THE ROLE OF FESTIVALS AND EVENTS IN THE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF CITIES – CASES OF TWO FINNISH CITIES

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ABSTRACT
The aim of the paper is to take a discursive view to examine the role of festivals and cultural events in the regional development. In particular the paper focuses on the meanings attached to the importance and possibilities of festivals in the regional development by examining both the discourses of public strategy documents and the perspectives of festival managers. The empirical analyses of the paper are based on two Finnish regions: Pori and Seinäjoki. The paper contributes to the increased understanding of festival management by identifying discourses in regional strategy-making. This knowledge will help the festival and event organizers to cope with the external stakeholders and their multiple interests, which may support the longevity of their event. On the other hand, the knowledge provides analytical information for the public authorities on the festival production for helping the decision making of regional strategy development.

Keywords: Festival management, regional development, public strategies, discourse

INTRODUCTION

Culture and creative industries have been acknowledged as a critical competitive edge for regional development (e.g., Florida, 2002; Landry, 1995, 2000; Evans, 2001, 2003). Rich cultural life of cities and regions is not only doing good for the citizens both in cultural and social aspects but also the potential economic impacts have been widely recognized (e.g., Frey, 2003). Therefore, art and culture has also become a tool for regional planners and a mean for strategic planning of regions. Earlier this type of culture-led strategic planning of cities and regions have been done through emphasis on cultural and creative industries in general, but increasingly the cities and regions find their strategic profiles in more specific types of cultural production and consumption.
In many cases cultural events and festivals have served well this purpose because of their multifunctional nature. At the same time scholars in festival management research point out that the public sector is predominant in terms of perceived stakeholder importance in the environment of networked festival production (e.g. Getz and Andersson, 2010). The term "festival" in social sciences covers various meanings. Falassi (1987, 2) outlines festivals as:

"The constellation of very different events, sacred and profane, private and public, sanctioning tradition and introducing innovation, proposing nostalgic revivals, providing the expensive means for the survival of the most archaic folk customs, and celebrating the highly speculative and experimental avant-gardes of the elite fine arts." Reasons that explain the growing number of festivals and cultural events lie in the series of interrelated factors such as changing approaches to urban management, structural changes in economic production, the use of culture as a means of restructuring wealth and employment opportunities, and the troubling impacts of globalization (Quinn, 2005). This makes festivals and other cultural events a valuable strategic tool for public and private regional developers and policy makers to regenerate and improve regional competitiveness and well-being.

Aim of the paper is to take a discursive view to examine the role of festivals and cultural events in regional development. In particular, the paper focuses on the meanings attached to the importance of festivals in the strategic development of cities and regions by examining the discourses of the public strategy documents. With the discursive view we refer to the ways language is used and meanings made by drawing on certain societal themes and discussion, that is discourses (Hall, 2001). The discursive view provides us a more critical view on to the texts in which culture and cultural events are used for strategic development of provinces, regions and cities.

The empirical analyses of the paper are based on a number of regional strategy documents and theme interviews conducted among the festival managers of two Finnish regions: Pori and Seinäjoki. Finland has been labeled as the land of festival, in particular music festivals, which makes the country a suitable context for the study. In addition, in the two cases the festivals and events have been defined as spearheads for future development, for instance, of entrepreneurial possibilities, well-being of inhabitants as well as the reputation and attraction of the cities.

The paper contributes to the increased understanding about festival and cultural event management by identifying discourses in regional strategy-making and practical festival production. On the one hand, this knowledge will help the festival and event organizers to cope with the external stakeholders and their multiple interests, which may support the longevity of their event. On the other hand, the knowledge will provide analytical information for the public authorities of the framework of the festival production for help the decision making in the context of regional strategy development. We argue that understanding better this network of interests is crucial to the creation, stability and long-term survival of festivals and events and furthermore, to support the strategic goals.

