moisisio, 2008, p. 7; 2009a).

In the context of constructing the regional level in cultural policy, rescaling theories’ notions of scales and their relations help explain the channelling of state power towards the regional level. The elements and forms of rescaling introduced in the following subchapters help further specify the allocation of power shares towards and within the regional level.

4.1.1 Elements of state rescaling

In order to bring the complex concept of rescaling closer to empirical practices, previous studies have distinguished various elements of state rescaling. Suggested by Andreas Thiel and Catrin Egerton (2011), vertical, horizontal and relational elements of rescaling provide ways to better understand the power transfers among and within different scales.³³

The vertical element of rescaling takes place within a vertically nested set of jurisdictions (Thiel & Egerton, 2011, p. 384). The current regional administrative structure for cultural affairs in Finland and Sweden (see Chapter 2.2) can be examined in this kind of context in which the administrative levels (national, regional, local) are vertically layered on top of one another. In this context, vertical rescaling changes the position of one administrative level in relation to the others. An example of vertical rescaling is regional decentralisation, whereby state power is transferred from the national level towards the regional level.

Over the recent decades in particular, this type of vertical rescaling has been observed in many European countries, meaning that functions have been transferred from the central to lower levels of government. The regional level has been found to have received more authority and responsibilities from the national level in many policy sectors such as social policies (Barberis & al., 2010, p. 378) and environmental policies (e.g. Reed & Bruyneel, 2010).

The emphasis on the regional level has been connected, above all, to two tendencies: regionalisation and regionalism. Regionalisation refers to “processes of institutional or political development, during which the regions gain importance in policy-making – be it by greater autonomy or by participation in centralised politics” (Benz & Eberlein, 1999, p. 345). Empirically, regionalisation has presented itself as a state-led, top-down process in which the state explicitly constructs regional centres of power (Paasi, 2011, p. 10). Regionalism, on the other hand, presents a bottom-up process in which regional actors aim to increase the political influence of specific regions and their residents (McCallion, 2008, p. 584; Malmström, 1998).

Both regionalisation and regionalism bring forth the shifting vertical position of the regional level in relation to the other administrative levels. The power that the regional level – and the public organisations within that level – holds in making policy is not given or fixed. Instead, it is actively contested and pursued, as suggested by theories of rescaling.

The horizontal element of rescaling refers to changes in the size of the area covered by a uniform institutional structure or by a physical infrastructure (Thiel & Egerton, 2011, p. 384). In practice, this means, for example, changes in regional organisations’ areas of operation. In healthcare policies, horizontal rescaling has been highlighted by the introduction of new regional governance structures with larger regional units (Hagen & Vrangbæk, 2009, p. 122). In the context of regional

³³ The elements build on Howitt’s (2003, p. 151) distinction of three dimensions of scale that can be perceived in a concrete geographical context: size, level and relation.

cultural administration, horizontal rescaling may mean changes in the administrative borders that delineate the geographical area within which each regional government organisation holds cultural policy power and responsibilities.

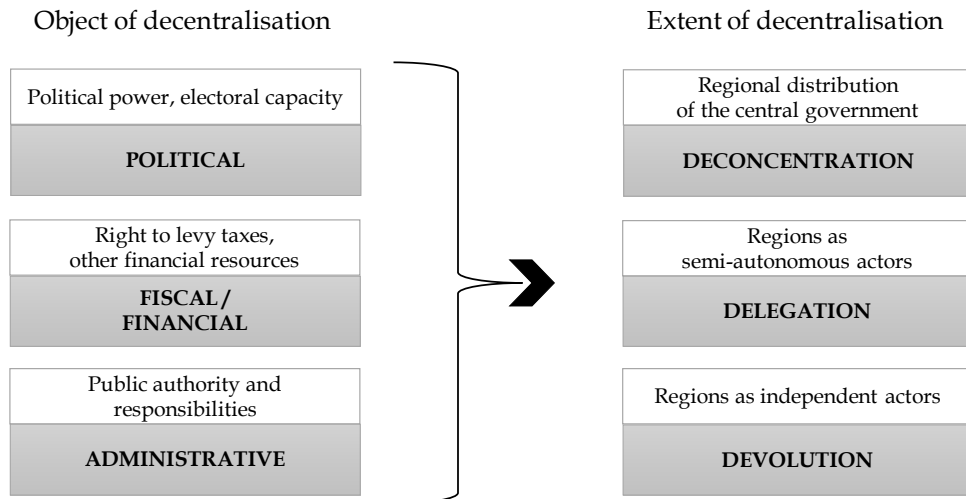
The relational element, then, represents changes in the vertical and horizontal interlinkages (Thiel & Egerton, 2011, p. 384). This element brings forth how connected the vertical and horizontal dimensions are. For example, when the operational area of a regional government organisation is broadened through horizontal rescaling to cover more municipalities than before, it creates new vertical interlinkages between the regional and local levels.

The relational perspective in rescaling can also explain changes in various networks that are formed across and within different administrative levels. Many studies have highlighted the importance that networks may also have in public policies at the regional level (e.g. Airaksinen & Åström, 2009; Fotel & Hanssen, 2009). In Finland, studies have found that networks are an increasingly important part of policymaking at the local and regional levels (e.g. Kettunen & al., 2007; Kettunen, 2009). Karl Löfgren and Toril Ringholm (2009) have pointed out that in the Nordic countries, cooperation through networks can be connected to various New Public Management reforms. In this context, the processes of rescaling are not limited to government as the formal and institutional processes; rather, they are interlinked with governance as a mode of governing that includes multiple actors beyond the government organisation (Stoker, 1998, p. 17).

4.1.2 Forms of regional decentralisation

The vertical, horizontal and relational elements of rescaling presented above illustrate the directions of rescaling processes. In the vertical context in which the administrative levels are layered on top of one another, the rescaling processes can be further explained through forms of decentralisation. In this study, these forms provide ways to understand the processes of regional decentralisation in cultural policy.

The forms of decentralisation are described in Figure 6. They include the object and extent of (regional) decentralisation. The *object* of decentralisation refers to what is being decentralised. This may be related to political power, financial resources and/or public authority and responsibilities. The *extent* of decentralisation refers to how the decentralisation is carried out. In the context of public cultural administration, this may mean the regional distribution of the central government or the construction of regions as semi-autonomous actors or independent actors.



Source: Renko & al., 2021.

FIGURE 6. Forms of regional decentralisation.

In standard definitions of decentralisation, political, fiscal and administrative dimensions are included within the government system (Schneider, 2003; see also Kawashima, 1997). Political decentralisation is linked to the degree to which central governments allow regional government bodies to have political power and undertake the political functions of governing, such as electoral capacities. Fiscal decentralisation refers to the revenues or fiscal autonomy of the regional government level. (Falleti, 2005, p. 329.) A broader definition includes a financial perspective in which decentralisation concerns the economic resources allocated to the regional level, and not only the right to levy taxes. In a cultural policy context, this may mean the allocation of cultural funding from the national to the regional level. Administrative decentralisation means the transfer of public authority and responsibilities to a regional government level, indicating the regional level's autonomy in relation to central control (Mueller, 2015, p. 10; Falleti, 2005, p. 329). In cultural policy, administrative decentralisation may mean the transfer of cultural policy tasks and responsibilities to the regional level.

These three dimensions suggest that the transfer of state power to the regional level may take on different forms in cultural policy. The object of regional decentralisation may also vary depending on the organisation in the regional administrative structure for cultural affairs.

The extent of regional decentralisation provides ways to perceive the administrative position of different administrative organisations to which cultural policy power is transferred. The extent of decentralisation can be identified as deconcentration, delegation and devolution (e.g. Cohen & Peterson, 1997; Rossi, 1999).

Deconcentration involves the redistribution of authority only within the central government, whereby selected functions are taken over by the field offices of the central government at the regional level (Rossi, 1999, p. 17). At this level,

deconcentration allows only slightly more autonomy than centralised systems. Delegation refers to the transfer of policy responsibilities to a regional government level while maintaining the operation of the regional level largely dependent on the central government. Delegation therefore implies slightly more autonomy for the regional level compared to deconcentration (Cohen & Peterson, 1997, p. 1). Devolution describes a situation in which the central government allows the regional level to exercise authority over specific policy fields. Devolution transfers authority concerning decision-making, finances and management from the central to the regional level so that regional jurisdictions may, for example, elect mayors and councils, raise their own revenues and have independent authority to make investment decisions (Goodwin & al., 2006; World Bank, 2013).

The concepts of deconcentration, delegation and devolution are generally rather uniformly defined, but they are often connected to a specific object of decentralisation (i.e. what is decentralised). Deconcentration, delegation and devolution are often associated with administrative decentralisation. However, they have also been applied to fiscal decentralisation (see Bird & Vaillancourt, 1998, p. 3). Thus, it seems that the extent to which something is decentralised is not limited to a certain object of decentralisation, but that the extent of decentralisation refers more generally to a regional jurisdiction's autonomy to make use of the power it has been granted. This autonomy may be related to the regional jurisdiction's fiscal autonomy (e.g. the right to levy taxes), administrative autonomy (e.g. the autonomy to decide on administrative matters) or political autonomy (e.g. the autonomy to organise regional elections). It thus reflects a combination of all the objects of decentralisation. (Renko & al., 2021.)

The object and extent of regional decentralisation provide tools to specify rescaling processes in practice. In this way, they shed light on explicit rescaling, which refers to power shifts between government levels. In addition to explicit rescaling, Yuri Kazepov (2010) has identified implicit rescaling in the context of social policies. Implicit rescaling is manifested as changes in the relative weight of specific measures regulated at different government levels. An example is that policies regulated at the national level lose resources and personnel in favour of policies regulated at subnational government levels. According to Kazepov, these two forms of rescaling present two main trends in the reorganisation of social policies in the European countries in the past 30 years, with explicit reforms becoming increasingly relevant after the second half of the 1990s. (*ibid.*, p. 44.)

4.2 Governance framework for analysing policy practices

In this study, the regional administrative level represents the context within which the construction of regional cultural policy takes place (see Chapter 3.1). As presented in the previous chapter, the formation of this administrative level of cultural policy can be explained by theories of rescaling. The policy

construction within this level can further be understood through theories that address policy processes.

Here, I draw on a governance framework used to study policy processes. This is because of a significant shift towards governance, which has been found in various policy sectors in Finland and abroad. As a style of governing, governance represents a cooperative activity in which both government actors and non-government actors from the private sector and civil society participate in constructing and implementing policy through various partnerships and networks (e.g. Kooiman, 1993; 1999; Rhodes, 1996; 1997; Stoker, 1998). The increasing number of actors and societal sectors that participate in policy construction suggests that the process has become increasingly complex.

Viewed from the perspective of state rescaling, the increase in the inclusion of non-government actors in policy construction can be interpreted as horizontal rescaling. Rescaling theories have suggested that state power has increasingly been transferred not only vertically (to the regional and local levels and international institutional structures) but also horizontally to non-government actors (Jessop, 2004; 2009). Rescaling processes are thus not restricted to the allocation or reallocation of formal state power but are part of a restructuring of modes of governance and regulation that involves shifts in the relationship between the state and society – and their influence on spatial relations. (Gualini, 2006, p. 884.) Brenner (2004) has argued that an ideological shift towards a competition state has led to forms of state reorganisation in which decentralised planning and top-down state-driven development have given way to multi-scalar forms of governance.

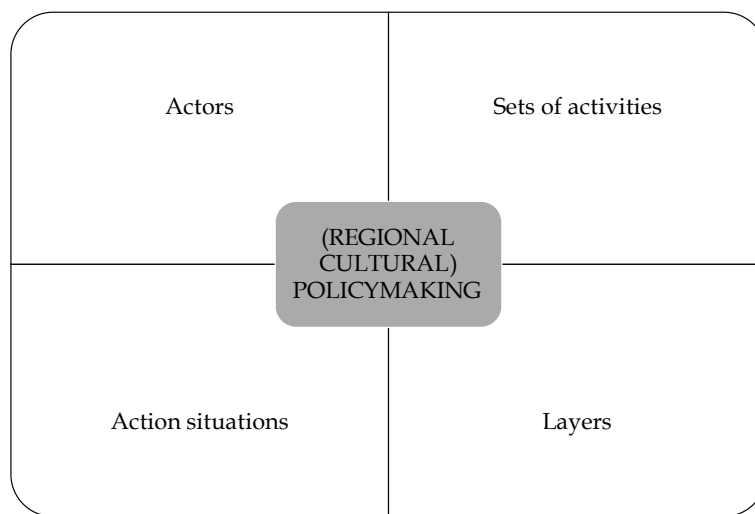
These tendencies indicate that the context for regional cultural policy construction is increasingly complex, dynamic and multifaceted. To understand policy construction in this kind of context, Hupe and Hill (2006) have suggested that policy should be approached as a framework rather than a linear process.

In studying policy processes, a linear “stages” model has been broadly applied. Generally, the different stages identified in a policy process include policy input, policy formulation, political decision-making, implementation and finally output (Biela & al., 2013, p. 13; Fischer & al., 2007, p. 51). The stages model reflects a clear separation between politics and administration. It also indicates rationality: the progress of a policy process assumes a public concern (input), to which a certain actor responds with a policy (policy formulation and decision-making), which is then translated into action (implementation), with a careful examination between the outcomes (output) and means (Hupe & Hill, 2006, p. 15). While each stage may include activities of various actors and levels, they are not explicitly distinguished in the policy process.

Following the increasing governance tendencies, the elements of a policy process have been described as “an extremely complex set” (Sabatier, 1999, pp. 1–2). Governance includes various sectors (public, private, third) and does not rest solely on the authority and sanctions of government (e.g. Provan & Milward, 2002; Richards & Smith, 2002). The essence of governance as a way in which government operates is its focus on the governing mechanisms such as grants,

contracts and agreements (Provan & Milward, 2002). In this context, policy construction is rarely linear or straightforward because of the multiplicity of actors included in the process.

To analyse policy in a governance framework, Hupe and Hill (2006) have suggested distinguishing four key elements: actors, action situations, layers and sets of activities. These elements are presented in Figure 7. The elements of the framework have been utilised for example in analysing bureaucracy and public accountability (Hupe & Hill, 2007) and health policy implementation (Campos & Reich, 2019). In this study, I use the sets of activities to provide ways to understand regional cultural policy practices.



Based on Hupe & Hill, 2006, p. 21.

FIGURE 7. Governance framework to the study of policy processes.

The governance framework used to study policy processes distinguishes between constitutive, directive and operational sets of activities. Constitutive activities refer to “decisions about decision rules”, which embrace both fundamental decisions about policy contents and the organisational arrangements for policy delivery. Directive activities present the formulation of and decision-making about the collectively desired outcomes. Operational activities concern the actual managing of the realisation process. (Hupe & Hill, 2006, p. 22.)

While these sets of activities have elements that resemble some of the stages of the policy process model (such as decision-making and implementation), these activities are not necessarily expected to follow each other. Instead, they may also overlap in the construction of a policy.

In this study, I analyse sets of activities that take place within regional cultural administration. The organisations included in the regional administrative structure for cultural affairs (see Chapter 2.2) are part of the government. Approached in a governance framework, the actors involved in

constructing policy also include other actors. As Hupe and Hill (2006) point out: "Taking the concept of governance seriously means that the answer to the question who is the 'governing actor' is empirically open. This implies that the number and legitimacy of actors actually involved in a particular policy process may differ from what on normative grounds may be expected." (ibid., p. 22.) The variety of actors in terms of aspects such as power, interests and roles can further be distinguished.

The action situations suggest that the actors involved in policy construction are situated in varying circumstances. According to Hupe and Hill (2006, p. 23), "irrespective of the kind of formal administrative layer looked at, an actor there can be seen performing specific activities in action situations on a scale that can vary from action of and between individuals (in practice called 'the street-level'), via action of and between organisations, to action on the system-scale". Action situations may have a significant impact on policy construction as they may shape the actors' agendas and influence the outcomes of the policy decisions. In regional cultural administration, the action situations of the different regional organisations also vary.

The layers distinguished in the governance framework refer to the different levels or scales at which policy construction occurs. In three-tier government structures, the layers present the national, regional and local levels. In some cases, the layers may also include the international level such as the EU. In the context of this study, the organisations involved in regional cultural administration mainly operate in their distinct regions. At the same time, they may be active in various networks that involve actors from different levels.

Different levels can be expected to drive different policies. Sandra Breux, Jean-Pierre Collin and Emmanuel Négrier (2007, pp. 129–130) state that at the municipal level, a change in political scale "directly affects the content and implementation of public policies". This suggests that there are differences in the policy formulations and preferences of the different administrative levels. As a result, a transfer of state power from one level to another may change the policy that is constructed.

5 DATA AND METHODS

In this study, I answer the research questions (see Chapter 3.2) based on a broad dataset that addresses the construction of regional cultural administration and regional cultural policy practices in Finland as well as enables a contrasting with Sweden. To approach the questions from a comprehensive perspective and thus provide a solid base for the analysis, this study builds on both quantitative and qualitative data collected from various administrative levels (national, regional, local) and multiple time periods to enable the analysis of changes over time. For contrasting purposes, the datasets cover both Finland and Sweden.

In this chapter, I will present the qualitative and quantitative datasets that were analysed in this study. After that, I will explain how these datasets were analysed in order to respond to the research questions of this study. Thirdly, I will discuss the combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis as a methodological approach. I will consider the possibilities and limitations of this mixed methods approach in the context of this study.

5.1 Analysed datasets

The qualitative data analysed in this study includes laws and decrees, government proposals and decisions, and ministries' reports and decisions in Finland and Sweden. In addition, the qualitative data include interviews with public officials in regional administration as well as cultural policy documents related to the two case regions of Central Finland and Värmland. (Table 4.)

TABLE 4. Qualitative data. The analysed documents are listed in Appendix 2.

Dataset	n	Years	Source
Laws and decrees in Finland (incl. amendments and statutes)	29	1958 – 2018	Finnish legislation, www.finlex.fi
Laws and decrees in Sweden (incl. amendments and statutes)	5	1988–2010	Swedish legislation, www.riksdagen.se
Government proposals and decisions in Finland	5	1989–2018	Finnish Parliament’s database ³⁴
Government proposals and decisions in Sweden	2	1974–2009	Sveriges Riksdags database ³⁵
Ministries’ reports and decisions in Finland	8	1974–2018	Ministry of Education and Culture’s publications ³⁶
Ministries’ reports and decisions in Sweden	7	1972–2016	Sveriges Riksdags database
Interviews with public officials in the case region of Central Finland	6	2019	Arts Council of Central Finland, AVI for Western and Inland Finland, Regional Council of Central Finland, ELY for Central Finland
Interview with a public official in the case region of Värmland	1	2019	Region Värmland
Cultural policy documents in the case region of Central Finland	6	2013–2021	Available online (see Appendix 2)
Cultural policy documents in the case region of Värmland	3	2016–2020	Available online (see Appendix 2)

The qualitative datasets that concern Finland and Sweden were analysed in A2. They cover a broad time period from the 1960s until the 2010s. They therefore make it possible to analyse the construction of Finnish regional cultural administration and its position in relation to the local and national levels over time. These types of datasets are produced at the national level: laws and decrees, government proposals, and ministries’ reports and decisions have the capacity to define and steer regional administrative organisations’ names, number, tasks and institutional position in relation to cultural policies.

The qualitative datasets concerning Central Finland and Värmland were analysed in A3. These datasets were collected in 2019 to provide information about the current practices implemented in Finnish regional cultural policy and to contrast them with the ones implemented by the self-governing region in Sweden. The two case regions were selected based on their similarities in terms of location and the local context (see Chapter 3.3).

The interviews bring forth regional public officials’ experiences of their cultural policy responsibilities and operations. I conducted the interviews by first inviting one person responsible for culture from each organisation: the AVI, ELY,

³⁴ <https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/valtiopaivaasiat/Sivut/hallituksen-esitykset.aspx> [accessed 3 September 2023.]

³⁵ <https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-och-lagar/> [accessed 3 September 2023.]

³⁶ <https://okm.fi/julkaisut> [accessed 3 September 2023.]

arts council and regional council in Central Finland and the regional council in Värmland. I also asked them to suggest other persons I could interview for the study. In Central Finland, the interviewees from the regional council and ELY suggested that I could also invite another person from their organisation for an interview.³⁷ As a result of this snowball sampling approach, the final group of interviewees consisted of six public officials from Central Finland and one public official from Värmland (Table 5). I did not to interview an official from the County Administrative Board responsible for cultural heritage issues in Värmland because the comparison focused on the regional council that holds the main responsibility for regional cultural policy in Värmland.

TABLE 5. Interviewees in Central Finland and Värmland.

Region	Regional government body	Interviewee's position
Central Finland	Arts Council of Central Finland	• Special Advisor
	Regional State Administrative Agency for Western and Inland Finland (AVI)	• Senior Officer
	Regional Council of Central Finland	• Development Manager • Regional Planning Architect
	Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment for Central Finland	• Education Specialist • Senior Officer
Värmland	Region Värmland (Regional Council)	• Manager (culture department)

The interviews were conducted in Finnish in Central Finland in the summer of 2019 and in English in Värmland in autumn 2019.³⁸ All the interviews were semi-structured. The themes included the regional organisation's position, aims, operations and collaboration related to culture as well as future development. The interviews lasted around 1.5 hours each, and they were recorded and transcribed by the author. The starting point was established by the interviewees' own definitions and perceptions of culture and cultural policies. The intention was to allow the interviewees to define the situation based on their own experience and focus on what they considered relevant (see Alexiadou, 2001, p. 52). The cultural policy documents from Central Finland and Värmland were included in the data to contextualise the interviewees' experiences of the regional cultural policy practices in the two regions.

³⁷ I also received suggestions about persons working outside regional government bodies, including in museums and educational institutions in the regions, but due to the research focus on government bodies, I decided to limit the group of interviewees to public officials. Nevertheless, the suggestions provided information about the actors that the public officials regarded as important in making regional cultural policy.

³⁸ The interviewee was also offered the opportunity to respond in Swedish.

The quantitative data analysed in this study consist of Mainland Finland municipalities' net operating costs for culture, geographical location, statistical grouping (urban, semi-urban, rural), population structure and financial situation (Table 6). The quantitative data were analysed in A1. It sheds light on the differentiation of the local level in cultural service provision and therefore the local context of constructing regional cultural policy in Finland (see Chapter 3.3).

TABLE 6. Quantitative data.

Variable	Year and n (number of municipalities in Mainland Finland)	Source
Dependent variables		
Cultural activities, net operating costs, € per capita	2012: 320, 2014: 304, 2016: 297	Statistics Finland
Museums, theatres and orchestras, net operating costs, € per capita	"	"
Combined net operating costs (above), € per capita	"	"
Explanatory variables		
Population	"	"
Population change from the previous year	"	"
Statistical grouping of the municipality	"	"
Average income in taxation	"	"
Largest party by council group*	"	"
Voting percentage for the National Coalition Party (KOK)	"	"
Voting percentage for the Centre Party (KESK)	"	"
Voting percentage for the Social Democratic Party (SDP)	"	"
Share of women among council members, %	"	"
Share of persons aged under 15 of the population, %	"	"
Share of persons aged over 64 of the population, %	"	"
Share of Swedish-speakers of the population, %	"	"
Share of persons aged 15 or over with tertiary level qualifications, %	"	"
Economic dependency ratio**	"	"

* Information regarding the sitting council based on the election results in the examination years.

** The economic dependency ratio is calculated by dividing the number of non-workers, i.e. the unemployed and those outside the labour force, by the number of employed individuals. The resulting figure is multiplied by one hundred.³⁹

The net cultural expenses provide information about municipalities' investments in culture. The analysis and comparison of municipal cultural expenses are not straightforward. Expenses may be categorised differently in different municipalities. The various ways of organising cultural activities and service provision also affect the cultural expenses and the way in which income, for

³⁹ https://www.stat.fi/meta/kas/tal_huoltosuhde_en.html [accessed 28.2.2024.]

example, shows in municipal bookkeeping. (Karttunen, 2003; Saukkonen & Ruusuvirta, 2008.)

Despite the complexity of interpreting municipal cultural expenses, they have been analysed and compared in many previous studies. Cultural expenses also provide the only comparable culture-related dataset available from all Finnish municipalities. (Renko & al., 2020, p. 59.)

In this study, the data on cultural expenditure include general cultural activities [Finnish: *yleinen kulttuuritoiminta*], the provision of which is the legislative task of all municipalities, and museums, theatres and orchestras [Finnish: *museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminta*], which are voluntary activities generally provided by bigger cities. Together, the analysed expenditures cover a wide range of cultural leisure and service activities, museum and exhibition activities, theatre, dance and circus activities and music activities that are organised and/or subsidised by municipalities. In this way, they broadly contextualise cultural activities as a public service.

To understand how local investments in culture vary in different kinds of municipalities, the explanatory variables include demographic data (population, citizens' age, education, employment, income and language), the constitution of the municipal council and the municipality's statistical grouping (urban, semi-urban, rural). The selection of explanatory variables was based on previous studies that have found connections between these variables and culture as well as regional differentiation. A large population size and a variety of citizens tend to increase the need for cultural service provision. The constitution of the municipal council reflects regional differences (different political parties tend to have higher support in cities versus the countryside). (Renko & al., 2020, p. 61.)

5.2 Methods

The qualitative data included in this study were analysed by content analysis, which makes it possible to identify patterns, themes and meanings within text data (e.g. Levitt & al., 2018; Merriam, 2015). It is especially suitable for exploring the meaning and significance of these data.

In applying the qualitative content analysis, I first recognised the sections related to cultural policy and regional cultural administration in the analysed documents (laws and decrees, government proposals and decisions, ministries' reports and decisions, regional policy documents). All the interview data addressed these themes to begin with.

After gathering the regional cultural-policy related contents, I further analysed them by sorting the qualitative data in distinct categories. The creation of the categories included both deductive and inductive elements: the categories were both defined a priori based on the theoretical framework and derived from the data (Laver & al., 2003).

In A2, I first recognised regional cultural policy tools in the data together with the co-authors (see Appendix 1). The regional cultural policy tools were

divided into three categories: administrative actors' authority, funding and delivery of services. The categorisation derived from the forms of regional decentralisation (see Chapter 4.1.2) and addressed the object of decentralisation: regional actors' political power and authority, financial resources or responsibilities. By analysing the contents in each category, we were able to identify the extent of regional decentralisation (i.e. how the decentralisation takes place) in terms of deconcentration, delegation and devolution.

In A3, I first recognised cultural policy activities in the interview data by distinguishing the culture-related operations that the interviewees described their was organisation implementing. Second, I categorised these operations following the three sets of activities identified by Hupe and Hill (2006, p. 23) in their policymaking framework: constitutive, directive and operational (see Chapter 4.2). Third, by applying thematisation, I identified three key themes in these cultural policy activities and named them demarcation, discretion and mediation. I found that these themes were connected to one or multiple sets of activities. Finally, I analysed legislation and regional policy documents' contents in terms of cultural policy to further define, position and contextualise the regional government bodies and their cultural policy activities.

The quantitative data included in this study were analysed by cross-tabulation and regression analysis. I first implemented a map-based exploration that showed the geographical locations of the municipalities with low, medium and high net operating costs for cultural activities and museum, theatre and orchestra activities.

A cross-tabulation was then applied to specify the connection between municipalities' cultural expenses and statistical grouping. The tendency of high expenditure in large municipalities was further explored by a linear regression analysis in which the value of the cultural expenses (dependent variable) was explained by the structural and economic features (independent variables).

Linear regression analysis is a statistical technique that is particularly suitable for examining the relationship between two continuous variables. Linear regression analysis is commonly used in social sciences, for example, to explore the relationships between variables and make predictions based on these relationships. (E.g. Anderson & al., 2019.) It estimates the coefficients of the linear equation, involving one or more independent variables that best predict the value of the dependent variable.

The combination of qualitative and quantitative evidence and research elements within the same research project is characteristic to a mixed methods research methodology in social sciences (Khoo-Lattimore & al., 2019, p. 1533; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). Data triangulation is one component that may be used in mixed methods research. Triangulation often refers to the use of multiple methods or sources to cross-validate or corroborate research findings by reducing the impact of individual biases or limitations in any single method or source (e.g. Denzin, 1978; Flick, 2014). The key difference between mixed methods and triangulation is that the first is an approach to data collection and analysis that involves using both quantitative and qualitative data, while the

latter is a strategy for validating research findings that involves multiple methods or sources. Mixed methods research often uses triangulation as one of its components, but triangulation may also be used in studies that do not employ mixed methods.

This study builds on a mixed methods approach by combining qualitative and quantitative datasets and methods. The goal is to provide a more complete and accurate understanding of the research topic (Creswell & Plano, 2017; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). The analysis of the qualitative datasets makes it possible to answer the research questions concerning the construction of regional cultural administration in Finland, its position in relation to the national level and the cultural policy activities implemented by regional cultural administration. The analysis of the quantitative datasets contextualises the regional level's position in relation to the local level of cultural policy. Together, the datasets and analysis methods enable the analysis of the possibilities to construct regional cultural policy in the multi-actor and multi-border context of Finnish regional administration.

5.3 Notes and limitations

Building on mixed methods, this study relies on a dialectical approach instead of strictly quantitative and qualitative approaches. This approach derives from a distinct epistemological and ontological basis. Epistemology is concerned with knowledge acquisition and beliefs about how knowledge is obtained and evaluated, that is, with how we know. A mixed methods approach relies on the assumption that there are multiple routes to knowledge, and that researchers should make "warranted assertions rather than claims of unvarying Truth" (Johnson & Gray, 2010). Ontology deals with the nature of reality and assumptions about what exists and how it can be studied. Ontologically, a mixed methods approach takes a pluralist position (i.e. reality is complex and multiple), viewing knowledge as both constructed and resulting from empirical discovery (ibid.).

In this study, mixed methods research is applied to gain a comprehensive understanding of the possibilities to construct regional cultural policy in Finland. The validity of a mixed methods study can be estimated by considering several factors concerning the rigour and credibility of the research design, data collection and analysis. In mixed methods research, validity has been connected to two aspects in particular: design quality and interpretive rigour. (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2008, pp. 113–115; Long, 2017, p. 202.) The study has been conducted following the Finnish Code of Conduct for Research Integrity.

In this study, the qualitative data shed light on administrative perspectives as well as public officials' experiences of the studied complex phenomena. They build on the theoretical framework and include Sweden, which enables contrasting. The aim here is not to conduct a comparative study of the two countries but instead, as stated in the introduction, to analyse Sweden as a point

of contrast to bring forth how the multiplicity of actors within Finnish regional administration enables and limits the regional level's possibilities to construct cultural policy in contrast to a more centralised regional cultural administration.

The qualitative data analysed in this study do not solely rely on legislation, but a variety of administrative documents are included. This strengthens the analysis and contrasting with Sweden in particular; while laws and decrees play a key role in defining the regional level's administrative position, legislation has been applied differently in the Nordic countries. For example, in relation to public financing, "legislation plays an important role in Denmark and Finland, in Sweden it is mainly employed for general reforms and guidelines, while the actual allocation of public funding is left to government authorities." (Sokka & Johannisson, 2022, p. 12).

The analysis of the current practices implemented in Finnish regional cultural policy rely on qualitative data gathered from two case regions (Central Finland and Värmland). It is clear that the case study results cannot necessarily be generalised to cover the whole country. At the same time, all the four Finnish regional organisations included in the case study operate around the country and each organisation has a similar administrative position and responsibilities in cultural policy in all regions. The case studies here contribute to theory building by providing a rich and detailed account of regional cultural policy construction within the current administrative framework.

The quantitative data analysed in this study provide statistical information and generalisable findings that contextualise cultural activities as a public service and shed light on the regional level's relation to the local level in cultural policy. The local situation and needs are important for regional cultural administration because they have close administrative connections. Local politicians operate in the regional councils, and all the regional organisations' areas of operation are based on municipal borders.

As for the analysis of the quantitative data, it must be noted that the results of the regression analysis are sensitive to changes in the explanatory variables, and even though the group of variables was condensed based on mutual correlation, some correlation still existed in some variables. The analysis was strengthened by including data from three years (2012, 2014, 2016)⁴⁰.

If available, quantitative data from the regional government level would have further strengthened the data and analysis of the current regional cultural policy practices. In particular, regional government bodies' cultural policy expenses would have been an important addition to the data since financing is often considered a key governing instrument of any public policy. In the Nordic countries, cultural policies have also included a heavy emphasis on public funding since the mid-20th century (Sokka & Johannisson, 2022, p. 8, 10).

⁴⁰ In A1, the data from the year 2016 were the most recent available. Including the years 2012 and 2014 provided information about changes during one municipal election period (the municipal election dates were 28 October 2012 and 9 April 2017).

However, these data were not available from all the regional government organisations in Finland.⁴¹

Through the analysis of all the datasets, the administrative framework for regional cultural policy was examined not only from a regional but also from national and local perspectives (A1 and A2). The inclusion of the data from various levels was crucial since, as Stefan Sjöblom (2020, p. 160) points out, “Finnish regional developments are impossible to understand without considering the intergovernmental relationships between administrative levels”.

⁴¹ A recent study on the distribution of corona aid to the creative industries provides some scale on the arts and cultural funding distributed by the ELYs: the corona aid granted by the ELYs to arts and culture was EUR 26.9 million in 2020 and 2021. (Sokka et al., 2022, p. 54.) In comparison, the regional funding channelled by the Arts Promotion Centre Finland during the years 2013–2019 was around EUR 55.1 million (Sokka & Jakonen, 2020, p. 130). The difficulties of distinguishing cultural expenses from other expenses are discussed, for example, in a recent study on Finnish cultural funding at the state level (see Jakonen & al., 2021).

6 MAKING REGIONAL CULTURAL POLICY POSSIBLE

This chapter presents the key results of this study by addressing how the multi-actor and multi-border context of Finnish regional administration makes the construction of regional cultural policy possible. The structure of this chapter follows the three detailed research questions (see Chapter 3.2).

I will begin by describing the construction of the regional level of Finnish cultural administration since the 1960s and explaining its position in relation to the local and national levels. I will then continue by identifying the current regional cultural policy practices that are implemented by regional cultural administration. In both these subchapters, I will examine Swedish regional cultural administration as a point of contrast. In the third subchapter, I will discuss the possibilities to construct regional cultural policy within Finnish regional cultural administration in contrast to Sweden.

6.1 Constructing the regional level in cultural policy administration

Theories of state rescaling suggest that the regional administrative level is a social and cultural construct which is subject to constant transformation following shifting ideologies and political-economic changes (e.g. Leppänen, 2011, p. 1; Moision, 2008, p. 7). Such constant transformation is also visible in the construction of the regional level in Finnish cultural policy administration. The results of A2 show that in Finnish cultural policy, the regional administrative level has been actively constructed and reconstructed in the context of broader societal tendencies.