Theoretical Framework

Festivals and cultural events are typically produced within a large network of different actors (Larsson, 2002, 2008; Getz, Andersson and Larsson 2007). For instance, Larson (2002) presents that the stakeholders of music festivals include: festival organizer (owners), music industry (performers and their contractors), media industry, local trade and industry (the suppliers of products and services), sponsors, various associations and clubs (e.g., members volunteering for the festival organization to earn money for their organization), and the public authorities (the local municipality and public organizations). These actors can be seen as part of a 'political market square' (Larson, 2002, 2008, 2009) in which the actors project various beliefs about how the event can serve their interests. In this net of diverse interests the actors may take multiple roles such as regulators, facilitators, co-producers, suppliers, collaborators, audiences and the impacted (Getz, Andersson and Larsson, 2007).

The literature of festival and event management demonstrates that festivals are produced within networks where different stakeholders have both various and parallel roles. As Getz *et al.* (2010) illustrate, networks and stakeholders form the organizational environment of festivals and events are produced within and by a set of managed stakeholder relationships (e.g. Larson, 2002; Getz et al., 2007; Andersson and Getz, 2008; Getz et al., 2010; Reid, 2011). Authors point out the difference of festivals management compared with managing any other form of planned event because of the implications of festivals, for instance, for strategic place marketing, tourism and economic development. Furthermore, several festivals are created by non-profit-making organizations and government boards engaged with social and cultural policy fields (Getz et al., 2010). For these reasons in the festival production occur a considerable number of both involved stakeholders and otherwise, potential goals to satisfy. Therefore, festivals can be defined rather unique phenomenon in the events sector (ibid.).

All cultural activities including events and festivals are produced and consumed within a particular political system (Hall and Rusher, 2010). Events are not only produced for attracting visitors but also for other reasons such as celebration, maintaining or enhancing community pride, employment generation, increased publicity and media coverage, enlivening otherwise quiet areas, maintaining cultural identities, encouraging regeneration and attracting industry trade and capital (e.g. Roche, 1992, 2000; Hall, 2001). Furthermore, reasons that explain the growing number of festivals and cultural events in recent years lie partly in the series of interrelated factors such as changing approaches to urban management, structural changes in economic production, the use of culture as a means of restructuring wealth and employment opportunities, and the troubling impacts of globalization (Quinn, 2005).
In the network of festival stakeholders regions are important for festivals and festivals are important for regional planning. Strategy-making processes of regions and cities have become more explicit in general and culture-led regional strategies have been in interest in particular since 1990's. This is based on the idea that creativity, cultural diversity and the cultural industries are vital to regional economies, even if there is rather little evidence on the interconnection (Gibson and Klocker, 2005; Evans, 2009). After this 'cultural turn' (see e.g., Gibson and Klocker, 2005) in regional planning cities and regions have started to find more specific and unique ways to frame and brand themselves:

"The term 'creativity' is generally imbued with very positive meanings, with synonyms such as 'freedom', 'innovation' and 'surprise', conjuring up images of life and work beyond boredom, repetition and poverty. Where industries emerge from creativity, such as music and film and television production, similarly positive images are evoked: of interesting and varied work, of fame and notoriety for regional cultures, and of contributions to the vitality and diversity of places." (Gibson and Klocker, 2005: 95)

Evans (2003) argues that cultural strategists and civic leaders started to use the language of real estate agents to describe their potential as 'flagships', 'chess pieces', 'nodes', paralleling the 'anchor store' in shopping malls and the 'must-see' attraction on the tourist itinerary. The hype of creativity and creative industries has also manifested in national and local projects such as 'Creative Finland', 'Creative London', or 'Creative New York' to put a label on a country, region or city. However, Evans (2009) argues that those sites that are built upon past cultural facilities or the regeneration schemes are more integrated with wider city plans and with multiple stakeholders, appear more robust and viable. In the same manner Pratt (2008) concludes:
"A creative city cannot be founded like a cathedral in the desert: it needs to be linked to and be part of an existing cultural environment. We need to appreciate complex interdependencies, and not simply use one to exploit the other." (Pratt, 2008: 35)

Gibson and Klocker (2005) present that this type of 'creative planning discourse' has constituted a 'cultural turn', which shifts away from an emphasis on macro-scale projects and employment schemes, towards an interest in the creative industries, entrepreneurial culture and innovation in regional planning. Whereas Richard Florida's practical, rather a theoretical, concept of 'creative class' would see festivals and cultural events contributing to the 'spaces of creativity' (Florida, 1992), more recent studies provide deeper understanding of the process of creative city and regional planning.

More processual and more critical view has been taken, for instance, by Krueger and Buckingham (2012) who in their study on creative urban regeneration were interested in the forms that these new developments take and the politics involved in their creation. From the critical view, regional planning and strategic urban regeneration can be seen as a discourse that carries specific conditions rooted in various exercises of power (Knights and Morgan, 1991). In addition, Knights and Morgan argue that strategy can be seen as mechanisms of power that

constructs specific kinds of subject positions for individuals. Hence, strategy is a powerful rhetorical tool that frames issues in particular ways and enhances instrumental reasons (Levy, Alvesson & Willmott, 2003).

Seinäjoki	
Province	194 000 inhabitants
Region	140 000 inhabitants
City	58 000 inhabitants
Case festivals	Provinssirock -festival, Seinäjoki Tango Festival
Number of visitors	159 000 (2012)

Pori	
Province	227 000 inhabitants
Region	138 000 inhabitants
City	83 000 inhabitants
Case festivals	Lainsuojattomat -theatre festival, Porispere - rockfestival, Pori Jazz -festival
Number of visitors	156 000 (2012)

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Picture 1 Location of Pori and Seinäjoki in Finland. (The borders of provinces are marked in the map).

Next the two case contexts will be presented in more detail to provide an overall picture of the characteristics of the selected cases and background information for further understanding of the research findings.

Pori – the Capital of Satakunta Province

The *province* of Satakunta is located on the west coast of Finland (see picture 1) and consist of 21 municipalities with 227 000 inhabitants living in this 8 000 square kilometers area. The capital of Satakunta is the *city* of Pori with 83 000 inhabitants, established in 1558. The Pori *region* with 138 000 inhabitants forms the central area of the province, making it the seventh largest working area in Finland. Geographically, the sea and a river running through the region have governed the development of the area. The waterways have been an important passage and advanced the spread of settlements and sources of livelihood. The location has affected the province of Satakunta and Pori region to grow into an area of commerce and industry. The harbors and internationality, trade and industry have created the corner stone of the province and its biggest city, Pori.

The branch structure in the province of Satakunta and Pori region differs from the structure of the rest of Finland. The region has strong roots in manufacturing and the size of the industry has still a considerable share of the current branch structure, unlike in other parts of the country. Beside the industrial employment, in particular in the marine industry and engineering, there is a growing number of employers in service production.

In the official PR and other material written about the region a noteworthy attention has been paid to the festivals and events. The city of Pori is outlined as "the one of the leading event cities in Finnish" and the region is described as "the region of students and modern enterprises". For example, Pori hosts the third biggest festival in Finland, Pori Jazz, with 140 000 visitors annually.

Seinäjoki – the Capital of South Ostrobothnia Province

South Ostrobothnia province is located in western Finland with app 194 000 inhabitants. The area covered by South Ostrobothnia is about 14 000 square kilometers and consists of 19 municipalities. The center of the province of South Ostrobothnia is the city of Seinäjoki, which is the sixth biggest working area in Finland. Meanwhile, the city area is one of the fastest growing urban centers in Finland. More than 58 000 inhabitants are living in the city of Seinäjoki whereas the region inhabits app 140 000 people.

The economic structure of province relies heavily on food industry, agriculture and lumber industry. For instance, by 2010 the agriculture of South Ostrobothnia consisted nine per cent of the country's total production of the branch and the gross value of the regional production was the highest after southern parts of Finland. The food industry, which is connected with the agriculture, is the biggest employer in the region after the public sector; the city of Seinäjoki and the hospital district of the South Ostrobothnia. All in all, service industry provides employment for over 70 % of the employed labor. Compared with the other regions of Finland, the significant feature beside the food and agriculture and lumber industry, is the numerous and well-clustered small business enterprises in the area. The number of start-up companies has increased constantly during the previous years.