The results of A2 indicate that the construction of the cultural policy agency of the regional level has passed through three periods in Finland. These periods can be labelled as regions as vehicles of welfare policy (1960s–1980s),

regionalisation (1990s–mid-2000s) and competitive regions (mid-2000s onwards). Similar periods can be recognised in Swedish cultural policy. During these periods, the construction of regional cultural administration has taken place through the state transferring its power – that is, “the power of the social forces acting in and through the state” (Jessop, 1990, p. 270) – to various administrative organisations at the regional level. In the context of public administration, regional cultural administration has thus gained cultural policy agency and legitimacy that derives from formal rules and established laws.

These periods of establishing regional cultural policy agency in Finland and Sweden are in line with the phases recognised in Finnish cultural policy since the 1960s, namely the welfare state (1960–1990) and competition society (1990–) (Heiskanen, 1994; Kangas, 1999; 2004; see Chapter 2.1). In the context of establishing regional cultural policy agency, the competition society phase includes a period of regionalisation that denotes the state’s explicit construction of regional centres of power (cf. Paasi, 2011), and a period of competitive regions during which competition and differentiation became increasingly visible in the establishment of regional cultural policy agency.

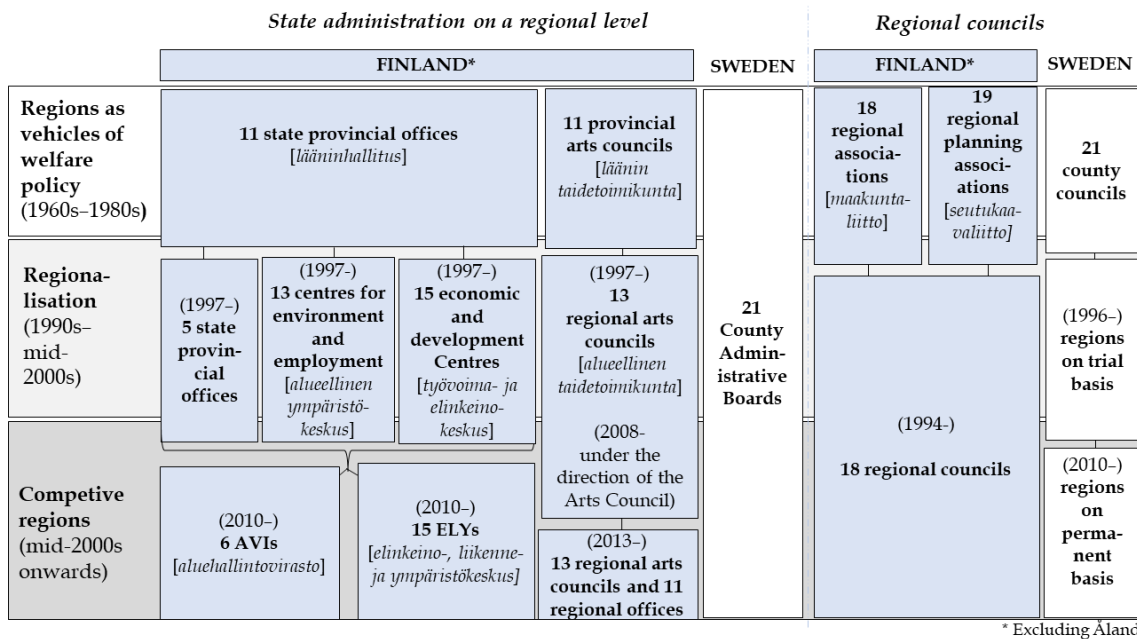
The similarity between the Finnish and Swedish periods of establishing regional cultural policy administration highlights the countries’ common features: the countries are categorised within a Nordic administrative model and tradition (e.g. Lægveid, 2018; Greve & al., 2016; Greve & al., 2020; for cultural policy, see Duelund, 2008) and have similar cultural policy tendencies recognised in the context of a Nordic model in cultural policy (see Chapter 1). The similar periods in constructing the regional level in cultural policy also bring forth the emergence of larger ideological patterns in society, especially those of the welfare and competition state, in both countries.

The construction of the regional level in Finnish cultural policy administration in contrast to Sweden is presented in Figure 8. Each period is further described in the following subchapters.

Throughout all the periods, a general feature of Finnish regional cultural policy administration has been the two-pillar system that builds on the regional councils on the one hand, and state regional administration on the other. The results of A2 show that this two-parted structure existed already in the 1960s and remains until this day (see Chapter 2.2). This highlights the long historical trajectories in the construction of the administrative structures. In Finland, local administration on a regional level was established already in the 1920s to represent local and regional interests towards the national level (Haveri, 1997; Reina, 2012, p. 13). The state administration on a regional level in Finland traces back before independence when counties [Finnish: *lääni*] and hundreds [Finnish: *kihlakunta*] both represented state between the state and municipalities. The counties were established already in 1634 when Finland was part of Sweden (until 1809), and their borders followed those of the historical counties⁴². These aspects highlight the fact that the construction of the regional level of cultural

⁴² Ahvenanmaa, Häme, Karjala, Lappi, Pohjanmaa, Satakunta, Savo, Uusimaa, Varsinais-Suomi.

policy administration is rooted in the country's institutional context, which has continued to affect subsequent developments.



Source: Renko & al., 2021.

FIGURE 8. Construction of the regional level in Finnish cultural policy administration in contrast to Sweden.

6.1.1 Regions as vehicles of welfare policy (1960s–1980s)

Upon the emergence of the welfare state in Finland in the 1960s, all government levels were involved in promoting culture as one of the main sectors of public policies. In the established structures of state regional administration, cultural policy tasks were first assigned to two organisations: the state provincial offices and provincial arts councils.

Each province [Finnish: *lääni*] had a state provincial office as a joint regional authority that promoted the national and regional objectives channelled through various ministries and implemented the central government's decisions in its region. In cultural policy, these offices were assigned tasks that mainly concentrated on administrative matters such as steering and overseeing the libraries.

The provincial arts councils [Finnish: *läänin taidetoimikunta*] were created on regional policy grounds under the Arts Council of Finland, which was established under the Ministry of Education in 1967.⁴³ The establishment of the arts council system reflected the arm's length principle based on the role of external quality assessment by experts in channelling public funding to the arts, for example (cf. Mangset, 2009; Sokka & Johannisson, 2022, p. 12). The arm's

⁴³ The establishment of the provincial arts councils was based on the suggestions put forward in a report by the State Arts Commission (1965).

length principle has been implemented differently in different countries and institutional contexts. In Finland, the provincial arts councils independently promoted artistic activities, awarded grants and allocated subsidies in their respective regions (328/1967).

The division between the broader cultural policy tasks and the more limited arts policy tasks in state regional administration was challenged in the early 1970s when a report by the Cultural Committee (19874:2) aimed at broadening arts policy to also cover the leisure activities in arts, heritage and international cultural relations. However, the distinction between arts policy and cultural policy remained in place in the areas of responsibility of the arts councils and other regional organisations with cultural policy tasks. (Kangas & Ruokolainen, 2012, pp. 10–11.)

In contrast, no regional arts councils were established in Sweden. At the national level, the Swedish National Council for Cultural Affairs (currently the Swedish Arts Council, in Swedish: *Kulturrådet*) was established in 1974, and the Swedish Arts Grants Committee [Swedish: *Konstnärsnämnden*] in 1976.⁴⁴

Upon the emergence of the welfare state, the cultural policy tasks in Swedish state regional administration were allocated to the County Administrative Boards. Their tasks included implementing national objectives and coordinating different interests within their distinct regions. In relation to cultural heritage, the County Administrative Boards had, and still have, supervisory responsibilities (SFS 2007:825). It was also possible for individuals and organisations to apply for grants from the boards. However, in cultural policy, their tasks remained limited compared to the self-governing county councils.

During the period of the regions as vehicles of welfare policy, the county councils' role was under construction in Finnish cultural policy. The existing regional associations [Finnish: *maakuntaliitto*] functioned as non-profit actors formed by the municipalities in their respective regions. In terms of cultural policy, the regional associations took on the task of functioning as forums of cooperation in the fields of culture and local heritage work.

The regional planning associations' [Finnish: *seutukaavaliitto*] operations also included cultural policy tasks. These associations were established in 1959 and functioned as public authorities responsible for regional land use planning. In cultural policy, the associations were responsible for land use planning for the cultural environment and cultural institutions.

For the Swedish county councils – as well as municipalities – measures in the cultural policy field were voluntary, making devolution seem absolute (except for cultural heritage, in which county councils and municipalities were bound by national legislation, SFS 1988:950). With their power of taxation, the Swedish county councils were also able and willing to take on cultural policy tasks.

In Finland, the strong priorities of welfare state cultural policy were conveyed to the regions through the regional actors' cultural plans. Cultural

⁴⁴ <https://www.konstnarsnamnden.se/om-konstnarsnamnden/> [accessed 9 July 2023.]

planning played an important role at the regional level, and plans were drawn up by all the above-mentioned actors in the 1970s and 1980s. The established multi-actor character of regional cultural administration remained in place even though the self-governing county councils were at times discussed (e.g. Mykkänen, 2016). In Sweden, administrative changes in this regard were not taken either. Published in the 1970s, a comprehensive Swedish Government Official Report (SOU 1972:66) led to the still decisive 1974 parliamentary decision on cultural policy (Kungl. Majt:s prop. 1974:28). The report also discussed the need for independent regional cultural policy, yet this suggestion was not confirmed in the subsequent parliamentary decision (Blomgren, 2012, pp. 525–526).

6.1.2 Regionalisation (1990s–mid-2000s)

Approaching the 1990s, a new ideological wave of competition state started to emerge. In policymaking, this included implementing New Public Management (NPM) inspired modernisation programmes that aimed for greater efficiency – often in economic terms – within the public sector (Peters, 2011, p. 7; Löfgren & Ringholm, 2009, p. 505). In this context, regionalisation as a state-led, top-down process in which the state would explicitly construct regional centres of power (cf. Paasi, 2011, p. 10) was viewed as one way to facilitate more effective governance or decision-making at the regional level because it would allow policymakers to tailor policies and strategies to meet the specific needs and challenges of each region (see Börzel & Risse, 2016).

In Finnish cultural administration, these regionalisation tendencies were manifested in the broadened cultural policy tasks of the new regional councils that were formed by merging together the regional associations and the regional planning associations (as well as including tasks from other organisations). The regional councils were mandated as public authorities responsible for regional development and land use planning (1135/1993). The regional councils' financial resources and public authority in regional cultural policy were emphasised as they were granted a role in channelling the EU's structural and investment funds.⁴⁵

The regionalisation tendencies were also visible in Swedish regional administration. In the Swedish context, regionalisation was supplemented by regionalism, an ambition to increase the political influence of specific regions and their residents (Malmström, 1998).

In the mid-1990s, the Swedish county councils took a major initiative to increase regional political autonomy in relation to the new national government report on cultural policy (SOU 1995:84). This argument was partly fuelled by the more independent and self-sufficient role of regions then advocated by the EU. It was also inspired by the parallel national government report on regional self-

⁴⁵ ESI Funds: European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), European Social Fund (ESF), European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD).

governance (SOU 1995:27), which resulted in a parliamentary decision and changes in regional administration (SFS 1996:1414).

The strengthening of the county councils' position was implemented in stages. Firstly, in Western and Southern Sweden, several counties were merged into two larger ones. Secondly, these counties' county councils were merged into two larger ones. Thirdly, the responsibility for regional growth was transferred from the County Administrative Boards to these larger county councils, which were then given the right to call themselves regions (Region Västra Götaland with 1.5 million inhabitants and Region Skåne with 1.2 million inhabitants). These developments resulted in regions on a trial basis. The transfer of the responsibility for regional growth from the County Administrative Boards to the new regions provided them with more power and authority in cultural policy as well.⁴⁶

In Finnish state regional administration, the competition state ideology was evident in the reconstruction of administrative structures at an exceptional speed (cf. Niemi-Lilahti & al., 2002). In this context, public authority and responsibilities in cultural policy were reallocated horizontally among the newly established regional organisations.

In 1997, the number of the state provincial offices was decreased from 11 to five (Southern Finland, Eastern Finland, Lapland, Western Finland, Oulu), creating large provinces [Finnish: *suurlääni*]. Simultaneously, tasks related to culture and cultural environment were transferred to the established centres for environment and employment [Finnish: *alueellinen ympäristökeskus*] (57/1995) and the economic and development centres [Finnish: *työvoima- ja elinkeinokeskus*] (23/1997). Interestingly, while the aim of these administrative changes was to simplify regional administration, in practice they meant a larger number of regional organisations in cultural policy. Consequently, Finnish regional administration became increasingly characterised by "uncoordinated multi-agency" (Karvonen & Rintala, 2004, p. 160).

At the same time, the provincial arts councils were renamed regional arts councils [Finnish: *alueellinen taidetoimikunta*], and their number was differentiated from the number of state provincial offices. The appointment of the regional arts councils was transferred from the state provincial offices to the Ministry of Education. In this way, the administrative position of the regional arts councils as part of state arts and cultural administration was clarified.

⁴⁶ Unlike in Finland, the responsibility for the distribution of culture-oriented project funds from the EU Structural and Investment Funds lies with the Swedish Arts Council at the national level: "Swedish Arts Council (*Kulturrådet*) monitors the distribution of culture-oriented project funds in the EU Structural and Investment Funds (ESI Funds). In 2019, just over SEK 460 million was allocated to 541 projects with a cultural connection in Sweden, i.e. projects that have 'some connection to art forms, media, education or cultural heritage'". https://www.culturalpolicies.net/country_profile/sweden-1-4-2/ [accessed 14 February 2024.]

6.1.3 Competitive regions (mid-2000s onwards)

Entering the 2000s, the NPM tendencies of competition and efficiency became increasingly visible in the construction of regional cultural policy administration. While the market-oriented arguments in favour of a strengthened regional level had already been increasingly introduced in the Swedish context in the 1990s (Johannisson, 2010a), such arguments were integrated into the more general cultural policy framework from the mid-2000s onwards.

In Finnish state regional administration, a major reorganisation was conducted with the aim of clarifying the roles, duties, steering and regional divisions of regional government authorities.⁴⁷ In 2009, the provinces were abolished, and the functions and tasks of various agencies, including the state provincial offices, were transferred to two new regional government bodies: the six AVI agencies and the 15 ELY centres (896/2009, 897/2009).

Despite the aim of clarification, the division of cultural policy tasks among the new organisations was not straightforward. The tasks related to libraries – mainly in terms of financial decentralisation – were first assigned to the ELYs in 2010. In 2014, they were again transferred, this time to the AVIs. Since then, the AVIs and ELYs' role as part of state regional cultural administration has remained quite varied. The AVIs' cultural policy tasks have mainly remained limited to public libraries. In addition, they have a statutory duty to evaluate cultural services as basic public services. The ELYs focus on promoting culture in the context of economic development. The AVIs' and ELYs' geographical areas of operation differ significantly and do therefore not provide clear regional divisions in state regional cultural administration.

The period of competitive regions has also seen a reorganisation of the promotion of the arts at the Finnish regional level. Here, tendencies of (re)centralisation can be perceived, as noted in many previous studies on Finnish cultural policy (e.g. Sokka & Johannisson, 2022, p. 13; Sokka, 2022, p. 55). In 2008, the regional arts councils' position was changed when they were transferred under the direction of the Arts Council of Finland, clarifying their administrative position in supporting the arts (1236/2007). At the same time, the power to appoint the regional arts councils was transferred to the regional councils. This created a peculiar situation in which state regional administration was connected to the regional councils, combining the two pillars.

In 2013, the Arts Council of Finland was replaced by the Arts Promotion Centre Finland. The regional arts councils started to function as the Arts Promotion Centre Finland's expert bodies in regional matters, and their members have subsequently been appointed by the Arts Promotion Centre.⁴⁸

In the administrative structure of the new Arts Promotion Centre, the regional operations have become increasingly dispersed. While the regional arts councils continue to award grants and allocate subsidies in their respective

⁴⁷ <https://vm.fi/en/-/kiviniemi-aluehallintouudistus-parantaa-palveluja-ja-lisaa-tuotta-vuutta> [accessed 11 July 2023.]

⁴⁸ Act on the Arts Promotion Centre (657/2012).

regions (like the previous provincial arts councils), the allocation of state grants to associations has been transferred from the regional arts councils to the national level. The role of the Arts Promotion Centre's regional offices has been limited to administrative matters. The regional offices are located in 10 large cities in addition to the capital city of Helsinki, but their geographical areas of operation are not clearly defined.⁴⁹ These organisational changes seem to have complicated the previously more distinct regions of Finnish arts policy. It also seems that at the same time, regional arts policy has been diminished while culture's position in regional development has been strengthened through the regional councils, AVIs and ELYs.

The results of A2 presented above show that during the period of competitive regions, regional cultural policy agency has become increasingly dispersed in Finland. At the same time, the results of A1 bring forth the need for this agency. This need derives especially from the fact that the local level has become notably differentiated as a provider of cultural activities that are public services that municipalities are expected to provide together with the national level.

Focusing on the 2010s, A1 indicates that the local level of Finnish cultural policy is differentiated in terms of financing cultural activities. This is evident in the financing of basic cultural activities established as services available to all citizens around the country as well as that of the museum, theatre and orchestra activities that are voluntary services for the municipalities to provide (see Table 7).

TABLE 7. Cultural net operating costs in Mainland Finland in 2012, 2014 and 2016.

Year	Net operating costs per capita			
	Biggest cities (n=11)	Other urban municipalities (n=49)	Semi-urban municipalities (n=65)	Rural municipalities (n=195)
2012				
Basic cultural activities	27.3 €	15.4 €	17.3 €	10.4 €
Museum, theatre and orchestra activities	89.4 €	39.5 €	11.5 €	8.8 €
2014				
Basic cultural activities	23.5 €	15.5 €	16.5 €	11.1 €
Museum, theatre and orchestra activities	89.1 €	40.2 €	11.1 €	8.0 €
2016				
Basic cultural activities	22.6 €	15.3 €	15.4 €	12.5 €
Museum, theatre and orchestra activities	82.7 €	40.4 €	9.6 €	5.1 €

Source: A1 (Renko & al., 2020, p. 69).

⁴⁹ <https://www.taike.fi/fi/tietoa-taikesta/organisaatio/yhteystiedot> [accessed 20 November 2022.]

The results of A1 show that during all the examined years, the net operating costs of both basic cultural activities and museum, theatre and orchestra activities per capita were noticeably higher in big cities than in other urban, semi-urban or rural municipalities. Hence, cultural policy seems to reflect a broader trend in the development of Finnish regions: the concentration of production and population in urban areas (Sjöblom, 2020, p. 159; Tervo, 2003).

The results of A1 further suggest that the analysed net operating costs are connected to municipalities' structural qualities rather than financial resources. The linear regression analysis revealed that high number of population was the key variable explaining high cultural net operating costs in each year. In practice, it seems that large and urban municipalities choose to invest in culture as part of local development more than smaller and rural municipalities, which are able or willing to allocate only small amounts of financing to cultural activities. This finding also reflects the connection between culture and local and, more broadly, regional development. The differentiation of the local level may further increase expectations for cultural policy agency at the regional level.

In general, the period of competitive regions in Finnish regional administration brought a significant change with the establishment of the directly elected wellbeing services counties (see Chapter 2.1). However, culture was not included in the tasks of these new counties. In contrast, in Sweden, the strengthening of the regional level was also visible in cultural policy.

In 2010, the Swedish regions were made permanent, and they played an important part in one of the key administrative reforms in Swedish cultural policy since the 1970s: the Cultural Cooperation Model. The model was introduced in 2011 (SOU 2009:16; prop. 2009/10:3) and today, all the 21 regions except for the capital region of Stockholm are included in the model. Mainly reflecting administrative decentralisation, the Cultural Cooperation Model is a new way of allocating national government funding to regional cultural activities, whose funding was previously earmarked directly by the Swedish Arts Council at the national government level.

In the Cultural Cooperation Model, national funding is granted as a general subsidy by the Swedish Arts Council based on a three-year "cultural plan" that each region is responsible for producing in cooperation with municipalities and in dialogue with the cultural sector and civil society. With the introduction of the reform, some existing regional cultural structures were dismantled, in particular the Swedish Travelling Concerts [Swedish: *Rikskonsserter*] and Swedish Travelling Exhibitions [Swedish: *Riksutställningar*]. The resources were redistributed within the culture budget. (Lindqvist, 2022, p. 124.)

While the Cultural Cooperation Model changed the budget routines to increase dialogue between the national, regional and local levels of government and between policymakers and cultural workers, the model includes several elements that promote administrative centralisation rather than decentralisation. The cultural activities that are eligible for national government support are nationally regulated. All regional cultural plans need to address the implementation of national cultural policy goals and address certain cultural

activities. The Cultural Cooperation Model supports regional culture through seven specified art and culture forms (performing arts, music, museums and cultural heritage, libraries, literature, visual arts and design, archives, film and developing handicrafts) (e.g. Lindqvist, 2022, p. 124). The model therefore steers regional cultural policies through its follow-up and evaluation instruments (SFS 2010:2012).

Roger Blomgren and Jenny Johannisson (2013; 2014) have suggested that this administrative reform, presenting itself as a decentralisation reform, has rather increased national government control over regional cultural policy (ibid.): even though the Swedish regional bodies formally enjoy greater autonomy in cultural policy than before the Cultural Cooperation Model was introduced, it seems that in practice, they are primarily subjected to regional delegation.

New developments for the Cultural Cooperation Model have recently been suggested in a newly published report (SOU 2023:58). The suggestions include establishing legislation concerning the collaboration between the state, regions and municipalities to provide long-term preconditions for providing culture around the country. The report also suggests that the regions' role should be clarified and strengthened in relation to culture. (Ibid., p. 9).

During the three distinct periods presented above, the construction of the regional level in Finnish cultural policy has followed the two-pillar structure, and no self-governing regions have been established in Finnish regional cultural administration. Instead, cultural policy authority has mainly been redistributed within state regional administration to the regional offices of the central government or to regional government bodies largely dependent on the central government. This points to an emphasis on deconcentration and delegation in establishing regional cultural policy agency in Finland (see Chapter 4.1.2).

In Sweden, devolution (i.e. regions as independent actors) has also been introduced. The established self-governing and directly elected regional councils have been increasingly able to strengthen their cultural policy agency during the three periods. This difference highlights the limitations that institutional frameworks place on rescaling processes. The institutional frameworks have limited the rescaling processes through limiting the range of alternatives available for reorganising the regional level. This kind of path dependency has been observed in the development of Finnish regional administration in general (Sjöblom, 2020, p. 171).

In Finnish cultural policy, the regional government bodies have mainly been assigned public authority and responsibilities; in other words, the object of regional decentralisation has mainly been administrative. In Sweden, the reforms have also transferred political power, the right to levy taxes and other financial resources to the regional level (i.e. political and fiscal decentralisation) and to regional jurisdictions with elected councils so that they have the possibility to raise their own revenues and make independent decisions.

6.2 Implementing current regional cultural policy practices

As presented above, constructing the regional level in Finnish cultural policy has resulted in the dispersion of cultural policy agency among four organisations of regional cultural policy administration. The current regional cultural administration includes regional councils and three organisations that belong to state cultural administration (the AVIs, the ELYs and the Arts Promotion Centre's regional offices and arts councils). In Sweden, the self-governing regions hold regional cultural policy agency, while the role of state regional administration is limited to cultural heritage (see Chapter 2.2).

In these administrative contexts, A3 describes the current regional cultural policy practices in the case region of Central Finland, contrasted to the Swedish region of Värmland. Building on the governance framework for analysing policy practices (see Chapter 4.2), I here approach these practices as *sets of activities* that the organisations of regional cultural administration implement together with a variety of other actors, situations and activities (Hupe & Hill, 2006).

The sets of activities have been distinguished as operational, constitutive and directive (Hupe & Hill, 2006). The results of A3 show that in Central Finland and Värmland, the regional organisations implement all these activities in regional cultural policy: the organisations manage the realisation process (operational set of activities), make decisions about the content of policies (constitutive set of activities), and formulate and make decisions about the desired outcomes (directive set of activities). The broadness of the sets of activities shows that Finnish regional cultural administration not only promotes the national and local policies but also actively affects the policy aims and contents. In this way, the organisations of regional cultural administration seem to have been able to make use of their cultural policy agency.

By applying thematisation, I further identified three key themes in the cultural policy activities of the case regions. These themes clarify the regional cultural policy practices. The analysis in A3 suggested that the case regions' practices focus on defining culture as a policy field, deciding on operations and connecting actors in their distinctive regions. These themes are here named demarcation, discretion and mediation. Each theme will be further explained in the following subchapters.

It must be noted that the recognised key themes in regional cultural policy are connected to all the sets of activities, but they do not completely correspond to each other. Demarcation has to do with decisions about the content of a policy (constitutive set of activities). Discretion is related to the actual management of the realisation process of regional cultural policy (operational set of activities). Mediation concerns both the directive and operational sets of activities. (Figure 9.)

While the sets of activities and the key themes in regional cultural policy are distinguished for analytical purposes, it is clear that they are in many ways intertwined and interconnected. For example, demarcation determines the scope

of regional cultural policies by defining the policy field. At the same time, it defines which actors can participate in regional cultural policymaking as “cultural” actors.

The recognised regional cultural policy practices elaborate the construction (and especially implementation as part of it) of regional cultural policy. Regional cultural policy has been defined as cultural policy strategies and activities at the regional level of government (Johannisson, 2010a, p. 129; Lindqvist, 2019). The regional cultural policy practices recognised in A3 reveal the active role of the regional organisations: regional cultural policy does not only take place within the regional level, but it is also actively constructed by the regional level (cf. Durantaye, 2002; Breux et al., 2007).

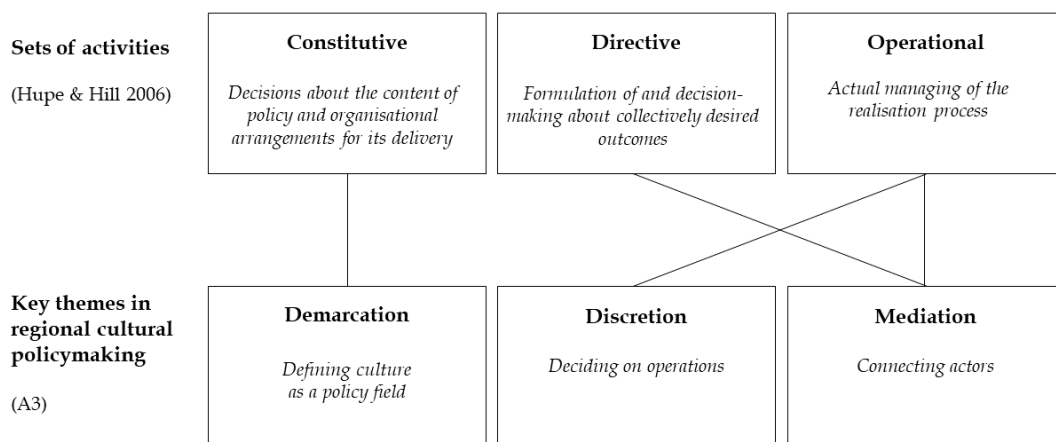


FIGURE 9. Sets of activities and key themes in regional cultural policy in Central Finland and Värmland.

6.2.1 Demarcation

As a regional cultural policy practice, demarcation means that the organisations of regional cultural administration interpret and define the content of their cultural policies. While the regional organisations have been assigned certain cultural policy tasks and responsibilities, the interviewees for A3 thought that “culture” is broadly defined in the legislation and policy documents that frame the regional organisations’ activities. Therefore, the regional organisations of the cultural administrative structure themselves have broad possibilities to interpret and define the content of their cultural policies.

In Central Finland, each regional organisation has its own distinct approach to demarcation. There is no general regional cultural policy plan formulated in the region. The regional council is responsible for including culture in harmonising and coordinating the plans and development aims with the general regional programme (7/2014, section 17). However, this regional programme is not adopted by all the organisations of state regional cultural administration. The results of A3 show that while the ELY has been tightly involved in the preparation and implementation of the regional programme, the AVI’s cultural

unit has not participated in the preparation. The regional arts council had suggested contents which had, however, not been included in the programme.

The lack of an explicit and shared regional cultural policy document presents a significant difference in contrast to Värmland and other Swedish regions. In Värmland and other Swedish regions, the regional council must prepare a regional cultural plan in order for the region to receive state cultural funding.

In Central Finland, the regional organisations' broad possibilities for demarcation have led to varying cultural policy scopes depending on the organisation. Within the current regional cultural administration, the role of culture as an instrument is emphasised. The Arts Promotion Centre and its regional offices and arts councils constitute an exception because their assigned general task is rather clear: to promote professional arts. However, the Arts Promotion Centre's operations have also been broadened to include aspects of culture that are not covered by any other official body. For example, cultural wellbeing has also been included in the Arts Promotion Centre's operations at the regional level.

The other organisations of regional cultural administration in Central Finland interpret culture in the context of their broad, general aims as multifunctional government entities. The regional councils perceive culture in the context of promoting regional development. The ELY views culture in the contexts of promoting economic development (culture as the creative industries) and environmental protection (culture as cultural heritage). For AVI, culture means a basic service that the AVIs have the duty to monitor and evaluate. This highlights how tasks from various policy sectors are included in the operations of these organisations.

In Central Finland, many interviewees experienced that culture has a subsidiary role in relation to other fields and aims of the regional organisation's operations. This is why the interviewees also perceived that a broad definition of culture is needed in regional cultural policy: it must be possible to include culture in the regional organisations' general aims and tasks. This highlights the instrumental tendencies in legitimating culture as part of regional policy.

6.2.2 Discretion

As a regional cultural policy practice, discretion refers to the regional organisations' possibility to make decisions about their cultural policy operations and the ways in which they implement given cultural policy tasks. A3 shows that the key cultural policy operations of the regional organisations of the case regions of Central Finland and Värmland are rather similar: they include awarding funding, consulting and providing information. These operations highlight that regional cultural policy implementation has very concrete implications for artists and other arts and cultural actors in the regions: regional cultural policy implementation affects where funding and other resources are channelled, and how information is distributed from regional cultural administration.

In Central Finland, all the organisations of regional cultural administration have a different emphasis in their cultural policy operations. The regional council mainly provides information and consulting. It also channels funding especially through the EU funding instruments. Differing from state regional administration, the regional council itself can also actively apply for EU funding to implement its own programmes and strengthen its operations. The ELY also channels EU funding as well as provides information and consulting in the context of promoting culture as part of economic development in the region. Both the regional council and the ELY are also actively involved in implementing cultural environment tasks in the region.

The AVI's cultural policy tasks focus on supporting the operations of public libraries. Its other activities related to cultural policy (as defined within the organisation) are limited.

In Central Finland, the regional arts council awards funding to individual artists and working groups in the region. It also issues statements and participates in the Arts Promotion Centre's other activities when necessary. The regional office supports the regional arts council's operations and provides consulting and information for artists in the region. It also participates in various regional projects that are often coordinated by regional artists.

Similarly to how demarcation functions, the interviewees experienced that the regional organisations have broad possibilities to decide on their operations and the ways in which they implement given tasks in cultural policy. One interviewee from Central Finland reported that while there are aims coming from above, the regional bodies "have various means to implement the aims". Especially the regional councils - both in Central Finland and Värmland - have broad possibilities to do things outside the given frame, whereas the state regional administrations' possibilities are more limited by national steering.

According to A3, a notable feature of discretion in the regional cultural policy practices of Central Finland is the involvement of various ministries. The regional arts council operates under the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC). The AVI and ELY are steered by various ministries: the MEC, the Ministry of Finance (the funding of the AVI), the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, the Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (the funding of the ELY).

Different ministries have different aims and possibilities to fund the regional government bodies. Consequently, the national level's administrative silos also penetrate the regional level in cultural policy. According to the interviewees, the varied national steering has resulted in incoherence and a lack of coordination in the regional operations of cultural policy as well.

The MEC is responsible for the statutory art and cultural policy nationally, and the interviewees from Central Finland also perceived it as the most important ministry related to cultural policy at the regional level. However, many interviewees experienced that the MEC's visibility was small at the regional level. On the one hand, one interviewee saw it as an advantage that the MEC does not apply strict number-based monitoring but rather provides the

regional organisation with possibilities to interpret how the broad aims are approached. On the other hand, another interviewee felt that the ministry gives the regional organisation broad aims but does not provide sufficient funding for its operations. According to the interviewee, the issue of the impossibility to promote the aims has often been communicated to the MEC but without results. Another interviewee described the MEC's role in supporting and connecting regional actors and its connection to the actors' daily work as minor.

Cultural service provision presents a regional cultural policy practice that is not conducted in Finland. In the Finnish context, the responsibility for cultural service provision is limited to the local level. In the Swedish context, however, Värmland and other regions maintain and finance regional arts and cultural institutions. The regional level funds these regional arts institutions together with the national and local levels. In the case of theatres, the average share of regional funding is 40% of the theatres' budget, but it varies between 20% and 70% in individual theatres. Following the Cultural Cooperation Model, the level of cultural institutions' subsidy is dependent on the policies and strategies of each region/municipality. (Skjoldager-Nielsen & Hoogland, 2018, p. 127.) In Värmland, the regional arts and cultural institutions include Wermland Opera, Värmlands Museum, Västanå Teater and Riksteatern Värmland, which all receive regional subsidies.⁵⁰

6.2.3 Mediation

As a regional cultural policy practice, mediation concerns the regional cultural administrations' role in connecting and bringing together different regional actors linked to cultural policy. Following the governance tendencies, the role of state and public administration has become increasingly highlighted in coordinating public and private action to ensure that services and programmes are delivered (Peters & Pierre, 2006).

The results of A3 show that in both Central Finland and Värmland, the interviewees strongly position the organisations of regional cultural administration as coordinators and mediators between various actors and government levels. This highlights the regional cultural administration's engagement in a collaborative and networked governance approach that involves various public and private actors.

In this way, the role of regional cultural administration is perceived as a facilitator and cooperator among various actors. Many interviewees thought that the regional organisations' key actions include promoting collaboration and supporting networks. In terms of mediation, the regional organisations can thus be perceived to present a specific "spot" in the vertical public administration system where different actors can participate in regional cultural construction (cf. Hupe & Hill, 2006, p. 23).

⁵⁰ <https://www.regionvarmland.se/regionvarmland/om-regionen/om-region-varmland/organisation/kultur-och-bildning> [accessed 4 September 2023.]

The results of A3 show that in Central Finland, the organisations of regional cultural administration collaborate especially in the context of established working groups. These working groups bring together organisations within regional cultural administration and highlight the multi-actor nature of Finnish regional cultural administration: the multi-actor context has led to collaboration among the regional organisations themselves.

In Central Finland, a regional cultural environment group and a cultural collaboration group bring together different regional organisations as well as other public actors such as municipalities from the region. Actors from other societal sectors (private, third) are also included. The ELY and the regional council are active members in both groups, and the regional arts council participates in the cultural collaboration group.

Interestingly, the AVI does not take part in the current regional working groups related to culture. In general, the AVI was often excluded when the interviewees discussed key actors in regional cultural policy. This can be connected to the AVI's limited cultural policy tasks in regional state administration which focus on libraries and basic service evaluation.

In Central Finland, there is no distinct platform for mediation. The working groups are established when necessary, and each regional organisation connects regional actors in the context of their respective operations.

The partnerships and networks that involve various actors in constructing and implementing regional cultural policy with regional cultural administration are quite broad in Central Finland. The interviewees for A3 were asked to list the actors that they considered to be part of constructing regional cultural policy in their respective region. The mentioned actors included municipalities, arts and cultural institutions (such as museums and libraries), universities and other educational institutions as well as civil society actors such as artist associations, festival organisations, individual artists, companies and independent foundations within the region. In terms of the cultural environment, government bodies with a focus on the environment (Metsähallitus, the Finnish Forest Centre) were also mentioned.

Contrasted to Central Finland, Region Värmland has a distinct cultural policy platform for mediation: the regional cultural plan. According to the Cultural Cooperation Model, the plan needs to be prepared together with various cultural actors within the region. In this way, it creates a specific platform for discussing regional cultural policy contents in the region. Written every four years, the regional cultural plan provides a specific timeframe for (re)formulating regional cultural policy and gives actors in the region the opportunity to participate in policy construction, evaluate the published plan and refer to it when conducting their own activities related to culture in Värmland.

The contrasting to Värmland also brings forth that in Central Finland, politicians were not mentioned by the interviewees when discussing actors that participate in constructing regional cultural policy. Some interviewees were even sceptical about including local (or regional) politicians in making regional cultural policy mainly because – according to some interviewees – politicians do

not have enough expertise or time to become acquainted with cultural policy. In Värmland, regional politicians were considered important regional cultural policy actors – even though according to an interviewee, they are not involved on a day-to-day basis.

Interestingly, while various actors participating in regional cultural policymaking were mentioned in the interviews, citizen participation was not discussed in either of the case regions – even though the Swedish structure allows participation through regional elections. The rather limited possibilities for citizen oversight and participation in Finnish regional policy in general have been recognised in previous studies (Sjöblom, 2020, p. 165). However, the interviewees in both Central Finland and Värmland generally experienced that those who want to do have the possibility to take part in and affect the construction of regional cultural policy.

6.3 Possibilities of constructing regional cultural policy in Finland in contrast to Sweden

As described above, Finnish regional cultural administration (as well as regional administration in general) has been gradually developed into a fragmented system that relies on a diverse multi-actor structure (cf. Sjöblom, 2020, p. 163). In Finland, unlike in Sweden, the established administrative structures have not allowed the creation of a self-governing regional organisation in cultural policy, nor a regional organisation with a distinct cultural policy mandate. The results of A3 show that the established multi-actor and multi-border structures of Finnish regional administration bring many complexities to the construction of regional cultural policy in contrast to Sweden.

Each organisation in Finnish regional cultural administration approaches culture from the perspective of their general mission and tasks: in simplified terms, culture is perceived as a public service (AVI), business (ELY), arts (regional arts council) and a tool for regional development (regional council). The approaches of the AVI and the ELY in particular are steered by various ministries, which complicates culture's position in these organisations' tasks and highlights the aims of the national level instead of those of an individual region.

The construction of regional cultural policy is complicated by the differing aims of different regional organisations and the lack of a common platform for discussing these aims. Even though regional development in Finland in general has been characterised as increasingly programmatic (Sjöblom, 2020, p. 168), the Finnish regional level lacks the coordinated production of a regional cultural plan (or a similar document), whose preparation and implementation would involve all the organisations of regional cultural administration. Currently, there are aims to coordinate regional cultural policy construction in the context of working groups. These groups are, however, not included in the established structures of regional cultural administration; instead, they are organised when

needed and often by a sole active individual public officer, which challenges their sustainability and long-term operations.

In Sweden, the process of preparing the regional cultural plans serves as a platform for discussing regional cultural policy and therefore promotes governance in regional cultural policy. However, regional actors' motivation to participate in the construction and implementation of the regional cultural plans may be diminished by the loose connection between the contents of the regional cultural plans and the cultural funding granted by the state. Because the state funding channelled to the regional level through the Cultural Cooperation Model has remained rather unchanged, the state cannot channel more funding to one region without cutting from another. According to an interviewee in A3, this has led to a situation in which a specific region's state cultural funding is not likely to increase no matter how ambitious a regional cultural plan the region creates.

The results of A3 indicate that in Central Finland, the multi-actor nature of Finnish regional cultural administration is seen as confusing among the organisations themselves. Interviewees from different regional organisations experienced that *their* respective organisation is the key cultural policy actor in the region. This suggests that no regional organisation has been assigned the main responsibility for coordinating regional cultural policy construction, and that no organisation has either been able or willing to claim this responsibility – unlike the regions in Swedish cultural policy. In this way, Finnish regional cultural administration is in line with general Finnish regional administration, in which “no single unit has a clearly defined coordinating responsibility for regional-level policy implementation” (Sjöblom, 2020, p. 171). However, in a governance context, coordinative resources and capabilities would be required in policy implementation by increasingly multifunctional organisations (Sjöblom & Andersson, 2018).

The multi-border nature of Finnish regional cultural administration further complicates the construction of regional cultural policy. The results of A2 show that in constructing regional cultural administration, distinct regional divisions have not been considered. As a result, the regional level of cultural policy includes complex and fluid, overlapping jurisdictions in Finland. In contrast, the regional level of Swedish cultural policy includes the dispersion of authority to a limited number of non-overlapping jurisdictions, which clarifies the concept of an administrative region in cultural policy.

7 CONCLUSIONS

In this study, I addressed the possibilities of constructing regional cultural policy within the multi-actor and multi-border context of Finnish regional administration. The results reveal that in contrast to Sweden, the regional administrative structure for cultural affairs complicates the construction of regional cultural policy in Finland in many ways.

In the Finnish regional cultural policy model, the regional level has mainly been assigned public authority and responsibilities; in other words, the object of regional decentralisation has mainly been administrative, whereas in Sweden, political and fiscal decentralisation have also been applied. The current regional administrative structures for cultural affairs derive from a long historical tradition and the institutional context within which regional cultural administration has been constructed. Long before independence, Finland was part of Sweden, and common administrative structures (such as counties) were developed in this context. However, the self-governing regions were not reintroduced into the Swedish political system until after Finland had become part of the Russian empire. Instead, local self-government was established and developed as a crucial part of Finland's administrative autonomy (Temmes, 2008).

Following these developments, the regional level's administrative position in relation to the national and local levels has remained more marginal. This reflects path dependency, that is, the effect of the institutional context on subsequent institution building (Pierson, 2000; 2004; Kangas & Vestheim, 2011; Korpi, 2001). Path dependency helps to explain why the Finnish and Swedish regional administrative structures for cultural affairs have not been constructed alike even though the administrative structures of the Finnish welfare state have otherwise been developed following closely the Swedish example (Temmes, 1998; 2008; Karvonen, 1981).

In Finland, regional administration has been subject to continuous reforms (Haveri, 1997; Reina, 2012; Sjöblom, 2020). The development of the Finnish regional level in general has been characterised as a balancing act between the differing national and local perspectives, and organised coordination between the two pillars has often been lacking (Reina, 2012; SM, 2004). According to

Sjöblom (2020, p. 156), Finnish regional administration has incrementally evolved into a diverse and fragmented institutional structure due to tensional processes including two perspectives: top-down negotiated reforms to streamline the administrative structure on the one hand, and a simultaneous reliance on a subregional multi-actor structure to implement regional development policies on the other (see also Anttiroiko & Valkama, 2017, p. 153; Kettunen & Kull, 2009; Kull, 2009). The results of this study show that the construction of regional cultural administration has followed a similar pattern in Finland.

During the three distinct periods identified in this study, the construction of the regional level of Finnish cultural policy has followed this two-pillar structure that builds on the regional councils on the one hand, and state regional administration on the other. Since the 1960s, the regional administrative structures for culture have been constructed and reconstructed through three periods: regions as vehicles of welfare policy (1960s–1980s), regionalisation (1990s–mid-2000s) and competitive regions (mid-2000s onwards). In Finland, cultural policy authority has mainly been redistributed within state regional administration. This points to an emphasis on deconcentration and delegation in establishing regional cultural policy agency in Finland in contrast to Sweden, where devolution, that is, regions as independent actors, has also been introduced.

The above periods are in line with the phases previously recognised in Finnish cultural policy and reflect a broader ideological shift from the welfare state towards a competition society. In this way, the construction of the regional level of cultural policy can be connected to broader societal shifts and rescaling processes that have affected the relation of the different administrative levels to one another. The results also show that Finnish regional cultural administration has been developed in the context of general regional administration without a distinct cultural policy perspective. The state level has lacked a comprehensive vision for the role of the regional level in cultural policy. This highlights the marginality of the cultural policy sector in relation to other policy sectors (namely regional policy).

Currently, Finnish regional cultural administration is fragmented and lacks established coordinating structures. The regional cultural policy responsibilities are allocated among four organisations (the regional councils, the AVIs, the ELYs and the Arts Promotion Centre's regional arts councils and offices), none of which has been assigned an explicit mandate for regional cultural policy coordination.

While regional cultural administration has been constructed, its position in relation to the local and national levels has remained marginal in Finland. This persistent position can be characterised as a so-called scalar fix that bounds power within a relatively stable hierarchy (e.g. Collinge, 1999; Smith, 1995). Scalar fixes are established within particular historical and geographical contexts, and they can “frequently exercise powerful structuring effects upon the future evolution of scales” (Brenner, 2001, p. 607). A scalar fix has previously been

recognised in Finnish subnational reforms, in which the local level has often been favoured (Sandberg, 2015).

In contrast, in Sweden, the self-governing regions' role in cultural policy has been increasingly emphasised. This reflects the affect of power shares and the circular nature of rescaling processes (Gualini, 2006; Brenner, 2001, pp. 597–598, 604; 1998; Collinge, 1999). Scalar configurations are actively produced, reproduced, modified and contested by different actors. When certain actors receive more power shares through rescaling processes, they in turn have a better opportunity to affect the future direction of these processes. In Finland, the organisations of the dispersed regional cultural administration have not been able – or willing – to affect the regional (re)distribution of cultural policy power. In Sweden, the self-governing regions have been better able to affect the processes of rescaling, which might explain why regionalisation has been supplemented by regionalism, an ambition to increase the political influence of specific regions and their residents (Malmström, 1998).

The emergence of regionalism in the Finnish cultural policy context has been complicated by the blurred administrative regions. Only the regional councils' administrative borders follow the borders of the established administrative division of regions. All the organisations of state regional cultural administration have different administrative borders. Consequently, it is unclear what the “region” exactly is in Finnish cultural policy, within which regional cultural policy should be constructed.

Path-dependent institutional change may lead to a situation in which administrative structures have characteristics that were not necessarily pursued, and that do not serve the intended policy purposes. This is evident in the construction of Finnish regional cultural administration. As the results of this study show, Finnish regional cultural administration has been developed incrementally without a comprehensive cultural policy perspective: the state has not formulated an overall vision for the regional level's role in cultural policy, nor defined clear administrative regions in cultural policy. Instead, culture has often been included somewhat arbitrarily in the tasks of various regional administrative organisations that are penetrated by administrative silos and have differing geographical areas of operation.

The results of this study indicate that when regional cultural policy practices are implemented within the current regional cultural administration, governance tendencies are highlighted. The public officials' interviews showed that collaboration, participation and networks are emphasised in regional cultural administration in both Finland and Sweden. However, the fragmented Finnish regional cultural administration currently lacks the means to promote the governance aims: there are no established structures for regional cultural policy coordination nor any designated platforms for collaboration and networks in regional cultural administration. The regions do not have an explicit way for various regional actors to participate in regional cultural policy construction. At the moment, the regional organisations' forms of collaboration related to cultural policy are more *ad hoc* and build on certain active individuals' work. The lack of

structures that would enable and support governance aims presents a risk for the sustainability of collaboration and networks in regional cultural policy. It may also result in regional cultural administration leaving the expertise of regional cultural professionals unutilised (cf. Lindqvist, 2019, p. 64).

The difficulties presented above complicate the Finnish regional organisations' possibilities to construct regional cultural policy and to respond to various expectations. The national level expects the regional level to participate in promoting state cultural policy, which includes the welfare state aim of creating equal opportunities around the country. The differentiation of the local level and the centralisation of cultural service provision (recognised in this study) set increasing expectations for the regional level. As the results of this study show, based on cultural expenditure, the local level does not seem successful in evening out the differences in cultural provision around the country. The differences are especially notable between urban cities with a big population and small and rural municipalities. The regional level could provide support in evening out the differences. This rationalisation resembles the national level's arguments related to the social and welfare services reform, which led to the establishment of the wellbeing services counties.

The regions are also expected to respond to distinct regional needs and highlight distinct regional features as part of broader regional development. Within the current regional cultural administration, culture's role as an instrument for regional development is emphasised. The Arts Promotion Centre's regional offices and arts councils are the only organisations focusing on the arts (and even these organisations' tasks have been broadened to cover cultural welfare, for example). Connecting culture to regional development reflects instrumental tendencies in legitimating culture as a regional policy field. A similar tendency has been recognised in Sweden (Blomgren & Johannisson, 2014).

The current situation presents challenges for the regional levels' legitimacy in cultural policy. A consistent failure of the public cultural policy structure to fulfil its main objectives may lead to a legitimisation crisis (Mangset, 2020, p. 408). In the regional context, the administrative structure's inability to answer to regional needs can further challenge regional administrations' cultural policy legitimacy.

The connection of culture to regional development justifies the need for regional cultural policy agency and provides regional administration with an argument to construct regional cultural policy. For example, the economic effects of culture have been used to answer to regional cultural policy's need for legitimacy (Blomgren & Johannisson, 2014). At the same time, focusing on culture solely as an instrument of regional development presents the risk of cultural policy dissolving in regional policy, and artists' work, which lies at the core of regional cultural policy, being disregarded. The results of this study show that many regional public officials already experience that culture does not have a clear mandate of its own as a regional policy field. This can compromise the

implementation of the welfare state cultural policy aims of creating favourable conditions for artists' work everywhere in the country.

As noted at the beginning of this study, policy represents one aspect of politics (see Chapter 3.1). Political decisions are thus influential in steering future rescaling processes and, in this context, affecting the position of the regional level in relation to the other levels of cultural administration. In Finland, regional administration reforms continue with Petteri Orpo's newly appointed right-wing government, which aims to reorganise regional administration by transferring tasks related to permits, steering and supervision from the AVIs, ELYs and other current organisations to new regional administrative organisations titled "vitality centres" [Finnish: *elinvoimakeskus*] (VN, 2023, pp. 56–57). The number of the centres remains to be decided. In arts administration, the Arts Promotion Centre's current strategy for 2030 mentions five geographical areas of operation.⁵¹ The continuous administrative changes and, more broadly, the role of political decision-making in implementing these changes in cultural policy call for further research.

The ongoing regional reforms show that a comprehensive regional cultural policy perspective is still lacking. In planning the reorganisation of regional administration, the state does not seem to comprehensively consider cultural policy, nor the current administrative structures or the regional borders within which each administrative organisation operates. This is likely to lead to an increasing fragmentation of regional cultural administration, which may further complicate the possibilities of constructing regional cultural policy in Finland. Clarifying the regional cultural administration's operational areas and responsibilities as well as establishing a structure for collaboration with arts and cultural actors in the region would enhance the regional level's legitimacy in cultural policymaking.

In public policies, governance tendencies have become increasingly highlighted as collaboration and cooperation among and between public sector and other actors have been emphasised (e.g. Greve & al., 2020, p. 702; Osborne, 2006, p. 382, 384). The results of this study show the various connections and networks in which the analysed regional administrative organisations are involved. To broaden the governance perspective on regional cultural policy construction, further studies focusing on non-government actors and their activities are required. Research on the needs and wishes that artists and other actors have concerning regional cultural administration would further shed light on the regional level's cultural policy legitimacy and its development.

⁵¹ <https://www.taike.fi/fi/taiteilijoilla-monipuoliset-mahdollisuudet-tyoskennella-eri-puolilla-suomea> [accessed 17.4.2023].

SUMMARY IN FINNISH

Tämä väitöstutkimus käsittelee alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan rakentamisen mahdollisuuksia Suomessa suhteessa Ruotsiin. Käsittelee alueiden eroista ja erityispiirteistä rakennettiin aktiivisesti osana suomalaisuuden ja suomalaisen kansakunnan rakentamisen prosessia. Nykyään alueisiin kohdistuu suomalaisessa kulttuuripolitiikassa moninaisia ja ristiriitaisia odotuksia.

Hyvinvointivaltion kulttuuripolitiikassa on 1960-luvulta saakka painotettu mahdollisimman yhtäläisiä mahdollisuuksia taiteelliseen työskentelyyn ja kulttuuriolosuhteiden eri puolilla Suomea. Desentralisaation eli hajauttamisen kautta vastuuta kulttuuripoliittisten tavoitteiden toteuttamisesta on hallinnollisissa rakenteissa siirretty alueelliselle ja etenkin paikalliselle tasolle. Kansallisen kulttuuripolitiikan näkökulmasta alueiden odotetaan siten olevan riittävän samankaltaisia.

Toisaalta siirtymä hyvinvointivaltiosta kilpailuvaltioon on 1990-luvulta alkaen nostanut esiin alueellisia eroja. Kilpailuvaltiossa pyritään kilpailun edistämisen ja helpottamisen kautta edistämään talouskasvua ja tehokkuutta. Alueellisessa kehittämisessä alueita on enenevässä määrin kannustettu erottautumaan sekä korostamaan omia erityispiirteitään ja identiteettiään. Tästä näkökulmasta alueiden tulisi olla toisistaan erottuvia. Taidetta ja kulttuuria on samalla kytketty alueellisen kehittämisen välineiksi. Aluehallinnon yhteistyö yhteiskunnan eri sektoreille sijoittuvien toimijoiden kanssa on korostunut osana siirtymää hallinnosta kohti hallintaa (*governance*).

Moninaisista alueelliseen kulttuuripolitiikkaan kohdistuvista odotuksista huolimatta alueellisen kulttuurihallinnon merkitys Suomessa on aiemmissa tutkimuksissa nähty vähäisenä. Tämän väitöskirjan keskeinen kysymys on, miten alueet voivat Suomessa vastata niihin kohdistuviin moninaisiin odotuksiin rakentamalla alueellista kulttuuripolitiikkaa. Kysymystä tarkastellaan kolmen tarkennetun tutkimuskysymyksen kautta:

1. Miten kulttuurin aluehallinto Suomessa on rakennettu 1960-luvulta lähtien ja asemoitu suhteessa paikalliseen ja kansalliseen tasoon?
2. Millaisia alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan käytäntöjä alueellinen kulttuurihallinto Suomessa tällä hetkellä toteuttaa ja millä tavoin?
3. Miten alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan rakentaminen on Suomen nykyisessä kulttuurin aluehallinnossa mahdollista suhteessa Ruotsin vastavaan?

Tällä hetkellä kulttuurin aluehallinto Suomessa koostuu neljästä organisaatiosta: 1) maakuntien liitoista, 2) aluehallintovirastoista (AVI), 3) elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskuksista (ELY) sekä 4) Taiteen edistämiskeskuksen (Taite) aluetoimipisteistä ja alueellisista taidetoimikunnista. Kullekin organisaatiolle on osoitettu lainsäädännössä erilaiset tehtävät ja toimialueet. Maakunnan liittoja on 18, aluehallintovirastoja kuusi, elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskuksia 15 sekä Taiteen aluetoimipisteitä 11 ja alueellisia taidetoimikuntia 13. Kaikki

organisaatiot rakentavat osaltaan alueellista kulttuuripolitiikkaa, joka ymmärretään tässä aluetason kulttuuria koskevana toimintalinjana.

Suomen alueellisen kulttuurihallinnon monitoimijuus ja -rajaisuus luovat alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan rakentamiselle kontekstin, joka poikkeaa useimmista muista Pohjoismaista. Ero on huomattava etenkin suhteessa Ruotsiin, joka on yleensä toiminut vakiintuneena vertailukohtana suomalaiselle kulttuuripolitiikalle. Keskeisiin eroihin Suomen ja Ruotsin alueellisten kulttuurihallintojen välillä kuuluu, että Ruotsissa vastuu alueellisesta kulttuuripolitiikasta on osoitettu itsehallinnollisille alueille. Alueiden rooli Ruotsin kulttuuripolitiikassa on enenevässä määrin korostunut vuonna 2011 käyttöön otetun yhteistoimintamallin (*kultursamverkansmodellen*) kautta. Mallissa kulttuurirahoitusta kanavoidaan kansalliselta tasolta alueille alueellisten kulttuurisuunnitelmien perusteella. Tässä Suomen alueelliseen kulttuurihallintoon keskittyvässä tutkimuksessa Ruotsia tarkastellaan heijastuspintana, jonka kautta syvennetään analyysia hallinnollisten rakenteiden yhteydestä alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan rakentamisen mahdollisuuksiin.

Tutkimuskysymyksiin vastataan laadullisten ja määrällisten aineistojen pohjalta. Laadullinen aineisto koostuu laeista ja asetuksista, hallituksen esityksistä ja päätöksistä sekä ministeriöiden raporteista ja päätöksistä Suomessa ja Ruotsissa. Lisäksi laadulliseen aineistoon kuuluvat aluehallinnon kulttuurista vastaavien viranhaltijoiden kanssa toteutetut haastattelut sekä aluehallinnon kulttuuria koskevat dokumentit kahdella tapaustutkimusalueella Keski-Suomessa ja Värmlannissa. Määrällinen aineisto koostuu kuntien kulttuuritoiminnan nettokustannuksista sekä kuntien rakenteellisia ominaisuuksia ja taloudellisia voimavaroja kuvaavista muuttujista. Aineistoja analysoidaan monimenetelmällisesti kolmessa väitöskirjaan sisältyvässä tutkimusartikkelissa.

Tutkimuksen teoreettinen viitekehys nojaa valtion uudelleenskaalauksen teorioihin sekä politiikkaprosessien tutkimukseen hallinnan kontekstissa. Teoriat valtion uudelleenskaalauksesta auttavat selittämään vallan siirtoa aluetasolle ja aluetason sisällä kulttuuripolitiikassa. Tässä viitekehyksessä desentralisaatio, joka kuuluu hyvinvointivaltion kulttuuripolitiikan lähtökohtiin, voidaan ymmärtää yhtenä valtion uudelleenskaalauksen muotona ja liittää siten osaksi laajempia hallinnollisten tasojen välisten suhteiden muutoksia. Alueellisesta hajauttamisesta voidaan erottaa erilaisia kohteita ja laajuuksia. Hajauttamisen kohde viittaa siihen, mitä hajautetaan: poliittista valtaa, taloudellisia resursseja ja/tai julkista auktoriteettia ja vastuuta. Hajauttamisen laajuus viittaa siihen, miten hajautetaan: keskushallinnon sisällä (*deconcentration*), rakentamalla osin autonomisia toimijoita (*delegation*) tai kokonaan itsehallinnollisia alueita (*devolution*). Poliittikkaprosessien tutkimukseen hallinnan kontekstissa kehitetty kehys tarjoaa tapoja tunnistaa nykyisiä alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan käytäntöjä, jotka voidaan jakaa perustaviin (*constitutive*), suuntaaviin (*directive*) ja operatiivisiin (*operational*).

Tutkimus osoittaa, että Suomen kulttuuripolitiikassa valtaa on siirretty aluetasolle kolmessa vaiheessa, jotka voidaan nimetä alueiksi hyvinvointipolitiikan välineinä (1960–1980-luvut), regionalisaatioksi (1990-luvusta 2000-luvun

puoliväliin) sekä kilpaileviksi alueiksi (2000-luvun puolivälistä eteenpäin). Vastaavat vaiheet voidaan tunnistaa Ruotsissa. Eri vaiheiden myötä aluetasolle on osoitettu kulttuuripoliittista toimivaltaa ja legitimizeettiä osana valtion kulttuurihallintoa. Suomessa kulttuuripoliittista valtaa on pääosin jaettu valtion aluehallinnon sisällä toisin kuin Ruotsissa, jossa toimivat itsehallinnolliset alueet. Suomen alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan mallissa aluetasolle on osoitettu etenkin julkista valtaa ja vastuita; toisin sanoen alueellinen desentralisaatio on ollut Suomessa pääosin hallinnollista, kun taas Ruotsissa on toteutettu myös poliittista ja taloudellista alueellista desentralisaatiota.

Suomen monitoimijaista ja -rajaista kulttuurin aluehallinnon rakennetta voidaan selittää polkuriippuvuudella eli institutionaalisen kontekstin tulevia muutoksia rajaavalla vaikutuksella. Kulttuurin aluehallinto on itsehallinnollisten alueiden sijaan rakennettu yhtäältä valtion aluehallinnon ja toisaalta maakunnan liittojen varaan. Kulttuurin aluehallintoa Suomessa on kehitetty osana yleistä aluehallintoa ilman selkeää kulttuuripoliittista näkökulmaa. Tämä korostaa kulttuuripolitiikan marginaalisuutta suhteessa aluepolitiikkaan.

Tällä hetkellä Suomen alueellinen kulttuurihallinto toteuttaa sekä perustavia, suuntaavia että ohjaavia toimintoja. Alueellisen kulttuurihallinnon organisaatiot tekevät päätöksiä alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan rajauksesta ja sisällöistä, määrittelevät tavoitteita sekä vastaavat toteutuksesta. Toimintojen laajuus osoittaa, että alueellinen kulttuurihallinto ei pelkästään toteuta kansallisen ja paikallisen tason politiikkoja vaan myös vaikuttaa aktiivisesti alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan tavoitteisiin ja sisältöihin. Tältä osin alueellinen kulttuurihallinto vaikuttaa voivan hyödyntää sille osoitettua kulttuuripoliittista valtaa.

Tapaustudkimusalueilla Keski-Suomessa ja Värmlannissa tutkimus osoitti kolme keskeistä alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan teemaa, jotka tarkentavat erilaisia toimintoja. Teemoja ovat kulttuurin määrittely politiikan alana (*demarcation*), toiminnoista päättäminen (*discretion*) sekä toimijoiden yhdistäminen omilla alueillaan (*mediation*). Tunnistetut teemat ovat yhteydessä kaikkiin yllä mainittuihin toimintoihin, mutta ne eivät ole täysin vastaavia. Määrittely liittyy päätöksiin politiikan rajauksesta ja sisällöistä. Toiminnoista päättäminen liittyy alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan toteutusprosessin hallintaan. Toimijoiden yhdistäminen liittyy sekä toimintaa ohjaaviin päätöksiin tavoitteista että toteutukseen.

Tällä hetkellä moni tekijä vaikeuttaa alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan rakentamista Suomen aluehallinnossa suhteessa Ruotsin vastaavaan. Suomen alueellisessa kulttuuripolitiikassa ei ole määritelty selkeitä alueita. Kukin organisaatio lähestyy kulttuuria omasta näkökulmastaan; yksinkertaistettuna kulttuuri nähdään aluehallinnossa julkisena palveluna (AVI), liiketoimintana (ELY), taiteena (Taike) ja alueellisen kehittämisen välineenä (maakunnan liitot). Etenkin AVIn ja ELYn toimintaa ohjaa suuri määrä eri ministeriöitä, mikä vaikeuttaa kulttuurin sovittamista osaksi organisaatioiden tehtäväkenttää. Suomessa yhdellekään organisaatiolle ei ole osoitettu mandaattia koordinoida alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan rakentamista. Ruotsissa vastuu on itsehallinnollisilla alueilla, joiden tulee myös säännöllisesti muotoilla alueellinen kulttuurisuunnitelma yhdessä eri sektoreille sijoittuvien toimijoiden kanssa omalla alueellaan. Suomen alueellisen

kulttuurihallinnon rakenteista puuttuu vastaava eri toimijoita kokoava alusta alueellisen kulttuuripolitiikan muotoilemiselle. Vaikka kulttuurin aluehallinnon organisaatiot korostavat toiminnassaan yhteistyön merkitystä, yhteistyö toteutuu vaihtelevien työryhmien ja aktiivisten yksilöiden kautta rakenteiden sijaan.

Nykyisellään Suomen kulttuuripolitiikan epäselvät aluerajat, eri suunnista tuleva kansallinen ohjaus sekä koordinaation ja toimijoita kokoavan yhteistyörakenteen puute kulttuurin aluehallinnossa vaikeuttavat Suomen aluehallinnon organisaatioiden mahdollisuuksia rakentaa alueellista kulttuuripolitiikkaa. Kulttuurin aluehallinnon toimialueiden ja vastuiden selkeyttäminen sekä rakenteen luominen yhteistyöhön taide- ja kulttuuritoimijoiden kanssa alueella vahvistaisivat osaltaan aluetason legitimitettä kulttuuripolitiikan toteuttajana.

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APPENDIX 1. CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARTICLES

This dissertation includes a total of three research articles (see Chapter 3.3). I was the sole author of Article III. The two other articles were co-authored: Article I with Anita Kangas and Hannu Tervo, and Article II with Kangas, Jenny Johannisson and Roger Blomgren. Anita Kangas, PhD, is Professor Emerita of Cultural Policy at the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of Jyväskylä. Hannu Tervo is Professor Emeritus at the Jyväskylä University School of Business and Economics (JSBE). Jenny Johannisson is a Senior Lecturer at the Swedish School of Library and Information Science, University of Borås. Roger Blomgren is Professor of Library and Information Science at the Swedish School of Library and Information Science, University of Borås.

In the co-authored articles, I was the corresponding author. The draft texts and the empirical analyses for both collaborative articles were mainly my own work. The interpretation of the regression analysis results in Article I was supported by Hannu Tervo. In Article II, the basis for the analysis and writing of the section related to Sweden was conducted by Jenny Johannisson and Roger Blomgren.

I was primarily responsible for incorporating the feedback from the editorial boards and peer reviewers into the manuscripts and thus formulating the final versions of the articles.