Seinäjoki is also known for its several music festivals such as Provinssirock and Seinäjoki Tango Festival. Both festivals have a long history in the Finnish festival field and they are among the top ten most visited festivals of the country.

Data Collection and Analysis
In the study we have applied a qualitative case study research methodology. In particular the focus is on cross-case patterns (Eisenhardt, 1989) and the multiple sources of evidence to provide a deep understanding of the selected cases (Yin, 2008).

The research data includes written documents, theme interviews as well as in-site observations in the two regions. First, we collected a number of regional strategy documents (app. 200 pages) to analyze the regional strategy-making and the meanings attached to cultural events and festivals in the strategy documents covering a period 2009-2016. Second, we conducted 18 theme interviews with festival managers. The interviews lasted from 45 minutes to two hours. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. The interviewees represent broadly the two selected cases, Pori and Seinäjoki, from the views of festival managers. The selected festivals represented different sizes, producing structures and content. Finally, a deep understanding of the two regions would not be possible without any in-site observations and that is why we have conducted several visits to the two cities, regions and their main festivals and cultural events during the last three years. This includes also more intensive participative observation periods, when one of the researchers was involve in various development projects.
The data has been analyzed with an inductive method in three main phases. In the phase, we coded and categorized the written regional strategy documents to identify the meanings attached to the roles of festivals and cultural events in the provincial, regional and city development. Based on this inductive reasoning we have been able to make sense of the key themes such as economic development, education, attractiveness and image of areas (inside-out), and the coziness and well-being of citizens (inside-in). In the second phase, the first-hand data including a number of semi-structured interviews was coded and categorized to identify themes that the festival managers. In the third phase, the themes generated from the strategy documents and the interviews were compared and contrasted to provide an overall view of the practice and politics of the festival and events in regional development discourse.

The Role of Festivals and Events in Regional Development
The findings of the analysis are presented in two parts. First, we describe the festival and event-led strategic development in the two selected cases. Secondly, we focus on the relations of the three levels of strategy-making in province, region and city. The terms creative industries, cultural events, cultural life, experience economy are many times used as synonyms and the same terms referred to different things across the different strategy documents.

The View of Regional Strategy Making
In the two cases, Pori and Seinäjoki, we have analyzed the three strategy-making bodies in regional development: province, region and city. The regional level strategy programs are described more as a wish for the focus of regional priorities whereas the strategies of the cities are more concrete action plans to reach the desired outcomes. However, even if the general role of the strategy-making bodies is rather similar, they differ in terms of the ways festivals and cultural events are given meanings in the strategy-making context.
In both cases the festivals and cultural events were emphasized within four different themes: 1) economic development, 2) education, 3) attractiveness and image building, and 4) coziness and wellbeing. In the following sections we will illustrate how these themes were utilized in the strategic development of two Finnish provinces, regions and cities.

Pori and Regional Strategies
The strategic plan of Satakunta *province* underlines the connection between the know-how in event management and the higher education. The developmental actions for events and local managerial know-how of events are connected and described as a possibility for the regeneration of educational contents in the University Consortium of Pori. These aspects are seen as crucial factors for the developing of the "skilled Satakunta province". Furthermore, the entrepreneurial possibilities of the province are strongly linked to the experience industry e.g. services and the event production sector. Finally, events, festivals and creative industries are seen as contributing to the image and well-being of the province.