APPENDIX 2. ANALYSED DOCUMENTS

Type	Description
Laws and decrees in Finland	<p>Building Act (Rakennuslaki 370/1958)</p> <p>Act on the Number of Provinces (Laki läänien luvusta 201/1962)</p> <p>Promotion of the Arts Act (Laki taiteen edistämisen järjestelyistä 328/1967)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Amendment (1236/2007) - Statute (Valtioneuvoston asetus taiteen edistämisen järjestelystä annetun asetuksen muuttamisesta 1237/2007) - Amendment (Valtioneuvoston asetus taiteen edistämisen järjestelystä annetun asetuksen 11 §:n muuttamisesta 1201/2010) - State Provincial Offices Act (Lääninhallituslaki 1233/1987) - Amendment (22/1997) <p>Regional Development Act (Laki alueiden kehittämisestä 1135/1993)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Amendment (1651/2009) - Amendment (Laki alueiden kehittämisestä ja rakennerrahastotoiminnan hallinnoinnista 7/2014) - Amendment (Laki alueiden kehittämisen ja rakennerrahastohankkeiden rahoittamisesta 8/2014) - Statute (Valtioneuvoston asetus alueiden kehittämisestä ja rakennerrahastotoiminnan hallinnoinnista 356/2014) <p>Statute on Centres for Environment and Employment (Asetus alueellisista ympäristökeskuksista 57/1995)</p> <p>Act on the Economic and Development Centres (Laki työvoima- ja elinkeinokeskuksista 23/1997)</p> <p>Act on the Regional State Administrative Agencies (Laki aluehallintovirastoista 896/2009)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Amendment (Laki aluehallintovirastoista annetun lain muuttamisesta 932/2013) - Act on the Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (Laki elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskuksista 897/2009) - Decree (Valtioneuvoston asetus elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskuksista 1373/2018) - Amendment (Laki elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskuksista annetun lain 3 §:n muuttamisesta 933/2013) - Decree (Laki elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskuksista annetun lain muuttamisesta 1131/2014) - Statute (Valtioneuvoston asetus elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskuksista 1392/2014) <p>Act on the Finnish Arts Promotion Centre (Laki Taiteen edistämiskeskuksesta 657/2012)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decree (Valtioneuvoston asetus Taiteen edistämiskeskuksesta 727/2012) - Public Libraries Act (Kirjastolaki 904/1998) - Amendment (Laki kirjastolain 6 ja 7 §:n muuttamisesta 935/2013) - Amendment (Laki yleisistä kirjastoista 1492/2016) - Act on Financing Education and Culture (Laki opetus- ja kulttuuritoimen rahoituksesta 1705/2009) - Amendment (Laki opetus- ja kulttuuritoimen rahoituksesta annetun lain muuttamisesta 938/2013)

Laws and decrees in Sweden	<p>Cultural environment act (SFS 1988:950 Kulturmiljölag.)</p> <p>Act on a reformed regional organisation on a trial basis. (SFS 1996:1414. Lag om försöksverksamhet med ändrad regional ansvarsfördelning.)</p> <p>Library Act. (SFS 1996:1596. Bibliotekslag.)</p> <p>Decree on County Administrative Boards. (SFS 2007:825. Förordning med länstyrelseinstruktion.)</p> <p>Decree on the distribution of certain national subsidies to regional cultural activities. (SFS 2010:2012. Förordning om fördelning av vissa statsbidrag till regional kulturverksamhet.)</p>
Government proposals and decisions in Finland	<p>Government proposal HE 95/1989 (Hallituksen esitys Eduskunnalle maakuntaliittojen ja seutukaavaliittojen yhdistämisen mahdollistavaksi lainsäädännöksi)</p> <p>Government resolution 147/1998 (Valtioneuvoston päätös maakunnista)</p> <p>Government proposal HE 52/2012 (Hallituksen esitys eduskunnalle laeiksi Taiteen edistämiskeskuksesta, valtion taiteilija-apurahoista annetun lain muuttamisesta ja alueiden kehittämisestä annetun lain muuttamisesta)</p> <p>Government proposal HE 114/2013 (Hallituksen esitys eduskunnalle laeiksi aluehallintovirastoista annetun lain ja eräiden siihen liittyvien lakien muuttamisesta)</p> <p>Government proposal HE 14/2018 (Hallituksen esitys eduskunnalle maakuntauudistuksen täytäntöönpanoa sekä valtion lupa-, ohjaus- ja valvontatehtävien uudelleenorganisointia koskevaksi lainsäädännöksi)</p>
Government proposals and decisions in Sweden	<p>Government proposal on state cultural policy. (Kungl. Maj:ts prop. 1974:28. Den statliga kulturpolitiken.)</p> <p>Government proposal on cultural policy. (Prop. 2009/10:3. Tid för kultur.)</p>
Ministries' reports and decisions in Finland	<p>Cultural Committee Report (Kulttuuritoimintakomitean mietintö [KM] 1974:2)</p> <p>Government Arts Policy Report 1978 (Hallituksen taidepoliittinen selonteko)</p> <p>Cultural Policy Report 1982 (Kulttuuripoliittinen selonteko)</p> <p>Government Cultural Policy Report 1993 (Valtioneuvoston kulttuuripoliittinen selonteko eduskunnalle)</p> <p>Ministry of Education. 2005. Report of the committee on the development of the arts council system. 2005:41.</p> <p>Government report on the future of culture. 2018. (Valtioneuvoston selonteko kulttuurin tulevaisuudesta. Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriön julkaisuja 2011:8.)</p> <p>Ministry of Education and Culture's decision 2012 (Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriön päätös Taiteen edistämiskeskusten aluetoimipisteistä 11.12.2012)</p> <p>Ministry of Education and Culture. 2018. Arts and culture as part of regional development; Outlook for 2025.</p>
Ministries' reports and decisions in Sweden	<p>Swedish Government Official Report on cultural policy. (SOU 1972:66. Ny kulturpolitik.)</p> <p>Swedish Government Official Report on co-operation between national and local levels of government. (SOU 1974:84. Stat och kommun i samverkan.)</p> <p>Swedish Government Official Report on the future of regions. (SOU 1995:27. Regional framtid.)</p> <p>Swedish Government Official Report on cultural policy. (SOU 1995:84. Kulturpolitikens inriktning.)</p> <p>Swedish Government Official Report on a reformed regional organisation. (SOU 2007:10. Hållbar samhällsorganisation med utvecklingskraft, Ansvarskommitténs slutbetänkande.)</p> <p>Swedish Government Official Report on cultural policy. (SOU 2009:16. Betänkande av kulturutredningen.)</p>

	Swedish Government Official Report on a reformed regional organisation. (SOU 2016:48. Regional indelning – tre nya län.)
Cultural policy documents in the case region of Central Finland	Regional strategy of Central Finland 2040 (2014) Regional plan of Central Finland 2018–2021 (2017) Annual report of the Regional Council of Central Finland 2019 (2020) Plan of action of the regional cultural environment group in Central Finland (2021) Cultural environment commitment of the regional cultural environment group in Central Finland (2017) National cultural environment strategy 2014–2020 (2013)
Cultural policy documents in the case region of Värmland	Annual report of County Administrative Board in Värmland 2019 (2020) Annual report of Region Värmland 2019 (2020) Värmland’s cultural plan 2017–2020 (2016)



ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

KULTTUURITOIMINTA JA ALUEELLINEN ERILAISTUMINEN: KULTTUURITOIMINNAN RAHOITUS SUOMEN KUNNISSA 2010-LUVULLA

by

Renko, Vappu & Kangas, Anita & Tervo, Hannu, 2020

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Kulttuuritoiminta ja alueellinen erilaistuminen. Kulttuuritoiminnan rahoitus Suomen kunnissa 2010-luvulla



Vappu Renko, Anita Kangas & Hannu Tervo

Tiivistelmä

Suomessa kuntien kulttuuritoimintaa on kehitetty hyvinvointivaltion lähtökohdista osana kaikille saatavissa olevia, hyvinvointia tuottavia palveluja. Sittemmin kuntien toimintaympäristö on muuttunut monella tapaa. Kunnat ja niiden toimintamahdollisuudet ovat 2000-luvulla erilaistuneet enenevässä määrin. Samalla kulttuuritoiminnan järjestämiseen on kytketty uusia, talouskasvuun ja työllisyyteen liittyviä välineellisiä perusteluja. Artikkelissa tutkimme alueellista erilaistumista kulttuuritoiminnan rahoituksessa 2010-luvun Suomessa. Analysoimme kuntien rakenteellisten ominaisuuksien ja taloudellisten voimavarojen yhteyttä yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan sekä museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan kustannuksiin Manner-Suomen kunnissa. Menetelmiä ovat regressioanalyysi, ristiintaulukointi ja karttapohjainen tarkastelu. Tarkastelu osoittaa, että kulttuuritoiminnan kustannusten erot Manner-Suomen kuntien välillä ovat suuret. Kunnan asukasluku on keskeinen korkeita asukaskohtaisia kustannuksia osoittava tekijä. Kulttuuritoiminnan alueellinen eriytyminen noudattelee maan laajempaa keskittymis- ja kaupungistumiskehitystä.

Abstract

In Finland, cultural services have traditionally been developed as the services of the welfare state that are provided in every municipality. In the past few decades, new forms of governance, changing population structure and economic decline have affected municipalities' operational environment. Simultaneously, the aims of cultural policy have increasingly broadened. This article examines how the municipal cultural services are financed in municipalities with different structural qualities and financial resources in Finland in the 2010s. We apply linear regression analysis to analyse the connection of municipalities' structural qualities and financial resources to municipalities' net operating costs of cultural activities (museum, theatre, music and other cultural activities) per capita. The analysis is supplemented by a map-based exploration and cross-tabulation of cultural expenses in various municipalities. The results show that cultural services were made possible differently in distinct parts of the country. The average net operating costs of cultural activities per capita were noticeably higher in big cities than other urban, semi-urban or rural municipalities. The cultural net operating costs are connected to municipalities' structural qualities rather than financial resources.

Keywords:

Municipalities, Finland, Cultural services, Financing, Regional differentiation

1 Johdanto

Kaikkien Suomen kuntien tehtävänä on tukea, edistää ja järjestää kulttuuritoimintaa. Taustalla on pohjoismaainen hyvinvointimalli, jossa sosiaalinen ja alueellinen tasaaminen korostuivat 1960-luvulta 1980-luvulle yhteiskuntapolitiikan lähtökohdina (Moisio 2012, 24). Kulttuuripolitiikassa painottuivat demokratia ja desentralisaatio: kulttuuritoimintaa kehitettiin osana kaikille saatavissa olevia, hyvinvointia tuottavia palveluja (Kangas 1983, 1991; Ahponen 1991; Heiskanen 1994; Kangas & Ruokolainen 2012; Kangas & Pirnes 2015). Sitten monet tekijät kuten hallinnan monimuotoistuminen, talouskasvun hidastuminen, kuntien kustannusvastuun lisääntyminen sekä väestörakenteen muutos ovat vaikuttaneet kuntien toimintaympäristöön (Anttonen ym. 2012; Kangas & Ruokolainen 2012, 9). Samalla kulttuuritoiminnan järjestämiseen on kytketty uusia, talouskasvuun ja työllisyyteen liittyviä välineellisiä perusteluja (mm. Heiskanen 2015, 110; Kangas & Pirnes 2015, 29). Tässä artikkelissa tarkastelemme kulttuuritoiminnan rahoitusta rakenteeltaan ja taloudellisilta voimavaroiltaan erilaisissa Manner-Suomen kunnissa. Voidaanko puhua alueellisesta erilaistumisesta kulttuuritoiminnan rahoituksessa 2010-luvun Suomessa?

Ensimmäinen, vuonna 1981 voimaan tullut laki kuntien kulttuuritoiminnasta (1045/1980) määritteli kulttuuritoiminnan edellytysten luomisen valtion ohella kuntien tehtäväksi ja loi yleiset lähtökohdat kulttuuritoiminnan hallinnolle kunnissa. Kulttuuritoiminnalla tarkoitettiin taiteen harjoittamista ja harrastamista, taidepalvelusten tarjontaa ja käyttöä sekä paikallisen kulttuuriperinteen vaalimista ja edistämistä (Kangas 1983, 44). 1990-luvulle tultaessa kuntien liikkumavara kulttuuritoiminnan järjestämisen tavoissa kasvoi. Myös kuntien rahoitusvastuu lisääntyi. Valtion rahoituksessa taloudellinen taantuma lisäsi veikkausvoittovarojen käyttöä myös lakisäteisten kulttuurimenojen kuten valtionosuuksien kattamiseen (Heiskanen 2000, 48; Kangas & Pirnes 2015, 72).

2000-luvun alussa kulttuuripolitiikan painopisteeksi nousi taloudellinen kehitys, jonka myötä

kulttuurin rooli alueiden ja kaupunkien kehitystekijänä on korostunut. Kulttuuritoiminnasta on tullut yhä keskeisempi osa kaupunkien kilpailukyyn lisäämistä ja kaupunkikuvan rakentamista. (Kangas & Pirnes 2015, 29.) Kehitys kytkeytyy luovan talouden kasvuun ja sen erityispiirteisiin (mm. Florida 2002). Myös uudistetun lain kuntien kulttuuritoiminnasta (166/2019) tavoitteena listataan edellytysten luominen paikallisen ja alueellisen elinvoiman kehittymiselle.

Samalla kun kulttuuripolitiikan tavoitteet ovat laajentuneet, kuntien toimintamahdollisuudet ovat erilaistuneet ja eriarvoistuneet. Tähän ovat vaikuttaneet 1990-luvulta lähtien vähentynyt normi- ja resurssiohjaus, lisääntynyt informaatio-ohjaus sekä taloudelliset taantumukset, jotka ovat muuttaneet kuntien toimintaympäristöjä. Muutokset kytkeytyvät laajemmin alueelliseen eriytymiseen ja erilaistumiseen hyvinvointivaltion kasvun ja laajentamisen jälkeisessä Suomessa (esim. Karvonen & Rintala 2003, 2004; Karvonen & Kauppinen 2009; Julkunen 2001). Maassa, jossa monien harvaan asuttujen ja syrjäisten alueiden kantavana voimana on ollut juuri julkinen sektori (Tervo 2000, 409), julkisten menojen leikkaukset ovat vaikuttaneet alueellisen erilaistumisen kehitykseen.

Aluekehityksen suunta Suomessa on kulkenut kohti keskittymistä. Tämä on 1990-luvulta lähtien näkynyt sekä väestön ja muuttoliikkeen että tuotannon ja työpaikkojen synnyn kehityskuluissa (Tervo 2000, 407). Aluekehityksen vetovastuu on ollut suurilla ja monipuolisilla yliopistoseuduilla (Tolkki ym. 2002). Korkeasti koulutetuilla ja luovilla aloilla toimivilla ihmisillä myös kulttuuripalvelut korostuvat kilpailutekijänä asuinpaikan valinnassa (Florida 2002). Väestö ja työpaikat keskittyvät taloudellisesti hyvin menestyville alueille. Suomessa ihmiset keskimäärin ovat seuranneet työpaikkoja, mutta etenkin taloudellisen kasvun aikana työpaikat seuraavat korkeasti koulutettua, luovaa väestöä (Østbye ym. 2017; Tervo 2016, 2017).

Vaikka Suomen kuntien ja niiden toimintamahdollisuuksien erilaistuminen on myös kunnallisen kulttuuritoiminnan suuri haaste, kulttuuritoiminnan järjestämisen alueellista vaihtelua on

tarkasteltu verrattain vähän. Kangas (1991) totesi kunnan kaksikielisyyden, kaupunkimaisuuden, palveluammateissa toimivien korkean osuuden sekä kulttuurilautakuntien alaisten työntekijöiden määrän yhteyden keskimääräistä suurempiin kulttuurimenoihin kunnissa vuonna 1986. Lavapuro ym. (2016, 104) havaitsivat, että kunnan syrjäisyys ja pieni koko (alle 4 000 asukasta) heikensivät kulttuuri- ja muiden sivistyspalveluiden saatavuutta ja saavutettavuutta. Kuntien eroja 2000-luvulla osoittavat myös aluehallintovirastojen peruspalvelujen alueellisen saatavuuden arvioinnit. Vuosina 2012–2014 valtaosassa alle 5 000 asukkaan kunnista yleiseen kulttuuritoimeen kohdistui alle yksi henkilötyövuosi (Aluehallintovirasto 2016).

Tässä artikkelissa tarkastelemme kulttuuritoiminnan rahoitusta Manner-Suomen kunnissa. Artikkelissa tutkimme, onko kuntien rakenteellisilla ominaisuuksilla ja taloudellisilla voimavaroilla yhteys Manner-Suomen kuntien yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan sekä museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan asukaskohtaisiin nettokäyttökustannuksiin¹. Menetelminä käytetään regressioanalyysia, ristiintaulukointia ja kartta-pohjaista tarkastelua.

Seuraavassa luvussa määrittelemme kulttuuritoimintaa julkisena palveluna. Kolmannessa luvussa kuvaamme tutkimusasetelman, aineiston ja menetelmät. Tämän jälkeen esittelemme analyysin tulokset. Lopuksi esitämme johtopäätökset.

2 Kulttuuritoiminta julkisena palveluna

2.1 Kuntien kulttuuritoiminnan keyhket

Kulttuuritoimintaa kuntien julkisena palveluna voidaan tarkastella valtion kulttuuripolitiikan kehitysvaiheiden kehityksessä. 1800-luvulta käynnistynyttä ”korkean taiteen” tukemisen

poliikkaa sekä kansallisen identiteetin ja sivistyksen rakentamista tuki lainsäädäntö koskien esimerkiksi kunnan työväenopistoja (339/1926) ja kirjastoja (131/1928). 1960-luvulla seurannut hyvinvointivaltiollisen kulttuuripolitiikan vaihe vahvisti taiteiden edistämisen rinnalla ihmisten kulttuuriin osallistumista. Hyvinvointivaltion laajeneminen laajensi myös kuntasektoria (Julkunen 2001, 115). Kuntien kulttuuripalvelut toteuttivat kulttuurin demokratisointia ja kulttuuridemokratiaa, jolloin tavoitteena oli kaikkien väestöryhmien mahdollisuus päästä kulttuurin äärelle sekä vaikuttaa kulttuurin sisältöihin ja muotoihin. (Kangas & Pirnes 2015, 25–26.) Kulttuurin tulo osaksi hyvinvointivaltion tehtäviä voimisti valtion tukipolitiikkaa suhteessa paikallistason kulttuuritoimintaan (Kangas & Pirnes 2015, 26). Laki kuntien kulttuuritoiminnasta (1045/1980) toi kuntien kulttuuritoimintaan saaman tuen lakisääteiseksi ja kantokykyluokituksella painotetut valtionosuudet kohensivat etenkin maakuntakeskusten ulkopuolisten alueiden tilannetta kulttuuritoiminnan järjestämisessä.

1990-luvun alun siirtymä markkinayhteiskunnan kulttuuripolitiikkaan korosti yksilöllisiä valintoja sekä markkinoiden tarjontaa julkisen tarjonnan ja kansalaisuuteen perustuvien hyvinvointivaltiollisten oikeuksien ohella (Kangas & Pirnes 2015, 28). Tämä heijastui myös kulttuuria koskevaan lainsäädäntöön. Vuonna 1992 uudistetussa kuntien kulttuuritoimintalaissa ei aiemmasta poiketen säädetty esimerkiksi kulttuurihallinnon rakenteesta. Tämä heijasti yleisempää, kuntien toiminnan ja talouden sääntelyn vähentämisen päämäärää (HE 215/1991).

Kuntien vapaus myös rahoituksen suuntaamisessa kasvoi entisestään 2010-luvulle tultaessa: kulttuurin alaa koskeva valtionosuusjärjestelmän uudistus merkitsi valtion luopumista sektorilakien kautta toteutetusta resurssiohjauksesta. Samalla kulttuuritoiminnan valtionosuusrahoituksesta tuli kunnalle yleiskatteellista,

¹ Nettokäyttökustannukset saadaan, kun käyttökustannuksista vähennetään käyttötuotot. Näin voidaan tarkastella kunnan oman nettorahoituksen osuutta (ks. Heiskanen 2000, 14; Renko & Ruusuvirta 2018, 16).

korvamerkitsemätöntä rahaa, jonka käytöstä kunnalla on päätösvalta². Vuodesta 2010 kulttuurin alaa koskeva valtionosuusjärjestelmä on muodostunut valtiovarainministeriön hallinnoimasta kunnan peruspalvelujen valtionosuudesta annetusta laista (1704/2009) sekä opetus- ja kulttuuritoimen rahoituksesta annetusta laista (1705/2009). Peruspalvelujen valtionosuus kattaa yleisen kulttuuritoimen³, asukaskohtaisen taiteen perusopetuksen sekä yleiset kirjastot. Laki viestittää osaltaan näiden toimintojen peruspalveluluonteesta (ks. Kangas & Pirnes 2015, 61). Laki opetus- ja kulttuuritoimen rahoituksesta taas kattaa resurssien ohjaamisen esimerkiksi opetustuntikohtaisen taiteen perusopetuksen sekä valtionosuuden piirissä olevan museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan ylläpitäjille ja järjestäjille.

2000-luvun alusta lähtien kulttuurin rooli alueellisessa kehityksessä on korostunut. Samalla kulttuuripolitiikan toimenpiteet ovat laajentuneet uudella tavalla määritellylle luovan talouden alueelle. Yhteiskuntakehityksessä ovat korostuneet paitsi kulttuurituotannon rooli taloudellisena tekijänä myös kulttuurin erilaiset vaikutukset esimerkiksi terveyteen, hyvinvointiin ja osallisuuteen. (Kangas & Pirnes 2015, 29–30.) Kulttuurin ohjausta on sopeutettu uuteen poliittis-ideologiseen kehikseen (mm. Heiskanen ym. 2005). Kulttuuritoimintaan kytkettyjen tavoitteiden laajentuminen näkyy esimerkiksi vuonna 2019 uudistetun lain kuntien kulttuuritoiminnasta (166/2019) aiempaa laajemmissa tavoitteissa ja tehtävissä.

Kaikkiaan lainsäädännön ja rahoituksen muutokset ovat kasvattaneet mahdollisuuksia

kuntien kulttuuritoiminnan alueelliseen erilaistamiseen. Kehitys kytkeytyy hyvinvointivaltion uuteen politiikkaan, jota leimaavat taloudellisten perusteluiden korostunut asema ja pyrkimys hillitä hyvinvointivaltion kustannuksia (Julkunen 2017, 322; 356).

2.2 Kulttuuritoiminta rahoituksen näkökulmasta

Kulttuuritoimintoja on kehitetty koulutuksen ja terveydenhuollon tapaan osana hyvinvointivaltion julkisia palveluja, joita tuetaan, koska niillä on nähty erinäisiä positiivisia ulkoisvaikutuksia (ks. mm. Oksanen 1988, Throsby 1999, Towse 2003)⁴. Julkinen palvelutarjonta edellyttää julkista rahoitusta. Kulttuuritoiminnan rahoitus ei kerro toiminnan sisällöistä tai laajuudesta (mm. Lavapuro ym. 2016, 93; Renko & Ruusuvirta 2018). Kuitenkin kulttuuritoiminnan rahoitus kuvaa kuntien siihen käyttämää panostusta.

Kulttuurin rahoituksen tarkasteluun ja vertailuun liittyy lukuisia vaikeuksia. Ensinnäkin on käsitteellinen ongelma, jonka ytimessä on kulttuurin käsitteen määrittely. Etenkin 'yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan' käsite on joustava. Toiseksi on hallinnollinen ongelma eli kuntien kulttuuritoimintaa koskevien lautakunta- ja hallintokuntarakenteiden erilaisuus ja eri tehtäväluiden yhdistäminen toisiinsa (Helin 2008, 36). Erilaisten järjestämistapojen vuoksi kunnat saattavat samalla rahalla tuottaa määrältään ja sisällöltään hyvin vaihtelevia kulttuuritoimintoja ja -palveluja. Vertailukelpoisen tiedon saaminen kuntien kulttuuritoiminnasta ja sen kustannuksista on vaikeaa, koska ei ole tiettyä

² Siten myöskään valtion rahoitusosuutta kuntien kulttuuritoimintaan ei voida tarkkaan määritellä. Laskennallisesti yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan valtionosuus on vain alle euron asukasta kohti. Kuntien vastaavat kustannukset yleiseen kulttuuritoimintaan taas olivat vuoden 2017 kustannustietojen mukaan keskimäärin 24 euroa/asukas. (Suomen Kuntaliitto 2018.)

³ Peruspalvelujen valtionosuus kattaa kuntien kulttuuritoiminnan osalta sen toiminnan, josta peruspalvelulainsäädännössä käytetään käsitettä *yleinen kulttuuritoimi*. Vastaavaan asiaan viitataan kustannustilastoinnissa *muuna kulttuuritoimintana* ja peruspalveluiden arvioinnissa *yleisenä kulttuuritoimintana*.

⁴ Taiteen julkiselle tuelle on esitetty kolme pääasiallista perustelua. Ensimmäinen liittyy taideteoksiin ns. meriittihyödykkeinä, jotka tuottavat sosiaalisia hyötyjä. Toinen liittyy markkinoiden epäonnistumiseen, mikä kasvattaa taiteen julkisen tuen tarvetta. Kolmas liittyy taiteeseen julkishyödykkeenä, jonka kulutus ei estä muita kuluttamasta samaa hyödykettä. (Oksanen 1988, 45–46; Throsby 2010; Towse 2003.)

vastuulautakuntaa, joka tuottaisi yksiselitteiset tiedot toiminnan tai taloudellisten avainlukujen kautta. Tarkastelua ja vertailua vaikeuttavat myös tietojen esille saamisen vaikeudet sekä esimerkiksi erilaisissa selvityksissä ja arvioinneissa käytettyjen tiedonkeruulomakkeiden tekniset ongelmat. (Karttunen 2003; Saukkonen & Ruusuvirta 2008.)

Vaikeuksista huolimatta kuntien kulttuurirahoitusta on tarkasteltu ja vertailtu aikaisemmissa tutkimuksissa. Kaikkien kuntien sijaan useissa tutkimuksissa on tarkasteltu tiettyjä, rajattuja kuntaryhmiä. Suomen Kuntaliiton ja kulttuuripolitiikan tutkimuskeskus Cuporen kustannustarkasteluissa on ollut mukana maan suurimpia kuntia. Kustannustiedonkeruu on toteutettu pilotoinnin jälkeen neljästi (vuosina 2007, 2010, 2013 ja 2016) ja viimeksi mukana oli 24 kaupunkia⁵. Tiedonkeruu liittyy laajempaan vertailutiedon kehittämisen projektiin. (Renko & Ruusuvirta 2018, 13.) Tulokset osoittivat, että päävastuu kulttuuritoiminnan rahoituksesta on kunnilla, mutta kulttuuritoiminnan osuus kuntien kokonaistaloudesta on pieni. Asukasluvultaan suuremmat kaupungit käyttivät yleisesti ottaen kulttuuriin paitsi absoluuttisina rahasummina myös asukaslukuun suhteutettuna enemmän rahaa kuin pienemmät kaupungit. (Ruusuvirta ym. 2008, 6.) Helin (2008) on tarkastellut vuosia maan 11 suurimman kaupungin eri toimintojen kustannuksia ja todennut, että kustannusten vertailu on vaikeutunut palvelujen organisointitapojen kirjon kasvaessa. Asukaskohtaisten kustannusten kohdalla suuret kustannukset eivät automaattisesti merkitse hyvää palvelutasoa eivätkä pienet heikkoja palveluja. Samalla monipuoliset palvelut usein myös maksavat enemmän. (Helin 2008, 31.)

KuntaSuomi-tarkastelut⁶, Paras-arviointitutkimusohjelma⁷ ja ARTTU2-tutkimusohjelma⁸ ovat tuottaneet systemaattista ja vertailukelpoista tutkimustietoa yhtäältä kuntiin kohdistuneiden ja kohdistuvien uudistusten ja toisaalta kuntien itse toteuttamien uudistusten seurauksista tietyn tyyppisissä kunnissa. Niissä on tarkasteltu myös kulttuurirahoitusta (mm. Mäkelä 2002, Meklin 2010, Meklin & Pukki 2016). Useita selvityksiä on tehty myös liittyen eri aloihin opetus- ja kulttuuritoimen sisällä (mm. Helin 2004, Heiskanen ym. 2005, Heiskanen 2000, 2001). Aluehallintovirastojen (AVI) toteuttamissa peruspalvelujen arvioinneissa on tarkasteltu vuodesta 2011 myös kulttuuripalveluja. Arvioinneissa on hyödynnetty tämän artikkelin tapaan Tilastokeskuksen kustannustietoja (esim. Aluehallintovirasto 2016).

Tarkastelemme tässä artikkelissakin kulttuuritoimintaa rahoituksen kautta. Rahoitustiedot muodostavat ainoan kaikista kunnista saatavilla olevan, vertailukelpoisen kuntien kulttuuritoimintaa koskevan aineiston. Rajaamme tarkastelun kaikkien kuntien tehtävänä olevaan, lain kunnan kulttuuritoiminnasta mukaiseen kulttuuritoiminnan järjestämiseen (nk. yleinen kulttuuritoiminta) sekä museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoimintaan. Yleinen kulttuuritoiminta muodostaa perustan kulttuuripalveluille Suomessa (HE 195/2018). Museot, teatterit ja orkesterit taas ovat keskeisiä taide- ja kulttuuripalveluiden tarjoajia, jotka keskittyvät etenkin asukasluvultaan suuriin kaupunkeihin (Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö 2012; Kangas & Ruokolainen 2012, 21). Yleistä kulttuuritoimintaa on kehitetty täydentämään kulttuuritarjontaa etenkin sellaisissa kunnissa, joissa ei toimi taide- ja kulttuurilaitoksia (HE 46/1980). Siten sekä

⁵ Espoo, Helsinki, Hämeenlinna, Joensuu, Jyväskylä, Kajaani, Kokkola, Kotka, Kouvola, Kuopio, Lahti, Lappeenranta, Mikkeli, Oulu, Pori, Porvoo, Rauma, Rovaniemi, Salo, Seinäjoki, Tampere, Turku, Vaasa ja Vantaa.

⁶ Suomen Kuntaliiton, yliopistojen ja tutkimuslaitosten KuntaSuomi 2004 -tutkimusohjelmassa analysoitiin kuntien kehitystä.

⁷ Viiden yliopiston Paras-arviointitutkimusohjelmassa (ARTTU) (2008–12) koottiin tietoa Paras-hankkeen (kunta- ja palvelurakennemuutos) muutosprosesseista ja vaikutuksista.

⁸ Suomen Kuntaliiton koordinoima ARTTU2-tutkimusohjelma (2014–18) selvitti kunnissa toteutettujen ja tulevien uudistusten vaikutuksia kuntiin ja kuntalaisiin.

yleinen kulttuuritoiminta että museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminta muodostavat keskeisen osan kuntien kulttuuritoimintoja.⁹

3 Tutkimuskysymys, aineisto ja menetelmä

Kysymme tässä artikkelissa, onko kuntien rakenteellisilla ominaisuuksilla ja taloudellisilla voimavaroilla yhteys kulttuuritoiminnan rahoitukseen Manner-Suomen kunnissa 2010-luvulla. Vastamme kysymykseen tarkastelemalla ensiksi kuntien yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan sekä museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan asukaskohtaisten nettokustannusten alueellista jakautumista kartalla. Tarkennamme kuvaa alueellisesta erilaistumisesta tarkastelemalla kustannuksia kuntatyyppiltään ja poliittiselta rakenteeltaan erilaisissa kunnissa sekä analysoimalla kuntien erilaisten ominaisuuksien yhteyttä kustannuksiin vuosina 2012, 2014 ja 2016.

Tässä artikkelissa emme vastaa kysymyksiin siitä, miten ja millaisina kulttuuripalvelut kunnissa toteutuvat, millaisia niiden tuotokset, vaikutukset ja vaikuttavuus ovat tai miten kulttuuripalvelut ovat tarkasteluajana muuttuneet.

Aineisto

Kulttuuritoiminnan rahoitusta kuvaavat tässä yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan sekä museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan¹⁰ nettokäyttökustannukset (euroa/asukas) Manner-Suomen kunnissa. Kustannusluokat kattavat laajasti kuntien järjestämää kulttuuriharrastus- ja palvelutoimintaa, henkilöstökustannuksia, avustuksia, museo- ja näyttelytoimintaa, teatteri-, tanssi- ja sirkustoimintaa sekä musiikkitoimintaa. On huomattava, että museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan kustannusluokkaan sisältyy muutakin kuin valtionosuuden piirissä olevien taide- ja kulttuurilaitosten kustannuksia. Tietojen lähteenä ovat Tilastokeskuksen Kuntien ja kuntayhtymien talous- ja toimintatilasto vuosilta 2012 ja 2014 sekä Kuntataloustilasto 2016¹¹. Tiedot on kerätty kuntataloustilaston tiedonkeruussa, johon kaikkien kuntien tulee toimittaa tiedot. Asukaskohtaiset nettokäyttökustannukset saadaan vähentämällä käyttökustannuksista toiminnan käyttötuotot. Ne osoittavat siten kuntien omaa nettorahoitusta (ks. Heiskanen 2000, 14).

Kyseessä on poikkileikkaus vuosien 2012, 2014 ja 2016 tietoihin, joita verrataan keskenään. Vuoden 2016 tiedot olivat tätä kirjoitettaessa tuoreimmat saatavilla olevat. Vertailu vuosiin 2012 ja 2014 antaa kuvaa kehityksestä

⁹ Rajaamme tämän tarkastelun ulkopuolelle kirjastotoiminnan, jota on tarjolla kaikissa maan kunnissa, sekä taiteen perusopetuksen ja vapaan sivistystyön oppilaitokset.

¹⁰ Yleiseen kulttuuritoimintaan kuuluu ”muu kunnan järjestämä kulttuuritoiminta, jonka tarkoituksena on kulttuuriharrastusten ja -palvelujen tarjonta ja tukeminen”, ”yleiseen kulttuuritoimeen luettavan henkilöstön palkkauksesta ym. aiheutuvat menot ja tulot sekä kulttuurikeskusten toiminnasta aiheutuvat menot ja tulot” sekä ”kaikki kulttuuritoimen ja muiden hallintokuntien kulttuuritapahtumille sekä kulttuuritoiminnalle myönnettyt avustukset lukuun ottamatta museo- ja näyttelytoiminnan, teatteri-, tanssi ja sirkustoiminnan sekä musiikkitoiminnan avustuksia”, joiden kustannukset on kirjattu omiin tehtäväluokkiinsa.

Museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoimintaan kuuluvat kunnan järjestämä museo- ja näyttelytoiminta, teatteri-, tanssi- ja sirkustoiminta sekä musiikkitoiminta, vastaavan toiminnan tukeminen sekä kunnan alojen toimintaan myöntämät avustukset yhteisöille, yhdistyksille ja yksittäisille taiteilijoille. Näyttelytoimintaan luetaan taidenäyttelyt sekä yleisemmin kulttuurialaan kuuluvat näyttelyt. Musiikkitoiminta sisältää mm. orkesteri- ja bänditoiminnan, oopperatoiminnan, kuorot sekä esitysten järjestämisen. (Suomen Kuntaliitto 2012, 33.)

¹¹ Vuoteen 2015 saakka Kuntien ja kuntayhtymien talous ja toiminta -tilasto. Kuntien taloustilastojen tietosisältö ja tiedonkeruu uudistuivat tilastovuodesta 2015 alkaen, minkä vuoksi kuntataloustilaston tiedot eivät ole suoraan vertailukelpoisia edeltävinä vuosina julkistettujen kuntien ja kuntayhtymien talous ja toiminta -tilaston tietojen kanssa. Aiemmasta poiketen liikelaitokset yhdistetään Kuntataloustilastossa peruskuntien ja -kuntayhtymien tietoihin. Lisäksi uudistuksessa tuli muutoksia kuntien ja kuntayhtymien tehtäväluokitukseseen. Tässä tarkasteltujen luokkien osalta luokitukset eivät kuitenkaan muuttuneet.

yhden kunnallisvaalikauden aikana (kunnallisvaalit 28.10.2012 ja 9.4.2017). Samalla aikavälillä Manner-Suomen kuntien lukumäärä laski 320 kunnasta (vuosi 2012) 297 kuntaan (vuosi 2016).

Tässä artikkelissa analysoimme kuntien erilaisten ominaisuuksien yhteyttä kulttuuritoiminnan kustannuksiin. Kulttuuritoiminnan kustannuksiin heijastuvat esimerkiksi kuntien erilaiset sosiaaliset ja alueelliset rakenteet, erilaiset lähtökohdat palvelujen järjestämiseen, erilaiset kulttuuripalvelujen järjestämisen mallit sekä kuntaliitokset ja organisaatiomuutokset (Ruusuvirta ym. 2012, Helin 2012). Benito ym. (2013, 8–12) jakavat kulttuurikustannuksiin vaikuttavat tekijät poliittisiin, sosioekonomisiin, maantieteellisiin ja taloudellisiin. Kustannuksiin vaikuttavat myös toiminnalliset erot ja erityisesti kunnallisten toimijoiden ja kunnan avustamien yksityisten toimijoiden suhde. Kunnallisten toimijoiden osalta kustannustiedot sisältävät kaikki käyttötalouden kustannukset ja tuotot, kun taas kunnan avustaessa yksityisiä toimijoita kunnan tilinpäätöksessä näkyy ainoastaan kunnan avustussumma kyseiselle toimijalle. Myös valtionosuudet vaikuttavat lukuihin: jos kunta itse ylläpitää taide- ja kulttuurilaitoksia, valtionosuus näkyy kunnan tilinpäätöksessä. Jos kunta avustaa yksityisen taide- ja kulttuurilaitoksen toimintaa, valtionosuus menee suoraan toimijalle ja kunnan tilinpäätöksessä näkyy vain kunnan avustusosuus. (Renko & Ruusuvirta 2018, 24–26.) Siten kunnissa, joissa kunta keskittyy avustamaan yksityisiä taide- ja kulttuurilaitoksia, kustannukset voivat näyttää matalammilta kuin kunnissa, joissa taide- ja kulttuurilaitokset ovat kunnallisia¹².