Importance of the events can be clearly distinguished in Pori's *regional* economic developmental strategy. The mega-events are labeled as a spearhead of the future regional development from the vitality and marketing point of views. Together with local events they are seeing to increase the quality of life in the region and contributing to the overall well-being. Furthermore, events are noticed as opportunities for meeting spaces. Two central meanings of events for regional development can be observed in text. Firstly, events are seen as the supportive factor for the regional brand, and secondly, as the basis for economical measures of the regional development. Pori's regional strategy points strongly out the connection between tourism, leisure and regional image building on the one hand, and events, festivals and culture on the other. For instance, the strategy text emphasizes Pori Jazz festival and Suomi Arena events as platforms for meetings and instruments for reaching masses of tourists to the region. The influence of events on the image and brand building of the region is widely noticed in all strategy levels: events and festivals are outlined as essential factors in this strengthening process.

The events and festivals are seen in the *city* of Pori as possibilities, which diversify the structure of economic life, employment and creation of new jobs. The experience and creative economy, the all-year pursuit of events, well-known cultural contents and cultural life are stated as an opportunity and a factor to gain competitive advantage nationally and internationally. The events and festivals are seen as a supportive and crucial factor of the growth and development of creative branches and open multidisciplinary opportunities to "crashed cooperation". These aspects are emphasized as the present strength of the city and crucial factor for regeneration of the city.

Event and festivals are also associated with the brand building process of the city of Pori. For instance, the storytelling possibilities of Pori Jazz festival are noticed as a strong strength in the further development of the city brand. The vision of the city is illustrated as "a pulsating center of growth for 120 000 inhabitants", "pulsating" referring to:
"Rhythmic, growing, attractive, picky, fresh, dynamic, spontaneous, creative, fast-tempo and up-beat, lively, international, individual, quick-moving, jagged, developing, innovative, initiative, proactive, reformist, flexible, reflexive, clever." (Strategy of the city of Pori, 5)
In conclusion, events and festivals seem to have a significant role in the strategic development of Pori. This can be seen in the objectives, operational plans and the overall values of the city.

Seinäjoki and Regional Strategies
In the case of Seinäjoki, the *provincial* strategy gives a rather central place for festivals and cultural events in the future development of the province. In particular, these are mentioned within the key terms such as "Wellbeing and competent citizen" and "Competitive and innovative economic life". The strategy recognizes the entrepreneurial opportunities in the creative field. In particular, the document refers to the potentiality of new employment in the interfaces between the cultural sector and tourism, health sector, media and information technology, living and lifestyle concepts as well as fashion and advertizing industry. Furthermore, the strategy emphasizes productization of cultural experiences and public-private collaboration to create new business opportunities.

In terms of education, the province sets culture industry and experience economy as one of the main focus areas of higher education which would highlight its image as "the province of experiences and cultural activities":
"The South Ostrobothnia can be, with good reason, to be called as the province of experience. The province has several strong areas of experience such as event tourism (Province Rock festival, Seinäjoki Tango Festival, Vauhtiajot, Spelit, food festival), experience tourism (Power Park, Brothers Keskinen, Ähtäri Zoo, spas and tourist attractions), and interest tourism (sport centres, golf centres and natural parks)". (Programme of the Province of South Ostrabothnia, 29)

The province of South Ostrobothnia emphasizes the meaning of cultural activities in the use of preventing and rehabilitating actions, which contributes to the wellbeing and health of the citizens. In terms of wellbeing, the strategy stresses also the equal access to cultural activities. These objectives are achieved, for instance, by tightening the collaboration between various cultural actors and organizations.
In the *regional* level of Seinäjoki the emphasis put on festivals and cultural events is clearly less than in the provincial level. Not even the culture and creative industries are mentioned. In the strategy text, cultural events are mentioned only under the section of "Attractive region" with a vision: "Million events, congress and fair visitors and tourist visit the region yearly." With this vision in mind a strategic objective to develop event tourism and business opportunities of creative industries. The strategic projects followed by the objectives are though limited mainly to support event and congress tourism.

In contrast to the regional level, the strategy document of the *city* draws strongly from the cultural events and experiences. Vision for the events and experiences is described as the following: "Seinäjoki is the vibrant centre of international city events and experiences". In terms of economic development and increased employment opportunities, the strategy of the city emphasizes the meaning of new product and service development in particular in rhythm music and architecture. Furthermore, the mega events are supported by improving the festival and event areas and places.