Analyysin aineistoksi kokosimme kaikkien Manner-Suomen kuntien poliittisia, sosioekonomisia, maantieteellisiä ja taloudellisia ominaisuuksia kuvaavan muuttujajoukon. Muuttujajoukkoa rajasi tarve saada tieto jokaisesta Manner-Suomen kunnasta. Esimerkiksi

kuntien organisaatioista tai kulttuuripalveluiden järjestämisen malleista ei ole saatavilla kaikki kunnat kattavia tietoja tai tunnuslukuja. Muuttujat ovat monin tavoin yhteydessä toisiinsa, joten muuttujajoukkoa tiivistettiin korrelaatioanalyysien ja -matriisin pohjalta. Kuntien ominaisuuksia kuvaavien mittareiden runsaus ja monitulkintaisuus puoltavat tiivistystä ja ryhmitelyä (vrt. Karvonen & Kauppinen 2009, 469). Analyysiin rajautui siten muuttujajoukko, jolla pyrimme heijastamaan yleisellä tasolla kuntien erilaisia rakenteellisia ominaisuuksia sekä taloudellisia toimintaedellytyksiä (vrt. Karvonen & Rintala 2003). Tarkasteluun valitsimme seuraavat selittävät muuttujat (Taulukko 1):

Asukasluku, asukasluvun muutos edellisestä vuodesta ja tilastollinen kuntaryhmitys. Asukasluvultaan suurissa ja kasvavissa kunnissa julkiseen rahoitukseen kohdistuu myös suuri kysyntä (Ashworth ym. 2005). Suurilla kaupungeilla on myös keskeinen rooli julkisten kulttuuripalveluiden tuottajina, joten niiden asukaskohtainen kulttuurirahoitus on oletettavasti korkeampaa kuin pienissä kunnissa (Werck ym. 2008; Benito ym. 2013, 11). Suomen kunnissa on todettu matalan asukasluvun yhteys heikentyneeseen kulttuuri- ja muiden sivistyspalveluiden saatavuuteen ja saavutettavuuteen (Lavapuro ym. 2016, 104) sekä valtionosuuden piirissä olevien taide- ja kulttuurilaitosten keskittyminen asukasluvultaan suuriin kaupunkeihin (mm. Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö 2012). Asukaslukua tarkentaa tilastollinen kuntaryhmitys, joka erottelee kuntia taajamaväestön osuuden ja suurimman taajaman väkiluvun perusteella kolmeen luokkaan: kaupunkimaisiin, taajaan asuttuihin ja maaseutumaisiin kuntiin. (Tilastokeskus 2018.) Koska valtionosuuden piirissä olevat taide- ja kulttuurilaitokset keskittyvät etenkin asukasluvultaan suurimpiin kaupunkeihin (Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö 2012), analyysissä erotetaan kaupunkimaisista

¹² Käytännössä museolain piirissä olevista 124 museosta kuntien ylläpitämiä on yli puolet. Teatteri- ja orkesterilain piirissä olevista 57 ammatillisesta teatterista kunnallisia on 8 ja 28 orkesterista 16. (Suomen Kuntaliitto 2018b.)

kunnista asukasluvultaan maan suurimmat, yli 80 000 asukkaan kaupungit, joita ovat Espoo, Helsinki, Jyväskylä, Kouvola, Kuopio, Lahti, Oulu, Pori, Tampere, Turku ja Vantaa.

Veronalaiset tulot keskimäärin. Veronalaiset tulot kuvaavat osaltaan kunnan taloudellisia voimavaroja, jotka heijastuvat vaihtelevaan palvelutarjontaan: taloudelliset resurssit luovat perustaa kuntien tavoille ratkaista ongelmia (Karvonen & Rintala 2004, 159). Tulotaso heijastaa myös elinkeino- ja ammattirakennetta ja koulutustasoa kunnassa. Aiemmassa tutkimuksessa on osoitettu korkeamman tulotason yhteys kulttuuritoimintojen korkeampaan kysyntään (mm. Bille Hansen 1997, Throsby & Withers 1986).

Valtuustoryhmältään suurin puolue ja suurimpien puolueiden suhteellinen kannatus kunnallisvaaleissa. Puoluepoliittiset painotukset vaikuttavat kulttuuripolitiikkaan niin valtion kuin paikallishallinnon tasolla. Kooltaan ja kuntatyyppiltään vastaavienkin kuntien kunnallinen päätöksenteko voi heijastaa hyvin erilaisia arvoja ja toiminnallisia perinteitä. Osa kunnista painottaa kulttuuria osana kunnan laajempaa kehitystä ja profiloituu esimerkiksi kulttuurikuntina tai -kaupunkeina. Kunnallispoliittisilla valinnoilla on merkitystä kulttuuripalveluiden mahdollistamisessa (mm. Lavapuro ym. 2016, 103). Vaikka puoluepoliittiset painotukset vaikuttavat kulttuuripolitiikkaan, vaikutuksen suunta on hyvin moniselitteinen (mm. Benito ym. 2013). Puoluekannatus heijastaa myös alueellisia eroja. Esimerkiksi vuoden 2017 kunnallisvaaleissa keskustan kannatus oli vahvaa etenkin maatalousvaltaisilla ja eläkeläisvoittoisilla haja-asutusalueilla. Kokoomuksen kannatus oli korkeinta kaupunkialueilla ja SDP:n kaupunkieja harvemmin asutuissa asutuskeskuksissa. (Suomen virallinen tilasto 2017.)

Naisten osuus valtuutetuista. Naisten osuus valtuutetuista heijastaa aiemman tutkimuksen perusteella kunnan koon lisäksi etenkin kunnan kaupunkimaisuutta, ”modernisaatiota” kuvaa-

via tekijöitä (Pikkala 2011, 7). Tällä on yhteys aluerakenteen keskittymiseen ja kaupunkimaisuutumiseen. Sukupuoli on myös yhteydessä kulttuuriosallistumiseen. Naiset ovat esimerkiksi miehiä aktiivisempia kulttuuritilaisuuksissa kävijöitä (mm. Liikkanen ym. 2005, Suomen virallinen tilasto 2009, SKR 2013).

Työttömien osuus työvoimasta. Työttömyys kytkeytyy kiinteästi alueelliseen erilaistumiseen: työttömyyden alue-erot Suomessa ovat suuria ja ajallisesti pysyviä. Etenkin Suomen itä- ja pohjoisosissa työttömyys on pysynyt korkeana. (Böckerman 2000, 7; 20.) Kasvavalla työttömyydellä on myös todettu yhteys kulttuurikysynnän ja siten kustannusten laskuun (Getzner 2002). Toisaalta työttömyys voi lisätä aikaa ja siten kysyntää kulttuuritoiminnoille. (Benito ym. 2013, 9.)

Alle 15-vuotiaiden ja yli 64-vuotiaiden osuus väestöstä, ruotsinkielisen väestön osuus, korkea-asteen tutkinnon suorittaneiden osuus. Eri väestöryhmien osuudet luovat erilaisia lähtökohtia ja tarpeita palvelujen järjestämiseen kunnissa. Väestön ikärakenteella, kielirakenteella sekä koulutustasolla on todettu olevan vaikutusta kulttuuripalveluihin sekä niiden tuottamiseen tai järjestämiseen (ks. esim. Lovio ym. 2004; Benito ym. 2013; Kangas ja Ruokolainen 2012; Renko & Ruusuvirta 2018, 20). Esimerkiksi kunnan kaksikielisyys lisää palveluiden tarvetta. Korkeasti koulutetuilla, luovilla aloilla toimivilla ihmisillä taas kulttuuripalvelut korostuvat eräänä kilpailutekijänä asuinpaikan valinnassa.

Taloudellinen huoltosuhte. Taloudellinen huoltosuhte kuvaa työssäkävien määrää suhteessa muuhun väestöön (esim. työttömät, opiskelijat, eläkeläiset). Taloudellisen huoltosuhteen vaihteluun voivat vaikuttaa esimerkiksi eläkeläisten määrän kasvu ja työllisyystilanne. Taloudellisessa huoltosuhteessa on esiintynyt suurta vaihtelua viimeisten vuosikymmenien aikana. Etenkin 1990-luvun laman aikana taloudellinen huoltosuhte oli korkealla. Vuonna

2017 korkeimmat taloudelliset huoltosuhteet olivat Kainuun, Pohjois-Karjalan ja Etelä-Savon maakunnissa, matalimmat taas Ahvenanmaalla, Uudellamaalla ja Pohjanmaalla. (Suomen virallinen tilasto 2019). Siten huoltosuhteella on yhteys alueellisen erilaistumisen tarkasteluun.

Taulukko 1. Selitettävät ja selittävät muuttujat.

Muuttuja	Indikaattori	Vuosi 2012, lähde N=320*	Vuosi 2014, lähde N=304**	Vuosi 2016, lähde N=297***
Selitettävät muuttujat				
a.	Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	Tilastokeskus (2012)	Tilastokeskus (2014)	Tilastokeskus (2016)
b.	Museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	"	"	"
c.	Yhteenlasketut nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas (yleinen kulttuuritoiminta + museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminta)	"	"	"
Selittävät muuttujat				
1.	Asukasluku, lkm	Tilastokeskus (31.12.2012)	Tilastokeskus (31.12.2014)	Tilastokeskus (31.12.2016)
2.	Asukasluvun muutos edellisestä vuodesta, %	Tilastokeskus (31.12.2011 - 31.12.2012)	Tilastokeskus (31.12.2013 - 31.12.2014)	Tilastokeskus (31.12.2015 - 31.12.2016)
3.	Tilastollinen kuntaryhmitys	Tilastokeskus (2012)	Tilastokeskus (2014)	Tilastokeskus (2016)
4.	Veronalaiset tulot keskimäärin	"	"	"
5.	Valtuustoryhmältään suurin puolue****	Tilastokeskus, Kunnallisvaalit 2008	Tilastokeskus, Kunnallisvaalit 2012	Tilastokeskus, Kunnallisvaalit 2012
6.	Äänestysprosentti KOK, %	"	"	"
7.	Äänestysprosentti KESK, %	"	"	"
8.	Äänestysprosentti SDP, %	"	"	"
9.	Naisten osuus valtuutetuista, %	"	"	"
10.	Työttömien osuus työvoimasta, %	Tilastokeskus (2012)	Tilastokeskus (2014)	Tilastokeskus (2016)
11.	Alle 15-vuotiaiden osuus väestöstä, %	"	"	"
12.	Yli 64-vuotiaiden osuus väestöstä, %	"	"	"
13.	Ruotsinkielisen väestön osuus, %	"	"	"
14.	Korkea-asteen tutkinnon suorittaneiden osuus (15 vuotta täyttäneistä), %	"	"	"
15.	Taloudellinen huoltosuhte*****	"	"	"

* Manner-Suomen kunnat vuonna 2012

** Manner-Suomen kunnat vuonna 2014

*** Manner-Suomen kunnat vuonna 2016

**** Valtuustoa koskevat tiedot tarkasteluvuosina voimassa olleen vaalituloksen mukaan

***** Taloudellinen huoltosuhte lasketaan jakamalla ei-työllisten määrä, eli työttömät ja työvoiman ulkopuolella olevat, työllisten määrällä. Saatu luku kerrotaan sadalla. Tilastokeskus 2012.

Selittävien muuttujien lähde on kustannustietojen tapaan Tilastokeskus. Tiedot on koottu kuntien vertailukelpoisista avainluku-, tunnusluku-, väestö- ja kunnallisvaalilastoista vuosilta 2012, 2014 ja 2016. (Taulukko 1.) On huomattava, että kuntien avainluvut olivat saatavissa vuosien 2012 ja 2014 osalta vain vuoden 2015 aluejaolla ja vuoden 2016 osalta vain vuoden 2018 aluejaolla. Siten aineistoista puuttui avainlukujen osalta tietoja joistakin kuntaliitosten myötä hävinneistä kunnista.

Menetelmä

Tarkastelemme ensiksi kuntien yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan sekä museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan asukaskohtaisten nettokustannusten alueellista jakautumista kartalla. Karttapohjaisen tarkastelun kautta hahmotetaan kustannusten jakautumista eri puolilla Manner-Suomea (vrt. Aluehallintovirasto 2018). Kartat toteutettiin MapInfo-ohjelmalla (MapInfo Pro 16.0).

Tämän jälkeen täsmennämme tuloksia tarkastelemalla ristiintaulukoinnin avulla kustannusten jakautumista kuntatyyppiltään ja poliittiselta rakenteeltaan erilaisissa kunnissa.

Tarkennamme kuvaa alueellisesta erilaistumisesta analysoimalla kuntien erilaisten rakenteellisten ominaisuuksien ja taloudellisten voimavarojen yhteyttä kulttuurikustannuksiin vuosina 2012, 2014 ja 2016. Tutkimme muuttujien välistä yhteyttä ja niiden vaikutussuhteen voimakkuutta lineaarisella regressioanalyysillä, jossa ovat mukana kaikki jatkuvat selittävät muuttujat¹³. Estimoin kerroin kuvaa suoraan muuttujien yhteyttä muiden muuttujien vaikutusten ollessa vakioituja. Regressioanalyysin

ilmaisemat vaikutussuhteet eivät ole kausaalisia syy-seuraus-suhteita vaan ilmaisevat yleisesti muuttujien välistä yhteyttä. (Jokivuori & Hietala 2007, 42.)

Kaikille muuttujille tehtiin logaritimuunnos¹⁴, jolloin taustalla on oletus kerrannaisista vaikutussuhteista. Logaritimuunnoksen etuna on helppo tulkinta: logaritmoitujen muuttujien estimoiduille kertoimille voidaan antaa joustotulkinta, jolloin tuloksia on myös helpompi ymmärtää.¹⁵ Regressioanalyysi toteutettiin askeltavana, jolloin yhtälöön lisätään selittäviä muuttujia yksi kerrallaan. Yhtälöstä poistuu muuttujia sen myötä, jos uusia, paremmin selittäviä muuttujia löytyy. Taulukoissa esitämme askeltavan regressioanalyysin tulokset, kun malliin on syötetty kaikki tarkasteluun valitut muuttujat. Raportoimme taulukoissa kaikki tilastollisesti merkittävästi selitysasetta nostavat muuttujat sekä niiden standardoimattomat regressiokertoimet (*unstandardized coefficients*), selityssasteet ja tilastolliset merkitsevyydet.

4 Tulokset

Kulttuurin kustannusten alueelliset erot kartalla

Alueelliset erot 2000-luvun Suomessa ovat monella mittarilla syventyneet. Hyvinvointivaltion laajenemisen jälkeinen markkinakehitys ja politiikkapäätökset olivat vuosituhannen alussa johtaneet vahvaan alueelliseen keskittymiseen, jossa vain kourallinen osaamis- ja vientivetoista kaupunkiseutua pääkaupunkiseudun ohella olivat kasvamassa ja kehitymässä (Tervo 2010,

¹³ Taulukon 1 selittävät muuttujat pois lukien tilastollinen kuntaryhmitys ja valtuustoryhmältään suurin puolue.

¹⁴ Joidenkin kuntien kohdalla kustannusmuuttuja oli nolla tai pienempi kuin puolet käytetystä yksiköstä.

Logaritmoiminnin mahdollistamiseksi kaikkiin muuttujiin lisättiin kaksi yksikköä ($\ln + 2$).

Osa tarkasteluun valituista selittävästä muuttujista korreloi keskenään. Etenkin korkea-asteen tutkinto oli yhteydessä verotettavaan tuloihin ja taloudellinen huoltosuhte työttömien osuuteen. Hyvin voimakas korrelaatio voi aiheuttaa ongelmia regressioanalyysin tulosten tarkkuuden kannalta. Kaikkien muuttujien kohdalla korrelaatiokertoimet olivat kuitenkin alle 0,9. Muuttujien osittainen multikollineaarisuus huomioidaan tulosten tarkastelussa.

¹⁵ Tämä tarkoittaa, että yhden prosentin kasvu jossakin tarkastelemassamme kunnan ominaisuudessa lisää tai vähentää kulttuuritoiminnan kustannuksia tietyllä prosentilla, jonka kertoo tuloksissa raportoimamme estimoin kerroin.

142). Etelä-Suomen ja länsirannikon keskusalueet sekä ylipäätään vientivaltaiset seudut (pääkaupunkiseutu, Tampere, Oulu, Perämeren rannikko) ovat alueita, joita taloudellinen kasvu on vahvistanut. Maatalouteen ja julkiseen talouteen perustuvat, tuotantorakenteeltaan yksipuoliset alueet keskittyvät etenkin Itä- ja Pohjois-Suomeen. Taantumisen ongelmat koskevat maaseudun lisäksi yhä enemmän myös moniaan kaupunkiseutuja ja maaseudun kuntakeskuksia. (Blomgren 2005, 15–16.) Muuttoliike keskittyy asukasluvultaan suuriin kaupunkeihin. Työpaikka- ja väestönkasvu ruokkivat toisiaan ja etenkin 2000-luvulla aluekehityksen vetovastuu on ollut suurilla ja monipuolisilla yliopistoseuduilla.

Kartat 1–4 kuvaavat kulttuurirahoituksen alueellisia eroja Manner-Suomen kunnissa vuosina 2012 ja 2016. Karttoihin on merkitty maakuntakeskukset ja -rajat.

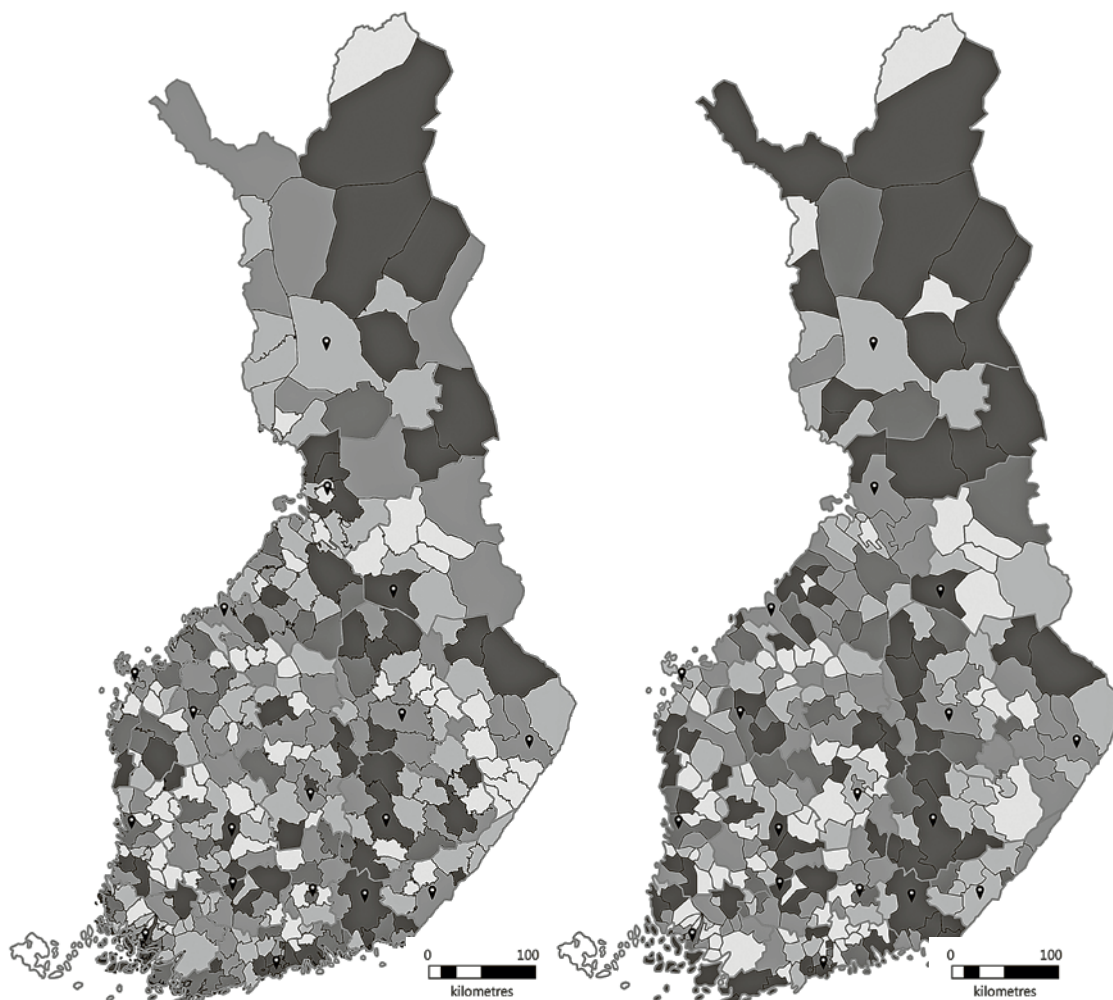
Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan (kartat 1 ja 2) kohdalla korkeat tai matalat asukaskohtaiset nettokustannukset eivät näytä keskittyvän selkeästi tiettyihin maakuntiin tai maakuntakeskuksiin. Korkeimpaan kustannusluokkaan kuuluvissa kunnissa on osa maakuntakeskuksista, ja valtaosassa maakuntakeskuksista kustannukset ovat suhteellisen korkeat. Kuitenkaan kustannusten jakauma ei heijasta korkeiden asukaskohtaisten kustannusten keskittymistä yksinomaan asukasluvultaan suurille kaupunkiseuduille. Molempina tarkasteluvuosina korkeimpien kustannusten kunnat näyttävät sijoittuvan erityisesti eteläiselle rannikkoseudulle, keskiseen Suomeen sekä Pohjois-Suomen itä- ja eteläosiin. Myös Kankaan (1991, 52) tarkastelussa kulttuurilautakuntien menot asukasta kohti vuonna 1986 olivat korkeat etenkin ruotsinkielisellä rannikkoalueella sekä Pohjois-Suomen itä- ja eteläosissa. Kuitenkin vuonna 1986 korkei-

den kustannusten alueena korostui esimerkiksi Kainuu, joka ei nouse esiin vuosien 2012 ja 2016 kartoissa. Vertailu 1980-luvun karttaan osoittaa yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan kustannusten alueellisen vaihtelun pysyvyyttä kulttuuritoiminnan muuttuvissa kehyksissä. Korkeiden tai matalien asukaskohtaisten kustannusten alueet vaikuttavat kuitenkin vaihtelevilta.

Museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan kartat (3 ja 4) sen sijaan kuvaavat rahoituksen alueellista erilaistumista ja keskittymistä asukasluvultaan suuriin kaupunkeihin. Korkeat kustannukset näyttävät keskittyvän selkeästi maakuntakeskuksiin, joissa myös toimii enemmistö esimerkiksi valtionosuuden piirissä olevista taide- ja kulttuurilaitoksista. Muutokset kustannusten jakautumisessa vuosien 2012 ja 2016 välillä näyttävät vähäisiltä. Jakauma tukee jo aiemmassa tutkimuksessa todettua taide- ja kulttuurilaitosten keskittymistä kaupunkikeskuksiin (mm. Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö 2012).

Karttapohjainen tarkastelu osoittaa, että yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan kustannukset ovat hyvin vaihtelevia. Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan korkeat tai matalat kustannukset eivät näytä keskittyvän selkeästi tietyille maantieteellisille alueille tai maakuntakeskuksiin. Museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan kohdalla korkeat kustannukset taas näyttävät olevan yhteydessä tarjontaan: kustannukset ovat selkeästi korkeimpia maakuntakeskuksissa, joihin myös taide- ja kulttuurilaitokset keskittyvät. Valtaosassa maakuntakeskuksista myös yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan asukaskohtaiset nettokustannukset ovat suhteellisen korkeat. Tarkasteluvuosina yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan rooli paikkaajana ja palveluiden mahdollistajana etenkin kunnissa, joissa ei toimi taide- ja kulttuurilaitoksia, ei tule esiin ainakaan rahoituksen kautta tarkasteltuna.

Kartat 1 ja 2. Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset (€/asukas) Manner-Suomen kunnissa vuosina 2012 ja 2016. Lähde: Tilastokeskus.



Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset 2012
€/asukas, n=320

20 tai yli	(53)
15–19	(36)
10–14	(81)
5–9	(84)
Alle 5	(66)

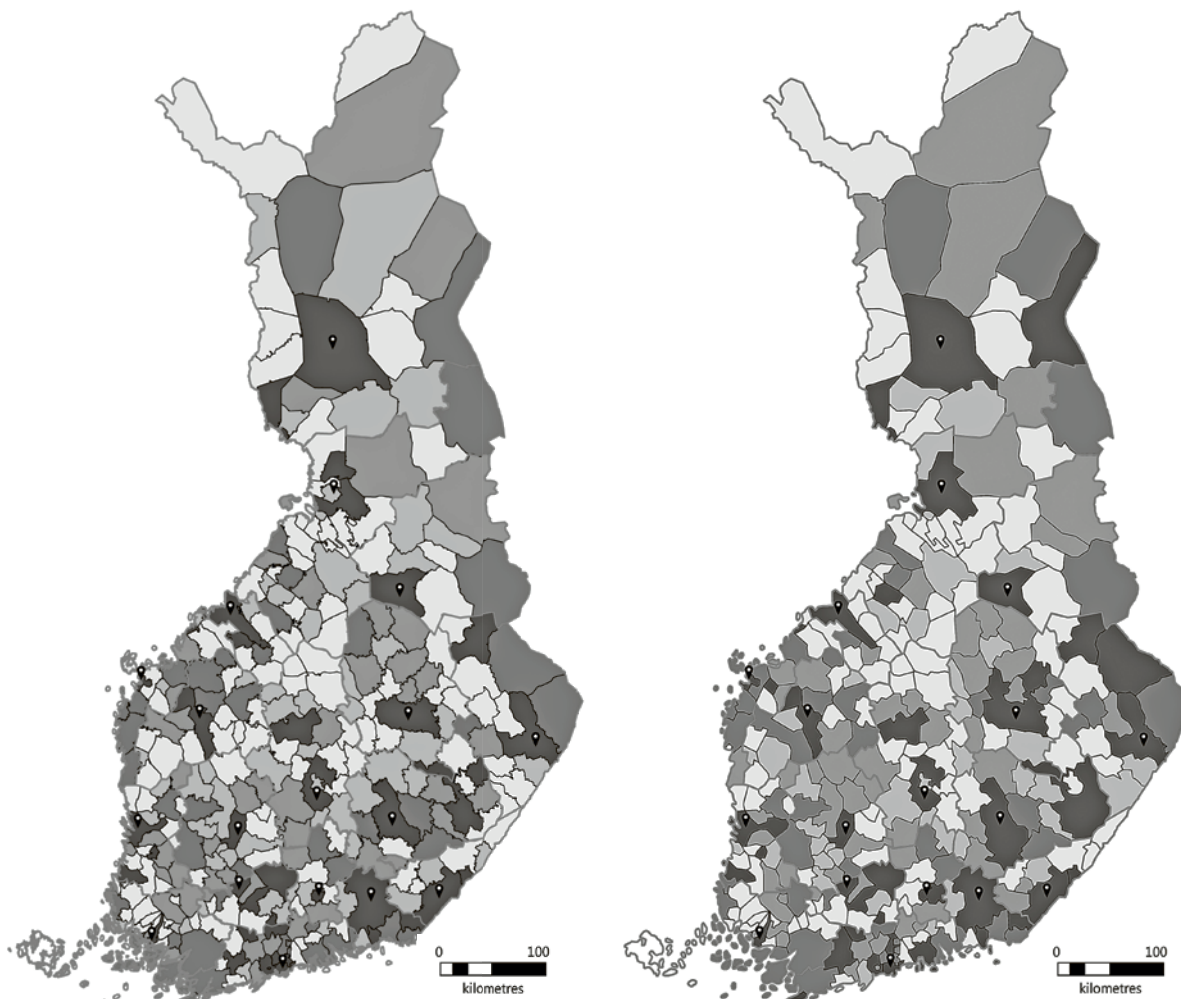
Maakuntaraja
Maakuntakeskus

Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset 2016
€/asukas, n=297

20 tai yli	(72)
15–19	(30)
10–14	(66)
5–9	(67)
Alle 5	(62)

Maakuntaraja
Maakuntakeskus

Kartat 3 ja 4. Museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset (€/asukas) Manner-Suomen kunnissa vuosina 2012 ja 2016. Lähde: Tilastokeskus.



Museo-, ja teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset 2012
€/asukas, n=320

30 tai yli	(38)
10–29	(47)
5–9	(52)
1–4	(63)
Alle 1	(120)

Maakuntaraja
Maakuntakeskus

Museo-, ja teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset 2016
€/asukas, n=297

30 tai yli	(40)
10–29	(48)
5–9	(61)
1–4	(41)
Alle 1	(107)

Maakuntaraja
Maakuntakeskus

Kulttuurin kustannukset kuntatyypiltään ja poliittiselta rakenteeltaan erilaisissa kunnissa

Täsmennämme karttapohjaisen tarkastelun tuloksia ristiintaulukoimalla kustannusten keskiarvoja¹⁶ tilastolliselta kuntaryhmykseltään erilaisissa kunnissa (Taulukko 2).

Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan kohdalla kustannusten keskiarvo oli kaikkina tarkasteluvuosina huomattavasti korkeampi asukasluvultaan suurimmissa kaupungeissa kuin muissa kaupunkimaisissa, taajaan asutuissa ja maaseutumaisissa Manner-Suomen kunnissa. Vuodesta 2012 vuoteen 2016 kustannusten keskiarvojen väliset erot erityyppisissä kunnissa ovat hieman tasoittuneet. Tämä voi osaltaan johtua kuntaliitoksista aiheutuneesta maaseutumaisten kuntien lukumäärän vähenemisestä Manner-Suomessa (maaseutumaisia kuntia oli 195 vuonna 2012 ja 177 vuonna 2016). Kaikkina tarkasteluvuosina keskiarvot ovat kuitenkin selkeästi korkeimpia asukasluvultaan suurimmissa kunnissa ja selkeästi matalimpia maaseutumaisissa kunnissa. Sen sijaan muita kuin asukasluvultaan suurimpia kaupunkimaisia kuntia ja taajaan asuttuja kuntia yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan asukaskohtaisten nettokustannusten keskiarvo ei juuri erottele. (Taulukko 2.)

Museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan kohdalla keskiarvojen erot erityyppisten kuntien välillä ovat yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan kustannuksiakin selkeämpiä. Museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan asukaskohtaisten nettokäyt-

tökustannusten keskiarvo oli vuosina 2012, 2014 ja 2016 korkein asukasluvultaan maan suurimmissa kaupungeissa, joissa keskiarvo oli yli kaksinkertainen verrattuna keskiarvoon muissa kaupunkimaisissa kunnissa. Keskiarvo oli matalin maaseutumaisissa kunnissa. Toisin kuin yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan kohdalla, museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan asukaskohtaisten nettokustannusten keskiarvot muissa kuin suurimmissa kaupunkimaisissa kunnissa ja taajaan asutuissa kunnissa eroavat tarkasteluvuosina selkeästi toisistaan. Kaupunkimaisuus näyttää siten erottavan kuntia voimakkaammin museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan kuin yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan nettokustannusten keskiarvojen kohdalla. (Taulukko 2.) Koska museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminta on keskittynyt asukasluvultaan suurimpiin kaupunkeihin ja maakuntakeskuksiin, toiminnan korkeat asukaskohtaiset nettokustannukset heijastavat palvelutarjonnan keskittymistä.

Tarkastelu osoittaa, että asukasluvultaan maan suurimmissa kunnissa kulttuuritoiminnan rahoituksen osoittama panostus on huomattavasti muita kuntia suurempaa. Yhteenlaskettujen asukaskohtaisten nettokäyttökustannusten keskiarvot ovat kaikkina tarkasteluvuosina korkeimpia asukasluvultaan suurimmissa kaupunkimaisissa kunnissa ja matalimpia maaseutumaisissa kunnissa. Yhteys tilastollisen kuntaryhmyksen ja kustannusten välillä näyttää suoraviivaiselta: mitä kaupunkimaisempi kunta, sitä korkeampi kustannusten keskiarvo. (Taulukko 2.)

¹⁶ Keskiarvo on muodostettu laskemalla yhteen kuntien asukaskohtaiset nettokustannukset ja jakamalla summa kuntien lukumäärällä.

Taulukko 2. Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan, museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan sekä yhteenlasketujen asukaskohtaisten nettokäyttökustannusten keskiarvot ja vaihteluvälit tilastolliselta kuntaryhmykseltään erilaisissa Manner-Suomen kunnissa vuosina 2012, 2014 ja 2016.

2012	Suurimmat kaupungit (N=11)	Muut kaupunkimaiset kunnat (N=49)	Taajaa asutut kunnat (N=65)	Maaseutumaiset kunnat (N=195)
Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	27,3 (13,0–52,0)	15,4 (1,0–66,0)	17,3 (2,0–196,0)	10,4 (0,0–54,0)
Museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	89,4 (30,0–162,0)	39,5 (1,0–158,0)	11,5 (1,0–42,0)	8,8 (-2,0–112,0)
Yhteenlasketut nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	116,6 (54,0–181,0)	51,7 (2,0–171,0)	25,1 (2,0–196,0)	14,7 (0,0–145,0)
2014	Suurimmat kaupungit (N=11)	Muut kaupunkimaiset kunnat (N=46)	Taajaan asutut kunnat (N=64)	Maaseutumaiset kunnat (N=183)
Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	23,5 (9,0–57,0)	15,5 (1,0–59,0)	16,5 (0,0–207,0)	11,1 (0,0–50,0)
Museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	89,1 (30,0–166,0)	40,2 (0,0–148,0)	11,1 (1,0–42,0)	8,0 (0,0–125,0)
Yhteenlasketut nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	112,6 (46,0–175,0)	53,9 (2,0–159,0)	24,3 (1,0–207,0)	15,5 (0,0–149,0)
2016	Suurimmat kaupungit (N=11)	Muut kaupunkimaiset kunnat (N=46)	Taajaan asutut kunnat (N=63)	Maaseutumaiset kunnat (N=177)
Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	22,6 (8,5–48,1)	15,3 (1,7–57,0)	15,4 (0,0–64,8)	12,5 (0,0–62,9)
Museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	82,7 (29,8–142,3)	40,4 (0,0–153,1)	9,6 (0,0–59,1)	5,1 (0,0–122,9)
Yhteenlasketut nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	105,3 (47,1–164,5)	55,7 (3,9–167,6)	24,9 (0,0–108,1)	17,5 (0,0–144,1)

Onko poliittisella rakenteella yhteyttä kulttuuritoiminnan kustannuksiin tässä tarkastelemisamme kunnissa? Taulukko 3 kuvaa yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan sekä museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan asukaskohtaisten nettokustannusten keskiarvoja vuosina 2012, 2014 ja 2016 valtuuston kunakin vuonna suurimman puolueen mukaan¹⁷. Mukana ovat tulokset, jotka koskevat vähintään kahtakymmentä kuntaa.¹⁸

Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan asukaskohtaisten nettokustannusten keskiarvo oli vuosina 2012,

2014 ja 2016 korkein kunnissa, joissa valtuustoryhmältään suurin oli RKP (Suomen ruotsalainen kansanpuolue). Palveluiden järjestäminen usealla kielellä voi nostaa kustannuksia. Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan asukaskohtaisten nettokustannusten keskiarvojen erot eri puolueiden kohdalla olivat kuitenkin varsin pieniä (Taulukko 3.)

Museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan asukaskohtaisten nettokustannusten keskiarvo oli vuosina 2012, 2014 ja 2016 korkein kunnissa, joissa valtuustoryhmältään suurin puolue oli

¹⁷ Kuntien edellinen valtuustokausi oli vuosina 2013–2017. Siten vuonna 2012 toimi vuoden 2008 kunnallisvaaleissa valittu valtuusto ja vuosina 2014 ja 2016 vuoden 2012 kunnallisvaaleissa valittu valtuusto.

¹⁸ Museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan asukaskohtaiset nettokustannukset olivat vuosina 2012, 2014 ja 2016 huomattavasti muita korkeammat kunnissa, joissa valtuustoryhmältään suurin puolue oli VAS (Vasemmistoliitto). Näitä kuntia oli kuitenkin vuonna 2012 vain kaksi ja vuosina 2014 ja 2016 kolme.

SDP ja toiseksi korkein kunnissa, joissa valtuustoryhmältään suurin puolue oli kokoomus. Matalin keskiarvo oli kunnissa, joissa valtuustoryhmältään suurin puolue oli keskusta. Tulosta voi selittää keskustan kannatuksen painottuminen etenkin asukasluvultaan pienempiin maaseutukuntiin, joissa taide- ja kulttuurilaitoksia toimii vähän.

Kustannusten tarkastelu suurimmalta valtuustoryhmältään erilaisissa kunnissa kuvaa puoluepolitiikan ja kulttuuripolitiikan moniselitteistä yhteyttä. Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan

kustannusten kohdalla keskiarvojen erot kunnissa olivat pieniä. Museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan kohdalla jakolinja kulki kokoomuksen ja SDP:n sekä muiden puolueiden välillä. Yhteenlasketut yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan sekä museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan kustannusten keskiarvot olivat korkeimpia kunnissa, joissa valtuustoryhmältään suurin puolue oli SDP, mutta erot kokoomusvetoisiin kuntiin olivat pieniä. (Taulukko 3.) Vaikuttaa siltä, että esimerkiksi kunnan koko vaikuttaa kustannuksiin puoluekantoja enemmän.

Taulukko 3. Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan, museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan sekä yhteenlasketujen asukaskohtaisten nettokäyttökustannusten keskiarvot ja vaihteluvälit suurimmalta valtuustoryhmältään erilaisissa Manner-Suomen kunnissa vuosina 2012, 2014 ja 2016.

2012*	KOK (N=44)	SDP (N=34)	KESK (N=215)	RKP (N=23)
Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	15,3 (1,0–52,0)	14,3 (0,0–30,0)	12,3 (1,0–196,0)	17,8 (4,0–66,0)
Museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	30,8 (1,0–162,0)	39,4 (1,0–117,0)	11,5 (-2,0–112,0)	24,3 (0,0–158,0)
Yhteenlasketut nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	40,5 (2,0–181,0)	46,7 (0,0–142,0)	18,2 (0,0–196,0)	36,8 (4,0–171,0)
2014**	KOK (N=39)	SDP (N=28)	KESK (N=209)	RKP (N=23)
Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	14,9 (1,0–57,0)	14,8 (0,0–46,0)	12,9 (0,0–207,0)	14,9 (1,0–59,0)
Museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	33,6 (0,0–166,0)	35,9 (2,0–86,0)	11,9 (0,0–125,0)	24,2 (0,0–146,0)
Yhteenlasketut nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	44,2 (2,0–175,0)	45,6 (0,0–112,0)	19,9 (0,0–207,0)	32,8 (0,0–207,0)
2016**	KOK (N=39)	SDP (N=27)	KESK (N=203)	RKP (N=23)
Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	14,1 (0,0–48,1)	14,2 (0,2–32,7)	13,6 (0,0–64,8)	17,2 (2,2–57,0)
Museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	28,6 (0,0–142,3)	33,0 (0,0–89,4)	8,1 (0,0–122,9)	18,5 (0,0–153,1)
Yhteenlasketut nettokäyttökustannukset, €/asukas	42,7 (2,9–164,5)	47,2 (0,2–97,8)	21,6 (0,0–144,1)	35,7 (2,2–167,6)

* Lisäksi kahdessa kunnassa valtuustoryhmältään suurin puolue VAS, kahdessa kunnassa valitsijajyhdistys

** Lisäksi kahdessa kunnassa valtuustoryhmältään suurin puolue PS, kolmessa VAS

Kulttuurin kustannusten yhteys kuntien ominaisuuksiin

Regressioanalyysi tarkentaa kuvaa alueellisesta erilaistumisesta kuvaamalla kuntien erilaisten rakenteellisten ominaisuuksien ja taloudellisten voimavarojen yhteyttä kulttuuritoiminnan asukaskohtaisiin nettokäyttökustannuksiin vuosina 2012, 2014 ja 2016.

Kunnan korkea asukasluku oli kaikkina tarkastelu vuosina keskeinen korkeiden yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan asukaskohtaisten nettokustannusten selittäjä. Asukasluku on ainoana muuttujana mukana kaikissa askeltavissa malleissa, ja parhaiten selittävässä mallissa asukasluku on vuonna 2014 ainoa tilastollisesti erittäin merkitsevä muuttuja. Esimerkiksi vuonna 2016 yhden prosentin kasvu asukasmäärässä lisäisi yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan kustannuksia 0,20 prosenttia kun muiden kuntien ominaisuuksia kuvaavien muuttujien vaikutus on vakioitu. (Taulukko 4.)

Asukasluvun lisäksi kunnan korkeisiin yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan asukaskohtaisiin netto-

kustannuksiin olivat yhteydessä korkeat työttömien, yli 64-vuotiaiden ja ruotsinkielisen väestön osuudet ja taloudellinen huoltosuhde sekä matala alle 15-vuotiaiden osuus. (Taulukko 4.) Vuoden 2012 kohdalla taloudellinen huoltosuhde pudottaa parhaiten selittävässä mallissa pois yli 64-vuotiaiden osuutta kuvaavan muuttujan: tämä kuvaa näiden muuttujien voimakasta keskinäistä korrelaatiota.

Kaikkiaan kunnan asukasluku selittää kaikkina tarkastelu vuosina korkeita yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan asukaskohtaisia nettokustannuksia kuvaavia muuttujia paremmin. Asukasluvun merkitys korkeiden asukaskohtaisten kustannusten selittäjänä kertoo asukasluvultaan suurten kuntien rahallisesta panostuksesta. Näin kustannukset seuraavat yleistä alueellisen keskittymisen kehitystä. Tämä tukee myös aiemman tutkimuksen havaintoja kunnan matalan asukasluvun yhteydestä heikentyneeseen kulttuuri- ja muiden sivistyspalveluiden saatavuuteen ja saavutettavuuteen (Lavapuro ym. 2016, 104).

Taulukko 4. Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan kustannuksia selittäviä tekijöitä Manner-Suomessa. Regressioanalyysi logaritmisoiduille muuttujille. Standardoimattomat regressiokertoimet, selitysasteet ja tilastolliset merkitsevyydet. Lähtötilanteessa mukana kaikki jatkuvat selittävät muuttujat (Taulukko 1).

	2012	Malli 1	Malli 2	Malli 3	Malli 4	Malli 5
	<i>Selitysaste, %</i>	12,8	16,7	17,8	18,9	20,3
Asukasluku		,223 (0,00)***	,227 (0,00)***	,218 (0,00)***	,245 (0,00)***	,241 (0,00)***
Yli 64-vuotiaiden osuus väestöstä			,234 (0,00)***	,224 (0,00)***	,394 (0,00)***	
Ruotsinkielisen väestön osuus				,090 (0,03)*	,099 (0,02)*	,123 (0,003)**
Alle 15-vuotiaiden osuus väestöstä					-,247 (0,03)*	-,561 (0,001)**
Taloudellinen huoltosuhde						,389 (0,00)***
	2014	Malli 1	Malli 2	Malli 3		
	<i>Selitysaste, %</i>	9,9	10,9	11,9		
Asukasluku		,195 (0,00)***	,193 (0,00)***	,211 (0,00)***		
Työttömien osuus väestöstä			,244 (0,04)*	,297 (0,02)*		
Alle 15-vuotiaiden osuus väestöstä				-,280 (0,04)*		
	2016	Malli 1	Malli 2			
	<i>Selitysaste, %</i>	5,3	11,1			
Asukasluku		,148 (0,00)***	,204 (0,00)***			
Yli 64-vuotiaiden osuus väestöstä			,607 (0,00)***			

Tilastollinen merkitsevyys: * p < 0,05; ** p < 0,01; *** p < 0,001

Asukasluvun lisäksi korkeisiin yhteenlaskettuihin yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan sekä museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan asukaskohtaisiin nettokustannuksiin oli tarkasteluvoosina yhteydessä matala alle 15-vuotiaiden osuus. Yksittäisinä vuosina yhteys korkeisiin yhteenlaskettuihin asukaskohtaisiin nettokustannuksiin oli myös korkeilla yli 64-vuotiaiden osuudella, ruotsinkielisen väestön osuudella ja taloudellisella huoltosuhteella sekä matalalla SDP:n äänestysprosentilla kunnallisvaaleissa. Äänestysprosenttia kuvaavan muuttujan tilastollinen merkitsevyys on kuitenkin heikko verrattuna kunnan asukasrakennetta kuvaaviin muuttujiin ja etenkin kunnan asukaslukuun korkeiden yhteenlaskettujen asukaskohtaisten nettokustannusten selittäjinä.

On mahdollista, että asukasluvun vaikutus kuntien kulttuurimenoihin on epälineaarinen. Kustannusten ja asukasluvun yhteyden suoraviivaisuutta testattiin lisäämällä muuttujajoukkoon asukaslukumuuttuja korotettuna toiseen potenssiin. Tarkastelu osoitti, että asukasluvun

ja yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan kustannusten yhteys on varsin suoraviivainen. Yhteenlaskettujen kustannusten yhteys asukaslukuun ei ole aivan suoraviivainen, mutta ei voimakkaasti epälineaarinenkaan. Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan sekä museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan tarkastelu yhteenlaskettuna selitettävänä muuttujana vahvistaa asukasluvun yhteyttä kustannuksiin. Samoin kuin edellä yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan kohdalla, kunnan korkea asukasluku oli tarkasteluvoosina keskeinen kunnan korkeiden yhteenlaskettujen asukaskohtaisten nettokustannusten selittäjä. Asukasluku on tilastollisesti erittäin merkitsevä muuttujana mukana kaikissa askeltavissa malleissa. Yhteenlaskettujen kustannusten tarkastelussa parhaiten selittävien mallien selitysasteet olivat huomattavasti korkeampia kuin pelkkien yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan kustannusten kohdalla. (Taulukko 5.) Tämä kertoo jo karttapohjaisen tarkastelun osoittamasta museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan keskittymisestä asukasluvultaan suurimpiin kuntiin.

Taulukko 5. Yhteenlaskettuja yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan sekä museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan kustannuksia selittäviä tekijöitä Manner-Suomessa. Regressioanalyysi logaritmisoiduille muuttujille. Standardoimattomat regressiokertoimet, selitysasteet ja tilastolliset merkitsevyydet. Lähtötilanteessa mukana kaikki selittävät muuttujat (Taulukko 1).

	2012	Malli 1	Malli 2	Malli 3	Malli 4	Malli 5
	<i>Selitysaste, %</i>	36,2	39,8	42,9	44,2	45,7
Asukasluku		,500 (0,00)***	,506 (0,00)***	,564 (0,00)***	,556 (0,00)***	,547 (0,00)***
Yli 64-vuotiaiden osuus väestöstä			,301 (0,00)***	,662 (0,00)***	,674 (0,00)***	
Alle 15-vuotiaiden osuus väestöstä				-,522 (0,00)***	-,558 (0,02)*	-1,054 (0,00)***
Ruotsinkielisen väestön osuus					,125 (0,007)**	,163 (0,00)***
Taloudellinen huoltosuhte						,642 (0,00)***
	2014	Malli 1	Malli 2	Malli 3		
	<i>Selitysaste, %</i>	34,2	36,3	40,0		
Asukasluku		,470 (0,00)***	,502 (0,00)***	,553 (0,00)***		
Yli 64-vuotiaiden osuus väestöstä			,429 (0,001)**	,572 (0,00)***		
Alle 15-vuotiaiden osuus väestöstä				-,632 (0,00)***		
	2016	Malli 1	Malli 2	Malli 3	Malli 4	
	<i>Selitysaste, %</i>	31,0	35,5	40,0	41,0	
Asukasluku		,428 (0,00)***	,488 (0,00)***	,530 (0,00)***	,575 (0,00)***	
Yli 64-vuotiaiden osuus väestöstä			,663 (0,00)***	,716 (0,00)***	,751 (0,00)***	
Alle 15-vuotiaiden osuus väestöstä				-,709 (0,00)***	-,785 (0,00)***	
Äänestysprosentti kunnallisvaaleissa, SDP					-,170 (0,02)*	

Tilastollinen merkitsevyys: * p < 0,05; ** p < 0,01; *** p < 0,001

Esitettyihin tuloksiin ei ole otettu mukaan näitä kokeiluja, sillä ne eivät merkittävästi muuta päätelmiä.

Korkean asukasluvun yhteys korkeisiin kustannuksiin vahvistaa aiempia tuloksia kulttuuri- ja palvelujen keskittymisestä suuriin kaupunkeihin ja maakuntien keskuspaikkakunnille, joissa on suurin asukas pohja palveluiden käyttämiseen (mm. Alanen 2010; Kangas & Ruokolainen 2012). Asukasrakenteella on myös vaikutusta. Kunnan kaksikielisyys ja korkea työttömien osuus voivat aiemman tutkimuksen mukaan lisätä palveluiden tarvetta (esim. Benito ym. 2013, 9) ja siten kulttuuritoiminnan kustannuksia. Korkea työttömyysaste heijastuu osaltaan myös korkeaan taloudelliseen huoltosuhteeseen. Analyysin mukaan korkeisiin kustannuksiin on yhteys matalalla alle 15-vuotiaiden osuudella ja korkealla yli 64-vuotiaiden osuudella. Tämä voi heijastaa väestön yleistä ikääntymistä. Poliittisen rakenteen yhteys kustannuksiin oli heikko. Kiinnostavaa on, että taloudellista rakennetta kuvaavien muuttujien sijaan korkeita kustannuksia selittivät erityisesti rakenteellisia ominaisuuksia kuvaavat muuttujat.

5 Johtopäätökset ja pohdinta

Suomen kunnat ja niiden toimintamahdollisuudet ovat erilaistuneet 2000-luvulle tultaessa enenevässä määrin esimerkiksi hyvinvoinnin, muuttoliikkeen, tuotannon ja työpaikkojen näkökulmista. Tässä artikkelissa tarkastelimme Manner-Suomen kuntia kulttuuritoiminnan rahoituksen näkökulmasta. Analyysimme osoittaa, että yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan sekä museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan rahoituksessa voidaan puhua alueellisesta erilaistumisesta 2000-luvun Suomessa.

Kuntien yleistä kulttuuritoimintaa on kehitetty hyvinvointivaltion lähtökohdista osana kaikille saatavissa olevia, hyvinvointia tuottavia palveluja. Tämä näkyy esimerkiksi laissa kuntien kulttuuritoiminnasta, jonka taustalla oli 1980-luvun alussa voimakas pyrkimys alueelliseen tasa-arvoon kulttuuripalvelujen mahdollistumisessa. Lähtökohta on erilainen kuin

museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnassa, joka keskittyy etenkin asukasluvultaan suuriin kaupunkeihin. Erilaisista lähtökohdista huolimatta tilanne on kustannusten näkökulmasta sama: kunnan asukasluku oli kaikkina tarkasteluvuosina keskeinen sekä yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan että museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan korkeita asukaskohtaisia nettokustannuksia osoittava tekijä. Asukasluvultaan suurten kaupunkien muita suurempi rahallinen panostus vahvistaa aiempien tutkimusten havaintoja (esim. Kangas 1991, Ruusuvirta ym. 2008).

Suomen alueellinen keskittymis- ja kaupungistumiskehitys on todettu monissa tutkimuksissa. Kehityskulut ovat samansuuntaisia: taloudellisesti hyvin menestyville alueille keskittyvät väestö ja työpaikat. Työpaikka- ja väestönkasvu ruokkivat toisiaan: ihmiset ovat yleisesti seuranneet työpaikkoja (kysyntäjoh-teisuus) mutta etenkin talouskasvun aikana työpaikat ovat seuranneet ihmisiä suurille ja dynaamisille kaupunkialueille (tarjontajoh-teisuus). Asukasluvultaan suurten kaupunkien merkitys kasvun moottorina on 2000-luvulla korostunut ja aluekehityksen vetovastuu on ollut etenkin suurilla ja monipuolisilla yliopistoseuduilla. Analyysimme perusteella näille asukasluvultaan suurille kaupunkialueille on 2010-luvulla keskittynyt myös kulttuuritoiminnan rahoitus.

Analyysimme osoittama korkean asukasluvun ja korkeiden kustannusten yhteys kuvaa osaltaan kulttuurin kasvanutta roolia kaupunkien kehitystekijänä. Suuret kaupungit panostavat kulttuuritoimintaan osana kilpailukyvyyn ja vetovoiman lisäämistä sekä sosiaalista kehittämistä. Tätä korostaa, että kulttuuritoiminnan kustannusten jakolinja kulkee asukasluvultaan suurimpien kaupunkikeskusten ja muiden kuntien välillä riippumatta siitä, millainen on kunnan taloudellinen tilanne tai kuka valtaa käyttää: kiinnostavaa on, että analyysimme ei osoita kunnan taloudellisia voimavaroja tai poliittista rakennetta kuvaaville muuttujille vahvaa roolia kulttuurikustannusten määrän selittäjinä.

Asukasluvultaan pienempien kuntien toimintaympäristöä leimaa keskittymis- ja kaupungistumiskehityksen käänköpuoli: väestön

ja työpaikkojen väheneminen. Kulttuurin kustannusten näkökulmasta matala asukasluku oli yhteydessä mataliin asukaskohtaisiin nettokustannuksiin. Museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan kohdalla kuntien erot olivat suoraviivaisia: mitä pienempi ja maaseutumaisempi kunta, sitä matalammat olivat museo-, teatteri- ja orkesteritoiminnan asukaskohtaiset kustannukset. Yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan kustannusten kohdalla muiden kuin maan suurimpien kaupunkien erot olivat pienempiä. Kuitenkin asukaskohtaisten kustannusten keskiarvot olivat selkeästi muita matalammat maaseutumaisissa kunnissa, joita on maan kunnista selkeästi eniten. Myös aiemmassa tutkimuksessa on todettu syrjäisten ja asukasluvultaan pienten kuntien heikompi tilanne kulttuuri- ja sivistyspalveluiden saatavuudessa ja saavutettavuudessa (Lavapuro ym. 2016). Tämä asettaa eri puolilla maata ja erikokoisissa kunnissa asuvat kuntalaiset eri-arvoiseen asemaan.

Artikkelissa tarkastelimme kulttuuritoimintaa kustannusten kautta. Vaikka kustannustiedot muodostavat ainoan kaikista kunnista saatavilla olevan, vertailukelpoisen kuntien kulttuuritoimintaa koskevan aineiston, niihin liittyy useita aiemmassa tutkimuksessa todettuja ongelmia (mm. Karttunen 2003; Saukkonen & Ruusuvirta 2008). Tämä korostaa kulttuuritoimintaa koskevan tietopohjan kehittämisen ja syventämisen tarvetta kaikkien kuntien osalta. Esimerkiksi kuntien toiminnallisten erojen on todettu vaikuttavan kustannuksiin, mutta näistä eroista ei ole tietoa kaikista kunnista. Jatkotutkimus edellyttää tiedontuotannon kehittämistä. Ongelmista huolimatta kustannusten vertailu tässä artikkelissa ja aiemmassa tutkimuksessa (mm. Aluehallintovirasto 2016, 2018) osoittaa, että asukaskohtainen rahoitus on muita suurempaa kaupunkikunnissa, joissa myös palvelutarjonta on monipuolista. Siten selvää on, että kulttuuritoiminnan rahoitus kuvaa yleisellä tasolla kuntien siihen käyttämää panostusta. Erilaisten järjestämistapojen vuoksi kunnat saattavat samalla rahalla tuottaa hyvin vaihtelevia palveluja, joiden tarkasteluun aineistomme ei anna mahdollisuuksia.

Jatkotutkimuksessa myös tarkastelumenetelmä edellyttää syventämistä. Regressioanalyysin tulokset ovat herkkiä muuttujajoukon vaihtelulle ja etenkin yleisen kulttuuritoiminnan kustannusten kohdalla mallien selitysasteet jäivät mataliksi. Muuttujien keskinäistä korrelaatiota esiintyi muuttujajoukon tiivistämisestä huolimatta.

Kulttuuritoiminnan tukeminen, edistäminen ja järjestäminen on kaikkien kuntien tehtävä, joka kytkeytyy hyvinvointivaltion kulttuuripoliittisiin lähtökohtiin. Vaikka kulttuuripoliittikan tavoitteet ovat 2000-luvulle tultaessa laajentuneet, alueellisen tasaamisen lähtökohta on säilynyt. Kustannusten näkökulmasta kunnat kuitenkin toteuttavat tehtävänsä hyvin eri tavoin. Kuntien oman rahoituksen merkitys kulttuuritoiminnan järjestämisessä on keskeinen. Asukasluvultaan suuret kaupunkiseudut ovat kustannusten näkökulmasta panostaneet kulttuuripalveluihin. Muissa kunnissa näkökulma kulttuuripanostuksiin on kustannusten perusteella kapeampi. Kulttuuritoiminnalla julkisesti rahoitettuna toimintana on kuitenkin rooli hyvinvoinnin turvaamisessa ja elinkeinotoiminnan elävöittämisessä kaikenkokoisissa kunnissa.

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II

PURSUING DECENTRALISATION: REGIONAL CULTURAL POLICIES IN FINLAND AND SWEDEN

by

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Pursuing decentralisation: regional cultural policies in Finland and Sweden

Vappu Renko^a, Jenny Johannisson^b, Anita Kangas ^a and Roger Blomgren^b

^aDepartment of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland; ^bCentre for Cultural Policy Research, Swedish School of Library and Information Science, University of Borås, Borås, Sweden

ABSTRACT

In both Finland and Sweden, decentralisation has traditionally been an essential cultural policy aim. This article explores how, by pursuing decentralisation, the regional jurisdictions have been presented with more possibilities to fulfil their purposes and in this way, gain legitimacy in cultural policy. Based on the analysis of political, legal, and administrative documents, three main periods of regional decentralisation in cultural policies are identified: regions as vehicles of welfare policy, regionalisation, and competitive regions. In both countries, national governments have promoted the regional level's agency, and in doing so, potential institutional change in cultural policy. However, the increase of the regional level's role has been limited by the countries' strongly institutionalised cultural policy systems.

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Introduction

Cultural policy – in its explicit form – is what government proclaims to do for culture through its cultural administration (see Ahearne 2004, 2009). In Finland and Sweden's three-tier government systems, this cultural administration takes place at national, regional, and local levels. Each of these levels is a part of the institutionalised cultural policy system promoting culture as one of the main sectors for national, regional, and local public policies (e.g. Vestheim 1994; Kangas and Vestheim 2010, 277). In this article, we focus on the regional level and its transformed role in between the strong state and municipalities in Finland and Sweden.

While government implies the nation state's formal and institutional processes to facilitate collective action, governance has become an increasingly central concept in public policies referring to new structures, processes, mechanisms and strategies by which society is governed (e.g. Stoker 1998; Rhodes 2007; Pierre and Peters 2000; Jessop 2011; Kjær 2004; Bartolini 2011; Peters 2018). Governance identifies various actors and ways involved in governing vertically, horizontally, and across different networks. Peters (2018, 6) summarises governance as steering that includes government without privileging any particular set of actors inside or outside the public sector.

Originating from studies on European integration, the reallocation of authority points to multi-level governance that includes a variety of actors at the different levels of government and coordination of their goals, interests, and interactions (Baldersheim and Ståhlberg 2002, 78; see also Hooghe and Marks 2003; Bache and Flinders 2004). Multi-level governance presents an essential context for central–local relations and regional development in the Nordic countries (Baldersheim and Ståhlberg 2002; Fotel and Hanssen 2009, 579). Through the process of rescaling, certain functions, responsibilities, and

CONTACT Vappu Renko  vappu.m.renko@jyu.fi  Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland

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authority are transferred between different levels of state organisation (MacKinnon and Shaw 2010, 1277; Brenner 1998; Jessop 1999; Swyngedouw 2000). The promotion of the regional level's agency presents rescaling as one strategy for institutional change (Gualini 2006, 892; Brenner 2004).

Decentralisation presents a form of rescaling as a vertical shift of authority from central to more local branches of the state (Cox 2009; Mwangi and Wardell 2012; Büchs 2009, 39). Decentralisation processes are often promoted to provide greater local autonomy, increase responsiveness to local needs, and facilitate public involvement and greater local accountability. Forms of decentralisation can commonly be found in terms of resource allocation formulas, accountability frameworks, and regulatory mechanisms (e.g. OECD 2019; Kangas 2004, 137).

The international organisations have played an important role in cultural policy decentralisation and governance (e.g. Vestheim 2019; Alasuutari and Kangas 2020). Decentralisation was emphasised by UNESCO already in the 1960s in connection to the delegation of cultural policy authority to community (e.g. UNESCO 1968, 12). The Council of Europe's Cultural Policy Review Programme has since 1985 evaluated and aimed to develop national cultural policies. The programme's main components include drafting national reports, arranging visits by an independent group of experts to a specific country, publishing two reports, and holding conclusions and findings meetings (Council of Europe 2011). In the reports on Finland and Sweden, decentralisation regarding the regional level is addressed. While the regional level's significance was recognised, its role in between state and municipalities remained indistinct in reviews (Council of Europe 1989a, 1989b, 1995a, 1995b) and evaluations based on the reviews (Kawashima 1997; D'Angelo and Vesperiini 1999).

In both Finland and Sweden – with already previously decentralised structures and cultural institutions – decentralisation was acknowledged as an essential aim of the 'new cultural policy' formulated in the 1970s (e.g. *Ny kulturpolitik* 1972:66; *Kulttuuritoimintakomitean mietintö* 1974:2). The regional level's role in both countries was increasingly emphasised by the European integration and in 1995, the two countries joined the European Union actively promoting the creation of functional regions (e.g. Baldersheim and Ståhlberg 2002).

Despite similar policy aims, Finland and Sweden provide different institutional settings for decentralisation processes. Historically, Sweden is a country with hundreds of years of independence, basing its cultural policies on feudal and aristocratic traditions. Finland as a younger nation-state has developed its national cultural policies and public cultural institutions within a much shorter time span (Duelund 2008, 12). The history of the two countries is in many ways intertwined. Finland constituted a Swedish province for hundreds of years before becoming a part of Russia and gaining independence in 1917 (Kangas 2001, 58).

In regional development, the generally deployed tasks and tools in both countries are to a large extent similar (Page and Goldsmith 1988; Hansen 1993; Fotel and Hanssen 2009). The main difference is that in Sweden – a country of around 10 million inhabitants – there are 21 self-governing, directly elected regions functioning beside the central government and the local government (290 municipalities in 2020). In Finland – a country of 5,5 million inhabitants – there is no self-governing, directly elected regional body operating between the central and local government (310 municipalities in 2020). Instead, the municipalities select their representatives for regional councils. These differences point to variance in the dispersion of authority on a regional level in both countries.

In this article, we discuss the changing role of the regional level by the increasingly decentralised governmental functions and responsibilities in cultural policy in Finland and Sweden's multi-level governance systems. The underlying assumption is that there are differences in the construction of the regional level of cultural policy in these countries. We explore decentralisation towards the regional jurisdictions in cultural policies of Finland and Sweden since the 1960s until today. By pursuing decentralisation, the regional jurisdictions have been presented with more possibilities to fulfil their aims and in this way, gain legitimacy in cultural policy. We focus on different dimensions of decentralisation: political, fiscal, and administrative (see, for example, Kangas 2004; Schneider 2003; Wolman 1990). The dimensions are operationalised by regional cultural policy tools (laws and decrees, government proposals and decisions, ministries' reports and decisions) that reflect what

is being decentralised: regional actors' political power, financial resources, public authority, or responsibilities. Together, these dimensions point to the extent of decentralisation: weak (deconcentration), average (delegation) and strong (devolution). While there are country-specific analyses on regional cultural policies in Finland and Sweden (e.g. Johannisson 2010; Blomgren and Johannisson 2013, 2014; Kangas 2004; Lindqvist 2016; Lindqvist and Lorentzen 2015; Häyrynen 2003; Ilmonen 2015), as well as in other countries (e.g. Mangset 1995; Kawashima 2004; Sand 2018; Marx 2020), research focusing on the regional level's role in governance and administration in Finland and Sweden is scarce.

This article is structured as follows. The next section identifies different dimensions of regional decentralisation in the context of this article. The third section analyses regional decentralisation in Finland and Sweden during the three distinct periods identified. The article concludes with a discussion of regional decentralisation in cultural policy in the context of multi-level governance in Finland and Sweden.

Defining regional decentralisation

Both Finland and Sweden present 'local autonomy centrally framed systems' (Kazepov 2010, 56) where municipalities have high autonomy in managing and funding policies while the state defines a regulatory context to restrain territorial differentiation. With the key role of the central and local authorities, the role of the mid-level authorities (i.e. regional level) has remained minor (Kazepov 2010, 56; Barberis, Bergmark, and Minas 2010, 377). This is also the case in cultural policymaking: 'new cultural policy' meant decentralising power and responsibilities for example in service production mainly from the state towards the municipalities (e.g. Larsson and Svenson 2001, 90; Kangas 2001, 62).

Over the past decades, twofold tendencies have emphasised the role of the regional. Firstly, these tendencies include *regionalisation*, understood as 'processes of institutional or political development, during which the regions gain importance in policy-making – be it by greater autonomy or by participation in centralised politics' (Benz and Eberlein 1999, 345). Regionalisation has empirically presented itself as a state-led, top-down process where the state explicitly constructs regional centres of power (Paasi 2011, 10). Secondly, the increased emphasis on the regional level is connected to *regionalism*, a bottom-up process where regional actors aim to increase the political influence of specific regions and their residents (McCallion 2008, 584; Malmström 1998). Globalisation has resulted in the complex intertwinement of these 'from above' and 'from below' tendencies and processes. As a reflection, changes in the regional level's role have been recognised for example in social policies where the regional level's authority and responsibilities have increased (Barberis, Bergmark, and Minas 2010, 378), and in healthcare policies where new regional governance structures with larger regional units have been introduced (Hagen and Vrangbæk 2009, 122). Changes in the regional level's role in various policy fields give us reasons to examine the transfer of state power to the regional level, i.e. *regional decentralisation* in cultural policy.

In defining regional decentralisation, we can distinguish *what* is decentralised from *how* it is decentralised. Within the government systems, the standard definitions of decentralisation include three core dimensions: fiscal, administrative, and political (Schneider 2003; Kangas 2004). These dimensions are distinguished here in the context of regional decentralisation to indicate what is decentralised (see Figure 1).

Fiscal decentralisation refers to the revenues or fiscal autonomy of the regional government level (Falleti 2005, 329). A broader definition includes a financial perspective where decentralised are the economic resources allocated to the regional level, and not only the right to levy taxes. *Administrative* decentralisation describes a transfer of public authority and responsibilities to a regional government level, indicating the regional level's autonomy in relation to central control (Mueller 2015, 10; Falleti 2005, 329). *Political* decentralisation is linked to the degree to which central governments allow regional government bodies to have political power and undertake the political functions of governance, such as electoral capacities (Kangas 2004, 134–135; Falleti 2005, 329).

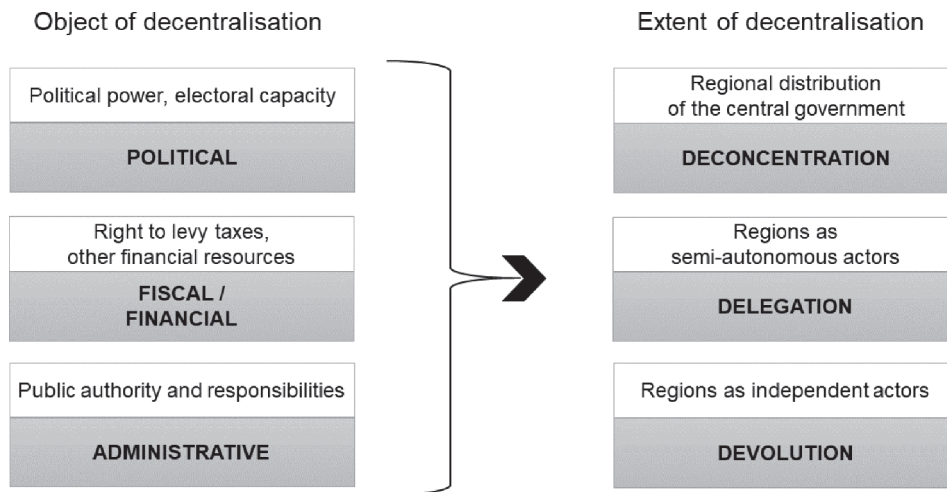


Figure 1. Object and extent of regional decentralisation.

Together, these different forms can cause different regional cultural policy outcomes, for example cultural services provided on a regional level (i.e. cultural decentralisation focusing on policy objectives and their outcomes related to the distribution of cultural resources as defined by Kawashima 2004; Duelund and Larsson 2003).

Focusing on how something is decentralised to a regional level, decentralisation is further defined by the concepts of deconcentration, devolution and delegation (Figure 1). *Deconcentration* involves the redistribution of authority only within the central government, where selected functions are taken over by the field offices of the central government on a regional level (Rossi 1999, 17). On a regional level, deconcentration allows only slightly more autonomy than centralised systems. *Delegation* refers to the transfer of policy responsibilities to a regional government level while the regional levels' operation remains largely dependent on the central government. Therefore, delegation implies slightly more autonomy for the regional level than deconcentration does (Kangas 2004, 135 – 136; Cohen and Peterson 1997, 1). *Devolution*, finally, includes central government allowing the regional level to exercise authority over specific policy fields. Devolution is presented in a transfer of authority for decision-making, finance, and management from central to regional level, for example for the regional jurisdictions to elect mayors and councils, raise their own revenues, and have independent authority to make investment decisions (World Bank 2013).

The concepts of deconcentration, delegation and devolution are generally rather uniformly defined, but they are often connected to a specific form of decentralisation (i.e. what is decentralised). Deconcentration, delegation and devolution are often associated with administrative decentralisation. However, these different forms are also applied to fiscal decentralisation (see Bird and Vaillancourt 1998, 3). It seems that the extent to which something is decentralised can refer to the regional jurisdiction's right and possibility to make decisions in a broad sense. The autonomy can be related to the regional jurisdiction's fiscal autonomy (for example, the right to levy taxes), administrative autonomy (for example, autonomy to decide on administrative matters), or political autonomy (for example, autonomy to organise elections on a regional level). Together, this autonomy reflects a combination of all forms of decentralisation.

Pursuing regional decentralisation in cultural policy

In this article, the regional cultural policy tools (administrative actors' authority, funding, and delivery of services) are examined to indicate the object (political, fiscal, and administrative decentralisation) and extent of decentralisation (deconcentration, delegation, devolution). These regional cultural policy tools are presented in the analysed documents: laws and decrees related to regional and cultural policies in Finland and Sweden; changes made to these laws and decrees; government proposals and decisions; ministries' reports and decisions; and government plans. All empirical data is listed in the Appendix (see [Appendix A](#)). All documents are available online and cover the years from 1960 to 2018. We apply content analysis (see Bowen 2009, 28) where the contents of the documents are organised into categories based on different regional policy tools. The documents analysed provide stable information on the regional cultural policy tools, covering a long time period (Bowen 2009, 28, 31).

We have chosen the documents based on their capacity to define and thus steer the regional jurisdictions' name, amount, tasks, and institutional position related to cultural policies. In a broad sense, these reflect the transfer of state power (in fiscal, administrative, and political terms) that create possibilities for the regional jurisdictions to fulfil their aims in designing and implementing cultural policy (cf. Scarpa 2016, 29). In this way, regional decentralisation brings the regional level's political legitimacy as a justification of authority to the fore (Bodansky 1999). In a multi-level context, it reflects legitimacy as 'a product of shifting norms about who should do what and how' (Elliott 2012, 368). Instead of investigating the outcomes of regional cultural policies, we aim to discuss the regional authorities' changing role by the increasingly decentralised governmental functions and responsibilities in the two countries' cultural policies.

Based on the analysis of selected documents, we identify three main periods of regional decentralisation in cultural policies Finland and Sweden: the periods of regions as vehicles of welfare policy (1960s–1980s), regionalisation (1990s–mid-2000s), and competitive regions (mid-2000s and onwards).

Regions as vehicles of welfare policy (1960s–1980s)

Following the emergence of the welfare state in the Nordic countries in the 1960s, culture was promoted as one of the main targets for national, regional, and local public policies (Kangas and Vestheim 2010, 277). As a guiding cultural policy principle, decentralisation was introduced (Kangas 2004, 133 – 134; Duelund 2008, 510). While all government levels worked together to achieve the welfare state aims of equal distribution of artistic and cultural resources to all citizens throughout the national territory, the public services were mainly channelled through municipalities.

On a regional level in Finland, the **Regional Associations** [Finnish: maakuntaliitto], established already in the 1920s, functioned as non-profit actors in their respective regions. Their member organisations included municipalities. Their tasks included to function as forums for cooperation in the fields of culture and local heritage work. Also formed by the municipalities, the **Regional Planning Associations** [Finnish: seutukaavaliitto] established in 1959 functioned as public authorities responsible for regional land use planning also related to, for example, cultural environment and placement of cultural institutions.

State's interests in the regions were promoted by the 11 **State Provincial Offices**¹ [Finnish: lääninhallitus] of which demarcations were based on historical provinces that can be traced back to the administrative reforms of the 17th century when Finland was still a part of Sweden (Haveri 1997; Reina 2012, 13 – 14). The State Provincial Offices functioned as joint regional authorities promoting national and regional objectives of seven different ministries and taking care of implementation of the central government's decisions in their respective regions. Their cultural policy tasks concentrated on administrative matters such as steering and overseeing the libraries (Kangas and Pirnes 2015, 54). Promoting the state's interests, the State Provincial Offices presented deconcentration of central power to the regional level, while the political and fiscal authority remained strictly on a national level.

Focusing on promoting the arts, the Arts Council of Finland [Finnish: Taiteen keskustoimikunta] was established in 1967 under the Ministry of Education to reflect the arms-length principle (i.e. independent experts' bodies). Under the Arts Council of Finland, the **Provincial Arts Councils** [Finnish: alueellinen taidetoimikunta] were created on regional policy grounds to independently promote artistic activities, award grants, and allocate subsidies in their respective regions (328/1967). In this case, both financial and administrative decentralisation were thus applied. The amount of the Provincial Arts Councils followed the number and regional divisions of State Provincial Offices that also appointed the members of the Provincial Arts Councils. In 1988, the Provincial Arts Councils were transferred under the State Provincial Offices, yet their autonomous decision-making position was retained within the financial limits of the central government.

In Finland, the welfare state period mainly presented administrative decentralisation towards the jurisdictions in regional cultural policy. Political decentralisation took place only on a local level. Regional decentralisation presented a mix of deconcentration and delegation as the state distributed cultural policy authority among government levels (i.e. to State Provincial Offices) or to semi-autonomous government organisations (i.e. to Provincial Arts Councils), and the municipalities further transferred their public authority and responsibilities to the Regional Associations. During the same time, a committee report (KM 1974:2) and following legislation emphasised a need for an independent cultural policy on the local level, resulting in municipal cultural boards and Finnish municipalities' increasing role in cultural policies.

The strong priorities of welfare state cultural policy were conveyed to the regions through regional actors' cultural plans. Cultural planning was strong at the regional level and plans were drawn up by all the above-mentioned actors in the 1970s and 1980s.

In Sweden, the **counties** [Swedish: län] represented the central government on a regional level. Like the Finnish provinces, the Swedish counties can be traced back to the administrative reforms by the then-monarchy in the 1630s, and their demarcations have basically remained the same since 1810. In the 1970s, there were 24 counties governed by **County Administrative Boards** [Swedish: länsstyrelse], a national government authority led by a County Governor [Swedish: landshövding] representing the state in their respective regions. In the 1970s, the County Administrative Boards were given a more explicit coordinating role (SOU 1974:84). The County Administrative Board's primary tasks were to coordinate the interests and efforts of both other national government authorities and the municipalities, as well as the interests of industry and civil society, to promote regional development. Related to cultural heritage, the County Administrative Boards had, and still have, supervisory responsibilities (SFS 2007:825). It was also possible for individuals and organisations to apply for grants from the boards. While the County Administrative Boards thus constituted an example of deconcentration of national governing power at the regional level, they could not have any significant influence over regional cultural policymaking apart from cultural heritage.

When the county reform was implemented in the 1630s, it included the abolishment of **county councils** [Swedish: landsting] as the political decision-making body of the then self-governing landscapes [Swedish: landskap]. Self-governing, politically elected county councils were reintroduced into the Swedish political system in the major municipal reform of 1862. The need for a more efficient regional and local administration as a consequence of industrialisation was the primary argument for this reform. Interestingly though, even if the reform was decided in political consensus, there were different ideological views on whether the reform aimed to strengthen central state power on the one hand or the individual citizen's rights on the other (Pettersson 2019, 85). Self-determination, including power of taxation at both the regional and local levels in Sweden, are evident examples of devolution of central power to regional and local political entities. The county councils' primary responsibilities are issues demanding a larger source of tax revenue than that of a single municipality. Therefore, county councils were by national legislation responsible for public healthcare and public transport. For county councils – as well as municipalities – measures in the cultural policy field were voluntary, making devolution seem absolute. However, in the field of cultural heritage, county councils and municipalities were bound by national legislation (SFS 1988:950).

Published in the 1970s, a comprehensive Swedish Government Official Report (SOU 1972:66), led up to the still decisive parliamentary decision on cultural policy of 1974 (Kungl. Maj:t:s prop. 1974:28). The report also spoke of the need for an independent regional cultural policy, yet this suggestion was not confirmed by the following parliamentary decision (Blomgren 2012, 525 – 526).

In both Finland and Sweden, the regional level's role in cultural policy during the welfare state was under construction. New regional jurisdictions in cultural policies were established with similar regional boundaries. Regions presented vehicles for promoting the welfare-state cultural policy including public cultural service system and cultural planning. In Sweden, several initiatives to increase regional political autonomy also in cultural policy were taken. In Finland, while the regional authorities held autonomy, the self-governing county councils were only discussed (e.g. Mykkänen 2016).

Regionalisation (1990s–mid-2000s)

In the 1990s, the decentralisation processes took a new trajectory in the Nordic countries as state intervention was considerably reduced. The arguments for decentralisation changed as a reflection of a new ideological wave and as a reaction to the economic stagnation (Mangset 1995, 73 – 74). The neoliberal turn introduced the concepts of new public management, technology, innovation, globalisation, and creative industries in the cultural policy discourse, causing noticeable changes in Nordic countries' cultural policy objectives (Kangas and Vestheim 2010, 278; Duelund 2008, 17; Mangset et al. 2008). Rhetorically, the arguments stressing the collective elements of decentralisation (increasing democracy, transferring power from central to local bodies, strengthening local culture) gradually shifted to arguments emphasising more individualistic elements (effectiveness and efficiency in the cultural sector, closer connection between economy and culture) (Kangas 2004, 133).

In practice, the emphasis on effectiveness was reflected in an emphasis of performance management in the public administration of cultural policy and other policy sectors (Kangas and Pirnes 2015, 45 – 46). Simultaneously, decentralised structures increasingly permeated cultural policy decision-making and administration. Regionalisation processes were strengthened when both Finland and Sweden joined the European Union in 1995.

In Finland, the number of the State Provincial Offices representing the central government on a regional level was decreased from 11 to five (Southern Finland, Eastern Finland, Lapland, Western Finland, Oulu) in 1997. At the same time, tasks related to culture and cultural environment were transferred to the established Centres for Environment and Employment (57/1995) and the Economic and Development Centres (23/1997). In the following year, Provincial Arts Councils' amount was differentiated from the number of State Provincial Offices, resulting in 13 **Regional Arts Councils**. In neither case did the changes affect the regional authorities' cultural policy roles.

Simultaneously, the system for municipal representation on a regional level was transformed. At the beginning of 1994, the Regional Associations and Regional Planning Associations were joined, creating new **Regional Councils** mandated by law (1135/1993) as public authorities responsible for regional development and land use planning. The Regional Councils' assemblies were and remain formed by municipal council members and chosen in relation to municipalities' size and distribution of political power on a local level. Therefore, the Regional Councils' decision-making reflects the results of municipal elections and thus implies the decentralisation of political power to the local level of government.

As Finland entered the European Union, the Regional Councils' cultural policy role expanded as they were made responsible for managing and allocating European Union's Structural Funds programmes in their respective regions (7/2014, 8/2014). This shift reflected regionalisation with the regional level gaining importance also in cultural policymaking. In the context of broader regional development, the Regional Councils were granted a broader role in the fields of creative economy and cultural policy. Elements of promoting creative industries were transferred on a regional level.

In Sweden, the County Administrative Boards continued to represent the central government on a regional level, but the independent county councils' cultural policy role underwent reform. In the mid-1990s, the county councils took a major initiative to increase regional political autonomy in relation to the then ongoing national government report on cultural policy (SOU 1995:84). The arguments were partly fuelled by the more independent and self-sufficient role of regions then advocated by the EU. They were also inspired by the parallel national government report on regional self-governance (SOU 1995:27), which resulted in a parliamentary decision with far-reaching consequences (SFS 1996:1414).

Firstly, in Western and Southern Sweden, several counties were merged into two larger ones. Secondly, in the same territories, several county councils were merged into two larger ones. Thirdly, the responsibility for regional growth was transferred from the County Administrative Boards to these larger county councils, who were then given the right to call themselves regions (Region Västra Götaland, 1.5 million inhabitants, and Region Skåne, 1.2 million inhabitants). These developments resulted in **regions** on a trial basis. In Sweden, regionalisation was therefore supplemented by regionalism, including the ambition to increase the political influence of specific regions and their residents. Interestingly, this process of regional decentralisation ran parallel with a process that resulted in the first national library act (SFS 1996:1596), thus limiting the acting space of both regions and municipalities in the public library field. Generally, and unlike in Finland, legislation is a governing tool rarely used by the Swedish government in cultural policy. While the reorganisation at the regional level would seem to reflect political devolution, the state simultaneously introduced increased elements of centralisation.

In both Finland and Sweden, the period of regionalisation brought an emphasis on the regional level and furthered the processes to shape functional regions. Entering the European Union also emphasised the international level that became more influential along with the national, regional, and local levels. As the aims and demands of regional development were increased, also the role of culture in regional development was highlighted, affecting regional cultural policy instruments and financing. In Sweden, regionalisation was supplemented by regionalism, an ambition to increase the political influence of specific regions and their residents (Malmström 1998). In Finland, despite an aim to create a regional government level like that of Sweden, the lack of a system for regional self-government remained, preserving the national and local levels as key actors in the field of cultural policy. In pursuing regional decentralisation, increasing aims of effectiveness were reflected in creating larger regional units with broader tasks in both Finland and Sweden. These amalgamations of regional units can relate to strengthening regional government level and governance tendencies.

Competitive regions (mid-2000s and onwards)

Entering the 2000s, the period of competitive regions emphasised efficiency and differentiation for example in privatisation, competition, and selection in the public sector (Julkunen 2017, 258). On a regional level, this period implies an overall strategy to make the regions more competitive on a global market. In a Swedish context, market-oriented arguments in favour of a strengthened regional level were introduced already in the 1990s (Johannisson 2010). Still, such arguments were integrated into a more general cultural policy framework from the mid-2000s and onwards. In both countries, regional cultural policy was connected as a central element in regional development. The regional government level actors were transformed into multifunctional entities combining different tasks, values, and organisational forms. The increasing variety of actors and ways involved in governing presented a shift towards governance.

In Finland, the provinces were abolished at the beginning of the 2010s as the regional administration reform grouped together and reorganised the functions and tasks of six different agencies – State Provincial Offices included. The stated aim was to clarify the roles, duties, steering and regional divisions of regional government authorities. Two new regional authorities were created: **Regional**

State Administrative Agencies [Finnish: aluehallintovirasto, AVI] with six offices and **Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment** [Finnish: elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskus, ELY] with 15 offices (896/2009, 897/2009). The larger regional units and combined tasks reflected competition state tendencies. Despite of the aim of clarification, the division of cultural policy tasks was not distinct. Tasks related to libraries – mainly in terms of financial decentralisation – were first addressed to Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment in 2010. In 2014, they were transferred to Regional State Administrative Agencies.

Currently, the Regional State Administrative Agencies' main cultural policy tasks include evaluating basic public services, including cultural services, in their respective regions as well as redistributing state funding in the fields of library and youth services. Besides administrative decentralisation, the tasks present decentralisation of financial resources. The six Regional State Administrative Agencies' responsibilities do not entirely follow the borders of their respective jurisdictions. For example, the Southern Finland office has national oversight in the administration and development of public libraries' statistical databases and coordination of libraries' customer enquiries. This presents a dispersion of the distinctly defined areas of the regional jurisdictions.

The Regional Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment have three main areas of responsibility: Business and industry, labour force competence and cultural activities; Transport and infrastructure; and Environment and natural resources where they function as public authorities and channel public funding. In practice, some of the 15 centres only have one or two areas of responsibility. Therefore, some centres with all three areas of responsibility function also in other regions besides their own. In the context of the main areas of responsibility, the centres' cultural policy role focuses on creative economy.

In 2008, the **Regional Arts Councils** started to function under direction of the Arts Council of Finland instead of the State Provincial Councils, clarifying their administrative position in supporting the arts (1236/2007). However, the power to appoint the Regional Arts Councils was transferred to Regional Councils. In the beginning of 2013, the Arts Council of Finland was replaced with the Arts Promotion Centre, again affecting the Regional Arts Councils' position. The Regional Arts Councils started to function as the Arts Promotion Centre Finland's expert bodies in regional matters and their members were also appointed by the Arts Promotion Centre. In this context, the Regional Arts Councils lost their previously independent decision-making power, and their role was limited to administrative matters. However, the decision-making power related to supporting the arts remains. The Arts Promotion Centre Finland has 40 regional artists who initiate and carry out national and regional arts promotion projects throughout Finland implementing the Arts Promotion Centre Finland's development programmes. This dispersion of distinct regions makes regional cultural policy more indistinct.

In 2021, the changes in Finnish regional administration are still ongoing. Until the beginning of 2019, a health, social services, and regional government reform was prepared. The reform aimed to establish 18 new counties and reform the structure, services and funding of health and social services as well as to transfer new duties to the counties from Centres for Economic Development, Regional State Administrative Agencies, Regional Councils and other joint municipal authorities and municipalities. These duties were related for example to regional development and the promotion of regional culture and identity. In many respects, the planned new counties reminded of the self-governing, politically elected county councils in Sweden. However, the Finnish counties would not have had their own taxation power but be financed by the state, indicating political but not fiscal decentralisation. Affected by problems in preparation and upcoming political elections, the reform was cancelled. However, the political discussions related to the reform are still ongoing.

In Sweden, the period of competitive regions brought along similar discussions related to the regional level's role. A national government report on regional self-governance (SOU 2007:10) suggested that from six to nine regions would substitute the county councils of today, but this suggestion was not introduced to parliament due to the lack of political support. A similar suggestion by an additional Swedish Government Official Report in 2016 (SOU 2016:48) met the same fate.

Still, county councils were given a possibility to apply for the right to call themselves regions, granted that they are given decision-making power over regional growth. Today, Sweden consists of 21 county councils that were in 2019 all given the right to officially call themselves regions.

The regions played an important part in one of the key administrative reforms in Swedish cultural policy since the 1970s, the so-called Cultural Cooperation Model. The model was introduced in 2011 (SOU 2009:16; prop. 2009/10:3), and today, all regions except the capital region of Stockholm are included. Reflecting primarily administrative decentralisation, it is a new way of allocating national government funding to regional cultural activities that were previously earmarked directly at the national government level by the Swedish Arts Council.

In the Cultural Cooperation Model, national funding is granted as a general subsidy by the Swedish Arts Council, based on a 'cultural plan' that each region is responsible for producing in cooperation with municipalities and in dialogue with the cultural sector and civil society. The emphasis on cooperation and inclusion of various actors reflects governance tendencies. The model could be said to be the national government's answer to the regional government's request since the 1970s and onwards; that the political and fiscal autonomy of the latter should not be overly circumscribed by national administrative regulation. While the budget routines have changed and now involve increased dialogue between national, regional, and local levels of government and between policymakers and cultural workers, the model includes several elements that promote administrative centralisation rather than decentralisation. The cultural activities that are eligible for national government support are nationally regulated, as well as instruments for follow-up and evaluation (SFS 2010:2012). Even if it is too soon to truly assess the consequences of the model, research so far shows that this administrative reform, presenting itself as a decentralisation reform, has rather increased national government control over regional cultural policy (Blomgren and Johannisson 2013, 2014). Even though the Swedish regional bodies formally enjoy greater autonomy in cultural policy than before the Cultural Cooperation Model was introduced, it would seem as if they are in practice primarily subjected to regional delegation.

In both Finland and Sweden, the period of competitive regions has included aims and actions to emphasise the role of the regional level. The national government levels have been transferring economic power and responsibility to regions as well as to groups of municipalities (see also Myndigheten för kulturanalys 2018, 17). In Finland, the number of regional cultural policy actors has increased while their tasks have been diverged, creating administrative silos. Decentralisation has been a tool for promoting economic efficiency and flexibility by decentralising the administration of economic, social, and public policies – including cultural policies – to regional and local levels (see also Lobao, Martin, and Rodríguez-Pose 2009, 4). In Finland, the transfer of authority to the regional level has taken place as deconcentration where the state has redistributed authority only within the central government. The transfer of the authority to the regional government bodies has taken place administratively but it has not been based on regional policy or distinctions. In the Swedish Cultural Cooperation Model, there are many elements promoting centralisation rather than decentralisation. Therefore, the competitive regions period can be said to reflect tendencies of (re)centralisation of regional cultural policies in both Finland and Sweden.

Concluding remarks

In the multi-level governance systems in both Finland and Sweden, pursuing decentralisation in cultural policy has aimed at changing the role of the regional level. By creating regional jurisdictions and allocating cultural policy authority, national governments have been promoting the regional level's agency, and in that way, potential institutional change. Seemingly, many reforms have been made and various changes have been carried out in the regional jurisdictions' structure and cultural policy tools. Nevertheless, the regional level's role has remained minor and limited in both countries' strongly institutionalised cultural policy systems.

Pierson (2004, 22 – 23) has stated that the longer an institution exists, the greater are the investments and adaptations in the institution, and the more difficult to undertake significant institutional change. When institutions have been established through complex struggles and bargaining among organised groups, they have a continuing effect on subsequent decision-making, policy, and the processes for building new institutions (Kangas and Vestheim 2010). This kind of path dependency is apparent also in the development of regional cultural policy in Finland and Sweden. The two countries' different historical backgrounds and established institutional contexts have limited the possibilities for change in the role of the regional level and created differences in what and how has been decentralised. Key differences between these institutional contexts are the self-governing and politically elected county councils that were reintroduced into the Swedish political system in the 19th century. In Finland, similar regional jurisdictions have not been created in the context of the established position of the strong state and municipalities.

Pursuing regional decentralisation in Finland and Sweden has followed similar paths which we have identified as three distinct periods: regions as vehicles of welfare policy (1960s–1980s), regionalisation (1990s–mid-2000s), and competitive regions (mid-2000s and onwards). During these periods, the regional levels in both Finland and Sweden have received capacities and gained new roles in fulfilling shifting cultural policy needs. This can be seen as a process of legitimisation, where cultural policy legitimacy on a regional level has been claimed, justified, and accepted (e.g. von Billerbeck and Gippert 2017). This legitimacy has given the regional jurisdictions authority to function and make accepted decisions in a multi-level context. However, the countries' ways of doing regional decentralisation are different in terms of object and extent. While Finland has applied mainly administrative decentralisation, in Sweden also political and fiscal decentralisation have been applied. The extent of decentralisation in Finland has mainly been limited to deconcentration and delegation, while Sweden has also applied devolution. These differences are connected to the key differences between the roles of regions in the two countries' institutional contexts.

In both countries, pursuing regional decentralisation has been affected by international organisations' external influences. UNESCO's aims of promoting a broad provision of arts and cultural services and guaranteeing access to these services by establishing a cultural service system to cover different parts of the country are visible in the basic idea behind the welfare state's cultural policies including the promotion of arts and culture as an autonomous social sphere (see, for example, Duelund 2008). The European Union has in both countries affected structural adjustments and created arguments for promoting the regional level. These external influences can be interpreted as isomorphic and coercive pressures, i.e. forces that persuade and trigger institutions to pattern or recreate themselves towards, for example, the model of the international organisations and, consequently, towards homogeneity (e.g. DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 1991). While they are visible in the similarity of the periods of regional decentralisation in Finland and Sweden, the countries' key institutional differences have remained.

The different ways of organising the regional level in the two countries reflect these institutional differences. In Finland, cultural policy authority has been transferred to an increasing amount of regional government bodies and one distinct regional authority in cultural policy seems to be lacking. Here, the regional level includes complex and fluid, overlapping jurisdictions as well as functionally specific jurisdictions as required by specific governance demands. In Sweden, the county councils (*regions*) have remained the key regional cultural policy authority. They oversee, for example, coordinating and formulating the cultural plans required in the Cultural Cooperation Model. Here, multi-level governance on a regional level presents the dispersion of authority to a limited number of non-overlapping jurisdictions.

In Sweden, the established representative regional level has in some ways been able to promote the regional level's cultural policy agency. An important case in hand is the reallocation of authority towards the regional level as the Cultural Cooperation Model instigated a public debate on the role of the regional level in cultural policy. In Finland, it seems that partly because of the lack of a distinct

regional cultural policy authority, the regional actors have not been able or interested in affecting rescaling processes in cultural policy in a way similar to Sweden.

In both countries, the main idea of promoting arts and culture as an autonomous social sphere remains and is realised by organisations supporting and promoting the arts (Arts Promotion Centre in Finland and the Swedish Arts Council in Sweden). Still, the regional level's role is different between countries. The Swedish Arts Council formally operates on the state level involving the regions as vehicles for state policy. At the same time, the Arts Promotion Centre Finland's operations are officially carried out by actors on a regional level but directed by the state-level agency. This presents a difference in allocating authority in arts policy on a regional level.

In this article, we have presented how institutional changes in Finnish and Swedish cultural policies have been concretised by a creation, reformation, and discontinuation of regional jurisdictions in cultural policies. Regional decentralisation has been done in both countries as a response to different ideologies and needs on how to organise the public sector. As a result, the political-administrative systems in the countries' cultural policies have been changed. However, the established role of the state in both countries' cultural policies seems to remain. Even in Sweden with a representative regional level, the state holds a lot of authority in regional cultural policies in terms of funding. In this way, while the regional level's cultural policy agency has been developed, it remains limited. Further research is needed on how the authority and legitimacy gained by the regional level so far have affected the regional cultural policy processes as well as the regional levels' operations on the cultural field, and in terms of people's access to cultural activities, what kind of outcomes the process of regional decentralisation has brought.

Note

1. Excluding Åland Islands region with an autonomous status.

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Notes on contributors

Vappu Renko is a doctoral student at the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of Jyväskylä. Her research interests include local and regional cultural policies in Finland and other Nordic countries.

Jenny Johannisson is associate professor of Library and Information Science at the Swedish School of Library and Information Science, University of Borås. Her research interests primarily include local and regional cultural policies against the backdrop of globalization processes.

Anita Kangas, PhD, is Professor Emerita of Cultural Policy at the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of Jyväskylä. Her research and publications focus on four major areas: cultural participation; cultural institutions and governance; arts and culture in sustainable development; and history and theory of cultural policy.

Roger Blomgren is professor of Library and Information Science at the Swedish School of Library and Information Science, University of Borås. His primary research interests include motifs for political engagement in the cultural sector, as well as power structures within the cultural policy field.

ORCID

Anita Kangas  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7962-8225>

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Appendix A. Empirical data.

Finland	Empirical data
Laws and decrees	<p>Building Act (Rakennuslaki 370/1958)</p> <p>Act on the Number of Provinces (Laki läänien luvusta 201/1962)</p> <p>Promotion of the Arts Act (Laki taiteen edistämisen järjestelystä 328/1967)</p> <p>- Amendment (1236/2007)</p> <p>- Statute (Valtioneuvoston asetus taiteen edistämisen järjestelystä annetun asetuksen muuttamisesta 1237/2007)</p> <p>- Amendment (Valtioneuvoston asetus taiteen edistämisen järjestelystä annetun asetuksen 11 §:n muuttamisesta 1201/2010)</p> <p>State Provincial Offices Act (Lääninhallituslaki 1233/1987)</p> <p>- Amendment (22/1997)</p> <p>Regional Development Act (Laki alueiden kehittämisestä 1135/1993)</p> <p>- Amendment (1651/2009)</p> <p>- Amendment (Laki alueiden kehittämisestä ja rakennerahastotoiminnan hallinnoinnista 7/2014)</p> <p>- Amendment (Laki alueiden kehittämisen ja rakennerahastohankkeiden rahoittamisesta 8/2014)</p> <p>- Statute (Valtioneuvoston asetus alueiden kehittämisestä ja rakennerahastotoiminnan hallinnoinnista 356/2014)</p> <p>Statute on Centres for Environment and Employment (Asetus alueellisista ympäristökeskuksista (57/1995)</p> <p>Act on the Economic and Development Centres (Laki työvoima- ja elinkeinokeskuksista 23/1997)</p> <p>Act on the Regional State Administrative Agencies (Laki aluehallintovirastoista 896/2009)</p> <p>- Amendment (Laki aluehallintovirastoista annetun lain muuttamisesta 932/2013)</p> <p>Act on the Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (Laki elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskuksista 897/2009)</p> <p>- Decree (Valtioneuvoston asetus elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskuksista 1373/2018)</p> <p>- Amendment (Laki elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskuksista annetun lain 3 §:n muuttamisesta 933/2013)</p> <p>- Decree (Laki elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskuksista annetun lain muuttamisesta 1131/2014)</p> <p>- Statute (Valtioneuvoston asetus elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskuksista 1392/2014)</p> <p>Act on the Finnish Arts Promotion Centre (Laki Taiteen edistämiskeskuksesta 657/2012)</p> <p>- Decree (Valtioneuvoston asetus Taiteen edistämiskeskuksesta 727/2012)</p> <p>Public Libraries Act (Kirjastolaki 904/1998)</p> <p>- Amendment (Laki kirjastolain 6 ja 7 §:n muuttamisesta 935/2013)</p> <p>- Amendment (Laki yleisistä kirjastoista 1492/2016)</p> <p>Act on Financing Education and Culture (Laki opetus- ja kulttuuritoimen rahoituksesta 1705/2009)</p> <p>- Amendment (Laki opetus- ja kulttuuritoimen rahoituksesta annetun lain muuttamisesta 938/2013)</p>
Government proposals and decisions	<p>Government proposal HE 95/1989 (Hallituksen esitys Eduskunnalle maakuntaliittojen ja seutukaavaliittojen yhdistämisen mahdollistavaksi lainsäädännöksi)</p> <p>Government resolution 147/1998 (Valtioneuvoston päätös maakunnista)</p> <p>Government proposal HE 52/2012 (Hallituksen esitys eduskunnalle laeiksi Taiteen edistämiskeskuksesta, valtion taiteilija-apurahoista annetun lain muuttamisesta ja alueiden kehittämisestä annetun lain muuttamisesta)</p> <p>Government proposal HE 114/2013 (Hallituksen esitys eduskunnalle laeiksi aluehallintovirastoista annetun lain ja eräiden siihen liittyvien lakien muuttamisesta)</p> <p>Government proposal HE 14/2018 (Hallituksen esitys eduskunnalle maakuntaudistuksen täytäntöönpanoa sekä valtion lupa-, ohjaus- ja valvontatehtävien uudelleenorganisointia koskeväksi lainsäädännöksi)</p>

(Continued)



Appendix A. (Continued).

Finland		Empirical data
Ministries' reports and decisions	Cultural Committee Report (Kulttuuritoimintakomitean mietintö [KM] 1974:2) Government Arts Policy Report 1978 (Hallituksen taidepoliittinen selonteko) Cultural Policy Report 1982 (Kulttuuripoliittinen selonteko) Government Cultural Policy Report 1993 (Valtioneuvoston kulttuuripoliittinen selonteko eduskunnalle) Ministry of Education. 2005. Report of the committee on the development of the arts council system. 2005:41. Government report on the future of culture. 2018. (Valtioneuvoston selonteko kulttuurin tulevaisuudesta. Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriön julkaisu 2011:8.) Ministry of Education and Culture's decision 2012 (Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriön päätös Taiteen edistämiskeskuksen aluetoimipisteistä 11.12.2012) Ministry of Education and Culture. 2018. Arts and culture as part of regional development; Outlook for 2025.	
Sweden		Empirical data
Laws and decrees	Cultural environment act (SFS 1988:950 Kulturmiljölag.) Act on a reformed regional organisation on a trial basis. (SFS 1996:1414. Lag om försöksverksamhet med ändrad regional ansvarsfördelning.) Library Act. (SFS 1996:1596. Bibliotekslag.) Decree on County Administrative Boards. (SFS 2007:825. Förordning med länstyrelseinstruktion.) Decree on the distribution of certain national subsidies to regional cultural activities. (SFS 2010:2012. Förordning om fördelning av vissa statsbidrag till regional kulturverksamhet.)	
Government proposals and decisions	Government proposal on state cultural policy. (Kungl. Maj:ts prop. 1974:28. Den statliga kulturpolitiken.) Government proposal on cultural policy. (Prop. 2009/10:3. Tid för kultur.)	
Ministries' reports and decisions	Swedish Government Official Report on cultural policy. (SOU 1972:66. Ny kulturpolitik.) Swedish Government Official Report on co-operation between national and local levels of government. (SOU 1974:84. Stat och kommun i samverkan.) Swedish Government Official Report on the future of regions. (SOU 1995:27. Regional framtid.) Swedish Government Official Report on cultural policy. (SOU 1995:84. Kulturpolitikens inriktning.) Swedish Government Official Report on a reformed regional organisation. (SOU 2007:10. Hållbar samhällsorganisation med utvecklingskraft, Ansvarskommitténs slutbetänkande.) Swedish Government Official Report on cultural policy. (SOU 2009:16. Betänkande av kulturutredningen.) Swedish Government Official Report on a reformed regional organisation. (SOU 2016:48. Regional indelning – tre nya län.)	



III

MAKING REGIONAL CULTURAL POLICY: REGIONAL GOVERNMENT BODIES' CULTURAL POLICY ACTIVITIES IN FINLAND

by

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Making regional cultural policy: regional government bodies' cultural policy activities in Finland

Vappu Renko

Doctoral student, Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of Jyväskylä

Vappu Renko is a doctoral student at the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of Jyväskylä. Her research interests include local and regional cultural policies in Finland and other Nordic countries.

vappu.m.renko@jyu.fi

Abstract

In Finnish cultural policy, power and responsibilities have been distributed to various regional government bodies and a distinct regional authority is lacking. This presents a notable difference to Sweden where the self-governing and politically elected assemblies at the regional level function as key regional cultural policy authorities. This article examines how the regional government bodies in Finland are participating in cultural policymaking in contrast to Sweden by recognising different activities that are carried out by the regional level. The analysis is conducted in two case regions (Central Finland and Värmland) based on interview data, legislation and policy documents. The results show that the sets of activities carried out by the regional government bodies are not limited to actual managing of the realisation process but include decisions about the content of a policy and formulation of and decision making about desired outcomes. Key themes related to these activities are *demarcation* (i.e. defining culture as a policy field), *discretion* (i.e. deciding on operations) and *mediation* (i.e. connecting actors). The regional level is not only mechanically implementing given cultural policies but actively participating in cultural policymaking. At the same time, in Finland many factors potentially challenge the regional level's cultural policy relevance and, as a result, regional cultural policy legitimacy.

Keywords

regional cultural policy, Finland, Sweden, policymaking, implementation

Introduction

In the three-tier government systems, cultural policy power and responsibilities are often distributed to national, regional and local levels. In Finnish cultural policy, the national and local levels have traditionally been emphasised. Within the regional level, power and responsibilities have been distributed to various regional government bodies and a distinct regional authority is lacking. This presents a notable difference to Sweden where the self-governing and politically elected assemblies at the regional level function as key regional cultural policy authorities. This article analyses how the regional government bodies in Finland are participating in cultural policymaking in contrast to Sweden with a different regional structure.

In both Finland and Sweden, the regional government level in cultural policy has been constructed by the transfer of state power to the regional level, i.e. regional decentralisation

in cultural policy. Both countries have pursued regional decentralisation following the periods of regions as vehicles of welfare policy (1960s–1980s), regionalisation (1990s–mid-2000s) and competitive regions (mid-2000s and onwards). During these periods, the regional level's role and structure in cultural policy have been changed, and it has received new policy tools and capacities in fulfilling shifting cultural policy needs. (Renko et al. 2021).

At the same time, various reform trends have affected policymaking in both countries. Presenting somewhat varying ideas and approaches, the most influential reform trends in (cultural) policymaking have included traditional public administration (PA), New Public Management (NPM) and New Public Governance (NPG) (Osborne 2006, 2009). Elements of these reform trends have complemented and supplemented each other through a process of layering (Greve et al. 2020: 697; Christensen and Lægheid 2011).

PA emphasises hierarchy and vertical line management, highlighting a central role of the bureaucracy in policymaking (Osborne 2006: 382). In the Nordic countries, this included assigning the expanding welfare functions and services to local and regional authorities, signifying a specific “Nordic model” of local and regional welfare systems (Löfgren and Ringholm 2009: 505).

In the 1980s and 1990s, new modernisation programmes inspired by NPM were implemented aiming toward greater efficiency – often in economic terms – within the public sector (Peters 2011: 7; Löfgren and Ringholm 2009: 505). NPM approached policymaking at least partially disengaged from implementation that was ideally conducted through various competing actors within a horizontally organised marketplace (Osborne 2006: 382). Competitiveness was also present in the perception of culture as an instrument in regional development (e.g. Alexander et al. 2017). In both Finland and Sweden, the reforms influenced by NPM have in many ways changed the structure of state administration (Yliaska 2014; Herranen 2015; Sundström 2006; Hall 2013).

During the recent decades, new network modes of local and regional governance have presented a clear departure from the traditional representative chain of command (Löfgren and Ringholm 2009: 506, 513). These reflect NPG emphasis on collaboration and cooperation among and between public sector and other actors (e.g., Greve et al. 2020: 702; Osborne 2006: 382, 384). Governance suggests the inclusion of multiple actors and their networks in policymaking.

The processes described above have in many ways affected the regional level's operating possibilities in cultural policy by changing its structures, power and responsibilities. Various changes have been recognised in both Finland and Sweden's regional levels in cultural policy (Duelund and Larsson 2003; Renko et al. 2021), including a connection of culture and regional development (e.g. Bassand 1993; Lindqvist and Lorentzen 2015). Previous studies in Finland have addressed the regional government actors, structures and funding instruments (Kangas and Pirnes 2015; Pekkala 2012; Jakonen and Mitchell 2014) as well as arguments for regional cultural policy (Häyrynen 2002). In Sweden, geographical and discursive shifts in regional cultural policy (Johannisson 2009) as well as regional cultural policy implementation with focus on museums (Lindqvist 2016) have been examined.

Many Swedish studies have focused on the planning, implementation and implications of the Cultural Cooperation Model (Swedish: kultursamverkansmodellen) at the regional level (see, for example, Blomgren and Johannisson 2013, 2014, 2015). First introduced in 2011, the model granted the regions the right not only to receive national government funding as a lump sum but to reallocate this funding based on regional cultural plans formed in cooperation with municipalities and in dialogue with the cultural sector and civil society.

This article focuses on Finland where changes in the regional level's operating possibilities in cultural policy have been recognised, but it remains unclear how the regional government bodies are currently making use of these possibilities by participating in regional cultural policymaking. From a government perspective, the regional level has often been addressed as a uniform whole that is rather mechanistically implementing either the national or the local level policies. Here, I aim to broaden this view by analysing what is actually happening at the regional level in terms of cultural policymaking, instead of assuming the activities that different regional government bodies carry out.

I am approaching the regional level from a government perspective, focusing on the regional government bodies with cultural policy power and responsibilities. In Finland, these government bodies include the regional councils; the Regional State Administrative Agencies; the Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment; and the Arts Promotion Centre's regional offices and arts councils. To address this multiplicity, I understand policymaking as a framework that consists of various actors, layers, situations and activities. By suggesting the inclusion of multiple actors and their networks in policymaking, this framework formulated by Michael Hupe and Peter Hill (2002, 2006) differs from viewing policymaking as a sequence of consecutive stages.

In the policymaking framework, *sets of activities* present the ways by which the regional actors make use of their operating possibilities. The activities can be related to decisions about the content of a policy and on the organisational arrangements for its delivery (*constitutive set of activities*), formulation of and decision making about desired outcomes (*directive set of activities*) and actual managing the realisation process (*operational set of activities*) (Hupe and Hill 2006: 21, 23). I focus on the activities conducted by the Finnish regional government bodies, but contrast and reflect them to Sweden. My aim is not to compare the two countries' regional cultural policies as such but instead – by focusing on the two case regions of Central Finland and Värmland – to analyse the implications of different institutional contexts and features (mainly the lack of self-governing regions in cultural policy in Finland) for regional cultural policymaking.

The article is structured as follows. The next section briefly describes the regional structures for cultural policy in Finland and Sweden. The third section introduces data and methods. The fourth section discusses the recognised activities and key themes related to these activities in regional cultural policy in Central Finland and Värmland. The article concludes with a discussion.

Regional structures for cultural policy

Both Finland and Sweden represent a Nordic administrative model and tradition (e.g. Læg-reid 2018; Greve et al. 2016, 2020; in cultural policy Duelund 2008). On a national level, ministries and semi-independent central agencies present core bodies in both countries (Greve et al. 2020: 699–700). On a local level, the municipalities enjoy extensive local self-autonomy (Lähteenmäki-Smith 2006: 24). In between, the regional level consists of multiple government bodies that have their distinct position and tasks as a part of the administrative structures for cultural affairs. These bodies include regional councils and state administration on a regional level. (Figure 1.)

In Finland – unlike in Sweden – the geographical borders of different regional government actors are not completely overlapping. Instead, multiple spatial boundaries form various regional entities rather than certain, distinct regions.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES FOR CULTURAL AFFAIRS ON A REGIONAL LEVEL

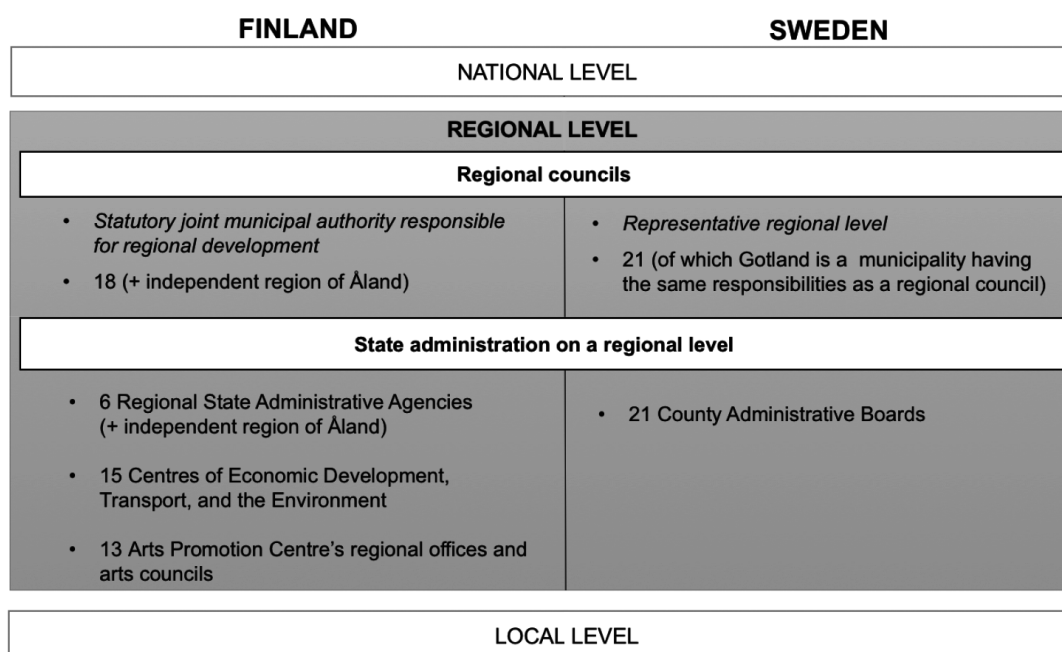


Figure 1. Administrative structures for cultural affairs on a regional level.

In Finland, the 18 regional councils are statutory joint municipal authorities that are mandated by law as public authorities responsible for regional development and land use planning. Their tasks include strategic planning and development also regarding culture as a part of implementing the regional plans. Every municipality must be a member of a regional council. While the regional councils receive state funding, they are independent public officials with their respective decision-making organs formed by the representatives of the municipalities. In this way, the local politicians operate also on a regional level.

In Sweden, the 21 regional councils are self-governing authorities governed by a regional assembly. The assembly is directly elected by the citizens every four years. The Swedish regional councils formulate their respective cultural policies in a cultural plan that is required in the Swedish Cultural Cooperation Model. Unlike in Finland, in Sweden the regional councils also finance and maintain many regional cultural institutions.

The state administration on a regional level in Finnish cultural policy consists of the six Regional State Administrative Agencies (Finnish: *aluehallintovirasto*, AVI), 15 Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (*elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskus*, ELY) and 13 Arts Promotion Centre's regional offices and arts councils. AVI's general tasks include execution, steering and supervision for example related to libraries. ELY focuses on promoting regional competitiveness, well-being and sustainable development in various policy fields including creative industries. The Arts Promotion Centre Finland is the state's expert and service agency for promoting the arts. Its regional offices operate as expert bodies and carry out regional collaboration. In connection to the regional offices, the regional arts councils allocate grants and awards within their respective regions. This presents a difference to Sweden where the Swedish Arts Grant Committee (*Konstnärsnämnden*) does not have regional offices.

The state administration on a regional level in Swedish cultural policy includes the 21 County Administrative Boards. Their main responsibilities include coordinating the

regional development in line with national policy goals including, for example, cultural heritage policy.

In both countries, the regional government bodies' organisational structures – and culture's position within them – in different regions vary. In some regional bodies, culture may be assigned to a specific public official or a division, whereas in some regional bodies, the tasks related to culture are more dispersed.

Data and methods

This article analyses cultural policy activities carried out by the regional government bodies in two case regions: Central Finland in Finland and Värmland in Sweden. Both regions are characterised by a similar number of municipalities (22 in Central Finland and 17 in Värmland) of which one is a noticeably larger regional centre (Jyväskylä in Central Finland and Karlstad in Värmland) with, for example, a university. In addition, the distance of these regions from the countries' capital cities of Helsinki and Stockholm is similar.

I am recognising the regional government bodies' cultural policy activities in the two regions based on interviews conducted with public officials. In this way, the analysis elaborates the contemporary practices, possibilities, and limitations of regional cultural policy as experienced by the regional government actors themselves. The interview data is supplemented by legislation and regional policy documents that frame and steer the regional government bodies' cultural policy activities.

The interview data in Central Finland was collected in the summer of 2019. I chose the interviewees by inviting one person responsible for culture from each regional government body for an interview. Following a snowball sampling approach, I asked each to name other persons I would do well to interview.¹ The final group of the interviewees in Central Finland consisted of two persons from ELY and the regional council as well as one person from AVI and the regional arts council. (Table 1.) The limited amount of the interviewees reflects culture's position within these bodies' organisational structures: there are not many persons working with culture.

To contrast Central Finland to Värmland and, in this way, to analyse the significance of the representative regional level in cultural policymaking, I invited an official in charge of culture in Region Värmland for an interview that was conducted in the autumn of 2019. For contrasting purposes, I interviewed the manager of the culture department who holds an overview of the organisation's cultural policy activities.

All interviews were semi-structured. The themes included the regional organisation's position, aims, operations and collaboration related to culture as well as future development. The interviews lasted around 1,5 hours each, and they were recorded and transcribed. The starting point was formed by the interviewees' own definitions and perceptions of culture and cultural policies: they were not given specific definitions but instead, they were instructed to describe their activities in cultural policies as they themselves see and define it. The intention was to allow the interviewees to define the situation based on their own experience and to focus on what they consider relevant (see Alexiadou 2001: 52). To present these experiences, quotations of the interview data are included in the next sec-

1. I also got suggestions on persons working outside regional government bodies for example in museums and educational institutions in the regions, but – following the research aim focused on government bodies – decided to narrow the group of interviewees to public officials. Nevertheless, the suggestions provided information on the actors that the public officials experienced as important in making regional cultural policy.

tion and have been approved by the interviewees. The interviews conducted in Finnish have been translated by the author.

In the context of a policymaking framework, the starting point of the analysis was that the regional government level can conduct various different activities in cultural policymaking. Therefore, I firstly recognised cultural policy activities from the interview data: what is it that the regional government bodies do related to culture. Secondly, I categorised these activities following the three sets of activities identified by Hupe and Hill (2006: 23) in their policymaking framework: constitutive, directive and operational. Thirdly, applying thematisation, I identified three key themes in these cultural policy activities and named them as demarcation, discretion and mediation. I found that these themes are connected to one or multiple sets of activities.

Finally, I analysed legislation and regional policy documents' contents in terms of cultural policy to define, position and contextualise the regional government bodies and their activities. Legislation establishes the regional government bodies and assigns them specific tasks and responsibilities, even though legislation as a governing tool is used more in Finnish than Swedish cultural policy (Renko et al. 2021). The analysed regional policy documents were available in 2020 and included regional strategies, annual reports and, in Värmland, a regional cultural policy plan that the regional bodies are responsible for producing. In addition, I analysed strategies related to cultural environment because they were mentioned in the interviews. (Table 2.)

It must be noted that because the data is limited to the two case regions, the analysis only provides information on cultural policy activities in these specific regional contexts.

Table 1. Interviewees in Central Finland and Värmland.

Region	Regional government body	Interviewee's position
Central Finland	Arts Council of Central Finland	• Special Advisor
	Regional State Administrative Agency for Western and Inland Finland (AVI)	• Senior Officer
	Regional Council of Central Finland	• Development Manager • Regional Planning Architect
	Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment for Central Finland	• Education Specialist • Senior Officer
Värmland	Region Värmland (Regional Council)	• Manager (culture department)

Table 2. Analysed policy documents and legislation.

	Policy documents	Legislation
Central Finland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regional strategy of Central Finland 2040 (2014) Regional plan of Central Finland 2018–2021 (2017) Annual report of the Regional Council of Central Finland 2019 (2020) Plan of action of the regional cultural environment group in Central Finland (2021) Cultural environment commitment of the regional cultural environment group in Central Finland (2017) National cultural environment strategy 2014–2020 (2013) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Act and statute on the Regional State Administrative Agencies (<i>Laki aluehallintovirastoista</i> 896/2009, <i>Asetus aluehallintovirastoista</i> 906/2009) Act and statute on the Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (<i>Laki elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskuksista</i> 897/2009, <i>Asetus elinkeino-, liikenne- ja ympäristökeskuksista</i> 1373/2018) Regional Development Act (<i>Laki alueiden kehittämisestä ja rakennerahastotoiminnan hallinnoinnista</i> 7/2014) Act on the Finnish Arts Promotion Centre (<i>Laki Taiteen edistämiskeskuksista</i> 657/2012)
Värmland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Annual report of County Administrative Board in Värmland 2019 (2020) Annual report of Region Värmland 2019 (2020) Värmland's cultural plan 2017–2020 (2016) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decree on distribution of state subsidies to regional cultural activities (<i>Förordning om fördelning av vissa statsbidrag till regional kulturverksamhet</i> 2010:2012) Cultural environment act (<i>Kulturmiljölag</i> 1988:950)

Regional cultural policy activities in Central Finland and Värmland

Regional government bodies in Finland and Sweden carry out cultural policy activities in a framework that includes a variety of other actors, situations and activities (Hupe and Hill 2006) as well as layers of various reform trends such as PA, NPM, and NPG (Reiter and Klenk 2019: 23; see also Christensen and Lægreid 2011; Dunleavy et al. 2006). By carrying out the activities, the regional government bodies participate in cultural policymaking.

The analysis shows that the activities carried out by the regional government bodies in the case regions are not limited to actual managing of the realisation process but include decisions about the content of a policy as well as formulation of and decision making about desired outcomes. In this way, the regional government bodies conduct operational, constitutive and directive sets of activities.

The recognised key themes related to these sets of activities in regional cultural policymaking are *demarcation* (defining culture as a policy field), *discretion* (deciding on operations) and *mediation* (connecting actors). Demarcation has to do with the decisions about the content of a policy (constitutive set of activities). Discretion is related to the actual managing of the realisation process of regional cultural policy (operational set of activities). Mediation has to do with both directive and operational set of activities.

Demarcation: defining culture as policy field

[The concept of culture] is difficult for me, it is probably difficult for many others. All that it includes. – And for promoting cultural policy, it is probably quite pivotal to understand. (Interview, Central Finland)

Here we have to speak for the fact that ok, culture an sich is important [...] But then, for this organisation, our task is not to promote culture. Our task is maybe not to undermine its significance, and to bring out that if culture is not doing well, it cannot promote any other things either. (Interview, Central Finland)

We try to stay out of defining [culture]. I think it is more productive if people themselves define it. (Interview, Värmland)

In Central Finland, most of the interviewees discussed difficulties in defining and specifying 'culture' as a policy object. This reflects the general ambiguity of the concept of culture. In Central Finland, there is no formulated regional cultural policy document that would provide a definition and basis for cultural policy. In Finland, a national cultural policy strategy is also lacking. Strategy for Cultural Policy of the Ministry of Education and Culture (2017) focuses on the operations of the ministry.

Central Finland's regional strategy (2014) includes plans for a long-term development of the region and the regional plan (2017) contains more concrete aims and operations based on the strategy. In both documents, culture is scarcely addressed. The regional government bodies are also differently committed in developing and implementing these documents. The regional council is responsible for writing them, and ELY has been tightly involved in their preparation process and implementation. Instead, according to the interviews, AVI's cultural unit has not participated in the preparation of the documents and while the regional arts council had suggested contents, they had not been included. In this way, a common regional cultural policy in Central Finland has not been formulated.

This presents a significant difference in contrast to Värmland where there is a regional cultural plan (2016) prepared by the regional council. A plan is a requirement included in the Cultural Cooperation Model for the regions to receive state funding. Based on the national cultural policy aims stated in the Government Bill on Cultural Policy (2009), the plans state regional priorities and areas of operation (professional theatre, dance, and music; museums; libraries and literature; promotion of arts and culture; regional archive; film; handicraft). According to the interviewee in Värmland, the plan is significant especially because with it, they "*actually have a policy*" that justifies different activities. While the regional cultural plans need to address specific areas of operation, the contents are for the regions to decide.

In Central Finland, cultural environment presents a distinct case in terms of defining the policy field. Cultural environment is defined in the national strategy (2013: 9) as an environment that is created by human activity and through interaction between humans and the natural environment. It includes cultural landscape, built cultural environment as well as archaeological sites. The interviewees working with cultural environment in Central Finland referred to these definitions that had also served as a basis for a commitment formulated by the regional cultural environment group (2017). Despite the conceptual clarity, many interviewees focusing on cultural environment tasks experienced that cultural environment is often forgotten when discussing culture and (regional) cultural policies.

According to the interviews, in both case regions the regional government bodies have rather broad possibilities to interpret and define the content of their cultural policies. This represents the regional government bodies' possibility for demarcation: they have the authority to decide and limit the sphere of their respective cultural policies. This seems to reflect the broad formulations included in the legislative framework as well as policy documents that frame the regional bodies' activities.

The lack of a specific definition of 'culture' in regional cultural policies was often not experienced as a problem. On the contrary, according to one interviewee in Central Finland, the aim is that the definition of culture "*would not be so limited*". Many interviewees experienced that an open definition is a positive thing because it makes the scope of regional cultural policy flexible. Many interviewees also felt that defining culture comes

naturally in the process. In both case regions, the interviewees highlighted the role of the regional actors in the process of demarcation: if some actor itself defines herself as a cultural actor, it brings that actor in the scope of regional cultural policy.

At the same time, in Central Finland the lack of a formulated regional cultural policy and the regional bodies' broad possibilities for demarcation has led to varying cultural policy scopes depending on the regional government body's general tasks. For the regional arts council, the task as a part of the Arts Promotion Centre is clear: to promote professional arts. However, for the other regional government bodies, the field of operations is very broad. As a result, in these organisations culture is mainly perceived in the contexts of regional development, creative industries, cultural environment and welfare.

Many interviewees in Central Finland felt that culture has a subsidiary role in relation to other fields and aims of the regional body's operations. This is why the interviewees also experienced that a broad definition of culture is required: it needs to be possible to include culture in the regional bodies' general aims and tasks. This highlights the instrumental tendencies in legitimating culture as a regional policy field. As a result, many interviewees experienced that the operations related to culture can be difficult to pursue as they do not have a clear mandate of their own. One interviewee in Central Finland mentioned that *“even if there is a will to promote culture itself, there are no means”*: culture always needs to be connected to other organisational aims such as promoting economic affairs.

To strengthen culture in the regional government bodies' activities in Central Finland, some interviewees – especially within the state administration on a regional level – wished for a more specific definition. When the regional government body's tasks include for example allocating state funding or conducting evaluations, vague definitions can create uncertainty when conducting the activities. Interestingly however, many interviewees pointed out that the regional government bodies themselves would not wish to define culture. One interviewee hoped from the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture a definition of culture that the regional government level should promote.

Discretion: deciding on operations

The regions have quite a lot of freedom to decide what is actually done and where the resources are allocated. (Interview, Central Finland)

Sometimes I wish that [the Ministry of Education and Culture] could be a bit stronger. [...] One could wish for, not necessarily a steering role, but more of a supporting or connecting role from the ministry. (Interview, Central Finland)

The idea of the Cultural Cooperation Model was that the politicians in the regions should decide [on the operations] themselves. (Interview, Värmland)

Based on the interviews, the key cultural policy operations of the regional government bodies in both Central Finland and Värmland are rather similar: they include awarding funding, consulting and providing information. Region Värmland also carries out specific cultural policy operations that differ from regional bodies in Central Finland: these include interacting with the politicians and preparing the regional cultural plan. While in Finland, the cultural activities rely on central cities and their arts and cultural institutions (Renko et al. 2020), in Sweden the regional councils are also maintaining and financing regional arts and culture institutions. These differences are related to the representative regional level. Because of its self-governance, the regional council in Värmland has a broad discretion on the focus and extent of its respective cultural policy operations.

In both Central Finland and Värmland, legislation addresses the regional government bodies specific tasks that steer their operations. In Central Finland, the regional arts council's task as a part of the Arts Promotion Centre Finland is to promote art – and culture when it is not someone else's task (657/2012). AVI needs to promote due processes and evaluate the availability of library services as basic public services (896/2009, 906/2009). ELY has expert tasks related to “education, know-how, and culture” (897/2009, 1373/2018). The regional council's main tasks include regional development and planning in Central Finland (7/2014). The County Administrative Board of Värmland's task is to function as a supervisory authority for the county's ancient monuments, and to decide if a particularly valuable cultural landscape should be protected as a cultural reserve or if historically valuable buildings and environments should be protected as listed buildings. Region Värmland's task is to organise library activities, but their size and scope is not defined. According to the interview, many of the regional council's cultural policy activities reflect traditions rather than formal necessities.

Within these legislative frames, the interviewees in both case regions experienced that the regional government bodies have in many ways possibilities to decide on their operations and the ways they implement given tasks. According to one interviewee in Central Finland, while there are aims coming from above, the regional bodies “*have various means to implement the aims*”. Especially the regional councils – both in Central Finland and Värmland – have a broad possibility to do things outside of the given frame. Compared to the state administration on a regional level, the regional council in Central Finland can actively apply, for example, for European Union funding to implement its own programmes and strengthen its operations.

In Central Finland, the role of the different ministries in steering regional cultural policy operations is emphasised because of the multiple regional government bodies that belong to the state administration on a regional level. The regional arts council is placed under the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC). AVI and ELY are steered by various ministries: the MEC, the Ministry of Finance (funding AVI), the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, the Ministry of Environment, the Ministry of the Interior as well as the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (funding ELY). Different ministries have different aims and possibilities to fund the regional government bodies. According to the interviewees, this has resulted in incoherence and a lack of coordination in the regional operations.

Interviewees in Central Finland perceived MEC – that is responsible for the statutory art and cultural policy nationally – as the most important ministry related to cultural policy also on a regional level. At the same time, many interviewees experienced MEC's visibility on a regional level as minor. On the one hand, one interviewee saw it as an advantage that MEC does not apply strict number-based monitoring but gives the regional body possibilities to interpret how the broad aims are approached. On the other hand, another interviewee felt that the ministry gives broad aims but does not provide sufficient funding for the operations. According to the interview, the issue of not having the possibility to promote the aims has often been communicated to MEC but without results. Another interviewee described MEC's role in supporting and connecting regional actors and its connection to the actors' daily work as minor.

The diffused steering of the regional operations is, according to many interviewees, a result of multiple state and regional reforms that have been implemented in Finland. Many interviewees mentioned a significant regional reform carried out in 2010 that grouped together and reorganised the functions and tasks of six different agencies, creating AVI and ELY as two new regional authorities. In principle, the reform aimed at clarifying the roles,

duties, steering and regional divisions of regional government authorities. In practice, however, the results in regional cultural policy were in many ways counterproductive. Many interviewees mentioned that MEC was not visible in the reform, leaving culture disconnected from the new organisational arrangements. In the interviews, the reform was described uncontrollable and the division of tasks – and public officials – in between different regional government bodies as “*completely arbitrary*”. More recently, increasing budget tensions faced by the central government has meant a transfer of tasks and resources to the regional level.

Many interviewees experienced that because culture has been disregarded in the regional reforms, culture’s position on a regional level has become blurred and divided. However, some interviewees stated that the current multi-sourced steering and funding also creates broad possibilities and autonomy for the regional bodies to decide on their respective cultural policy operations.

Contrasting to Värmland highlights the implications of the institutional context in regional cultural policy operations. Because of the regional council as a self-governing regional body, the responsibility of regional cultural policy in Värmland is clear. The County Administrative Board presenting the state on a regional level is placed under one ministry and its operations are limited to cultural heritage.

However, despite the regional council’s freedom in conducting the regional cultural plan, the state’s strong influence is in many ways still embedded in Sweden (Blomgren and Johannisson 2013, 2014; Johannisson 2010). The regional cultural plan must be approved by the national level for the region to receive state funding. State funding for the regional level has remained relatively similar since the establishment of the Cultural Cooperation Model. Therefore, state funding for a specific region cannot be increased unless funding would be deducted from the other regions. This has created a situation where the contents of the regional cultural plans are unlikely to affect the amount of the state funding that the regions receive. This can affect the regional actors’ motivation to invest in the contents and development of the regional cultural plans. State’s influence is also present in creating additional funding instruments that the regions then apply. This emphasises funding as a form of policy steering that the interviewee in Värmland described as “*silent guiding*”.

Mediation: connecting actors

Somehow, I see our role as a kind of a messenger in both directions. We are in tight collaboration with the ministry, meet with them, and bring messages from the field. We also have a lot of contact with the people from the field, and deliver their messages. (Interview, Central Finland)

This [structure] is very dispersed, let’s put it that way. There are some things in AVI, some things in ELY, some things in Arts Promotion Centre, some things in the regional council, some things in education institutions, some things in municipalities. And no one has a direct contact, for example, to the municipalities [within the region]. (Interview, Central Finland)

–you’re supposed to write the [cultural] plans in close cooperation with the municipalities and have a dialogue with different parts of the society. (Interview, Värmland)

In Central Finland, the interviewees strongly position the regional government bodies as coordinators and mediators in between the various actors and government levels. Many interviewees experienced that the regional government bodies’ key actions include promoting collaboration and supporting networks. According to one interviewee, “*the network col-*

laboration is probably the main thing we can do". Collaboration is also a necessity in the fragmented structure of the Finnish regional government level in cultural policy.

The regional government bodies collaborate especially in the context of established working groups. A regional cultural environment group and a cultural collaboration group gather together different regional government bodies as well as other actors such as the municipalities. ELY and the regional council are active members in both, and the regional arts council participates in the cultural collaboration group. Interestingly, AVI does not take part in these working groups. In general, AVI was often excluded when discussing key actors in regional cultural policymaking. This presents the dispersion of the state administration on a regional level. AVI seems to identify itself more as the state's representative, while ELY and the regional arts council see their role as representatives of the region – even though formally all are regional government bodies representing the state. This brings forth the confusing nature of a multi-actor structure in Finnish regional cultural policy.

In addition to the regional government bodies themselves, the interviewees mentioned a variety of government and non-government actors that participate in making regional cultural policy in Central Finland. These actors include municipalities, arts and culture institutions (such as museums and libraries), university and other educational institutions as well as civil society actors such as artist associations, festival organisations, individual artists, companies and independent foundations within the region. In terms of cultural environment, government bodies with focus on the environment (Metsähallitus, Finnish Forest Centre) were also mentioned.

Contrasting to Värmland highlights how the self-governing regions affect the actors involved in making regional cultural policy. In the interviews conducted in Central Finland, the role of the local politicians was scarcely addressed. Some interviewees were even sceptical of including the local (or regional) politicians in making regional cultural policy, mainly because – according to the interviews – the politicians do not have enough expertise or time to get acquainted with cultural policy. In Värmland, the regional politicians present important regional cultural policy actors, even though according to the interviewee in Värmland, they are not involved "*on a day-to-day basis*".

In Värmland, the self-governing regional body clearly holds the main responsibility for regional cultural policy. The County Administrative Board of Värmland's cultural policy tasks are limited to cultural heritage, and in this context the County Administrative Board of Värmland and Region Värmland meet on a regular basis. Otherwise, Region Värmland has in many ways taken over the cultural policy responsibilities within the region. The regional cultural plan that Regional Värmland is required to formulate also presents a distinct context for mediation. The plan needs to be prepared together with various cultural actors within the region and in this way, it creates a platform for discussing regional cultural policy contents.

While in both Central Finland and Värmland the interviewees highlighted mediation, the lack of resources was recognised as a problem in both regions. On the one hand, resources affect the actors' possibilities to collaborate. In Central Finland, the regional government bodies have a strong will to collaborate, but according to one interviewee, "*the problem is that no one has a lot to give, money or other resources*". On the other hand, the regional government bodies may not have other choice but to collaborate in order to compensate the diminishing resources. The interviewee in Värmland discussed the necessity of interregional collaboration in the future because of the stagnant economical resources within the region.

Interestingly, while various actors participating in making regional cultural policy were mentioned in the interviews, citizen participation was not discussed in neither of the case regions – even though the Swedish structure allows participation through regional elections. However, the interviewees in both regions generally experienced that those who want to do have a possibility to take part and affect in regional cultural policymaking. In Central Finland, for example, the regional council's aims and tasks are defined together with the municipalities and other public regional actors as well as other collaboration partners.

Concluding remarks

In both Finnish and Swedish cultural policies, the regional level has received new policy tools and capacities and, in this way, gained operating possibilities in making regional cultural policy. The analysis shows that the regional government bodies currently make use of these operating possibilities by carrying out activities that include decisions about the content of a policy, formulation of and decision making about desired outcomes and actual managing of the realisation process. In this way, the regional level is not only mechanistically implementing given cultural policies but it is actively participating in cultural policymaking.

Key themes related to the regional cultural policy activities are demarcation (i.e. defining culture as a policy field), discretion (i.e. deciding on operations) and mediation (i.e. connecting actors). These themes have many implications for different actors' possibilities to participate in cultural policymaking framework on a regional level. Demarcation confines the scope of regional cultural policies by defining the policy field. At the same time, it defines which actors can participate in regional cultural policymaking as *cultural* actors. Discretion follows demarcation, but the operations can also be used to limit the scope and participants in regional cultural policymaking. Mediation itself presents one operation that directly affects which actors the regional government bodies involve in their activities.

Within a three-tier-government structure, the regional cultural policy activities are activities that the state has found important to be carried out at the regional level. This suggests that demarcation, discretion and mediation should not be handled separately in every single municipality, but they should be carried out closer to the citizens than at the state level. From this perspective, the regional cultural policy activities should have relevance within a specific region. The possibility to make different regional cultural policies in different regions is included in both Finnish and Swedish structures. In Finland, especially the regional councils have broad possibilities to formulate their own cultural policy aims and activities within a specific region. In Sweden, differentiation is encouraged through the regional cultural plans.

The analysis however suggests that in Finland, many factors potentially challenge the regional level's cultural policy relevance and, as a result, regional cultural policy legitimacy.

Firstly, unlike in Sweden, the established structures in Finland have not allowed a creation of a regional government body with distinct cultural policy mandate. This has resulted in the lack of formulated regional cultural policy and coordination in regional cultural policymaking. The scattered regional cultural policy structure seems confusing even for the regional government bodies themselves. It also requires a lot of knowledge and effort for different actors to interact with the regional government bodies and make sense of their cultural policy activities.

Secondly, in Finland there are no clearly defined ways for different actors to participate in cultural policymaking through the regional government bodies. While various regional

bodies provide multiple financing and collaboration possibilities, distinct structures are lacking. In Sweden, a possibility to participate in the formulation of a regional cultural plan creates a formal context for collaboration. It also creates a need as well as the means to formulate a regional cultural policy.

Thirdly, the territorial divisions of different regional government bodies in Finnish cultural policy are not distinct. This makes it unclear within which region the regional cultural policy activities should have relevance. For example in Central Finland, some of the regional arts council's activities cover the whole country, dispersing regional divisions.

The scattered regional level in Finnish cultural policy suggests that within the country's institutional context, the regional government bodies have not been able – or interested – in affecting the distribution of cultural policy power and responsibilities on a regional level. Instead, cultural policy has been disregarded in different regional reforms. This has led to the current regional cultural policy activities that are not necessarily relevant even for the regional government bodies themselves. For example, according to the interviews, defining culture as a policy field is not something that the regional government bodies themselves necessarily wish to do. For cultural policy to be included in future regional reforms, it is important that the regional government bodies as well as other regional cultural policy actors are acknowledged and included in the process.

With multiple regional government bodies, the Finnish regional cultural policy structure presents a more network-oriented model than the Swedish structure. From an NPG perspective, new network modes of local and regional governance can reach effectiveness by collaboration among and between public sector and other actors. In Finland, the regional government bodies seem to have embraced their role as mediators. However, the collaboration seems to lack a clear coordination. Interviewees from different regional bodies experienced that *their* respective organisation is the key cultural policy actor in the region. This differs from Sweden where the regional cultural policy framework and the regional council's coordinating position are more clearly defined. At the same time, the multiplicity of regional government bodies in Finnish cultural policy brings more possibilities for differentiation in terms of focus areas and activities than in the Swedish model.

Despite strong emphasis on mediation, the regional government bodies' possibilities to enable or encourage new forms of citizen participation in cultural policy do not seem to be highlighted in neither of the countries. This can increasingly challenge the regional level's cultural policy legitimacy and raise questions such as why and for whom the regional government level in cultural policy exists. This calls for further research on different actors' regional cultural policy experiences and expectations as well as regional cultural policy differentiation in both Finland and Sweden.

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