Festivals and cultural events are also seen as a core area of higher education and the objective is to support the teaching, research and developmental activities in the field. A specific strategic objective is to strengthen the professional and unprofessional theatre field by increasing the amount of theatre education at schools. In conclusion, the city of Seinäjoki acknowledges the importance of culture as a key aspect in increasing the attractiveness and coziness of the city.

The View of Festival Management
The second part of the findings focuses on analyzing the effects of regional development strategies on festival production and management. The interview data generated among festival managers indicates very similar discourses that were found in the strategy texts. The festival managers see that the festivals has an important role in economic development, education and research, attractiveness and image building as well as in increasing coziness and well-being in the region. In addition to these, the festival managers emphasize also the festivals' role in the overall development of the region.

The Festivals and Economic Development of Regions
In general, the findings support Getz and Anderson's (2010) study in which the city is seen as one of the most important stakeholders in the field of festival management. The city and the region of a festival are seen as enablers and crucial factors to success: "*We cannot operate here if the city is not supportive to us* [the festival]. *The most important thing is that the city acts as an enabler*." (Festival manager, Pori)
The strategic focus of festivals and events in regional strategies is shown, for instance, in providing spaces for festivals, direct support, or buying a larger amount of tickets to the events. However, the festival managers emphasize that the city authorities should not get involved too closely to the operative level of festival management.

The economic impact of festivals to their local environment materializes in multiple ways according to festival managers. The festivals create new business opportunities, diversify the existing local business structures, and increase the income of local enterprises. For instance, marketing and promotional cooperation with local businesses has been successful in which the local business gain access to a certain customer segment and the festival gets needed financial support. Local entrepreneurs are also willing to provide spaces for the festival, which will increase the promotion or selling of their products. The increased sales during a festival can form an important part of the yearly income, in some cases the sales can double a month's turnover.
Festival managers are also aware of the impact of their festivals on local employment. Festivals employ several people themselves but even stronger impact they have on employment through the increased sales in restaurants, hotels, and other tourist attractions. The festivals use also a number of subcontractors, which increases the indirect employment of festivals.

The Festivals and Education in Regions
The festival managers value the active cooperation with local schools and different higher education institutions in the region. For instance, rock music festival Provinssirock provide internship opportunities for local students. The manager of Provinssirock state that with this type of activities they are able to find the best future employees but the interns are also important in the daily production work of the festival. Other festivals are also offering placements because it is the best way to learn the world of festival productions: "*The young people get practical experience when they are helping with bearing things, adjusting sound and lighting, building up sets and the similar. They get a very valuable experience, the interns*." From the community point of view, this increases knowledge in the entire field of festival production, and contributes to the further development of the "festival cities".

Festivals in the both regions take actively part in various research activities as well. On the one hand, the festivals are acting as research objects, which provide useful information also for the festivals themselves. For instance, Lainsuojattomat festival takes part in an image study that gives knowledge about their audiences. The manager of the festival argues that it is not enough to conduct a single image study but a deeper understanding requires

broader and deeper studies about festival goers and non-goers, the reasons for attending and reason for not attending. Seinäjoki Tango Festival has participated in a longitudinal study carried out by a University of Applied Sciences with a focus on the impact of festivals and events on local economy. The interviewees agree that this type of knowledge is important in the overall strategic development of both festivals and regions.
In general, the festivals in Seinäjoki seem to cooperate more actively with the local schools and universities. This is in line with the analyses of strategy documents where Seinäjoki has stated more concrete objectives for educational and research strategies.

The Festivals and Attractiveness of Regions
All the case festivals in the study want strongly identify with the geographical place of the festival, which is often indicated in the name of the festival (e.g., Seinäjoki Tango Festival, Pori Jazz, Porispere festival). Festival managers point out the importance of festivals to the local community, which supports the idea that festival productions operate as an ecosystem. Many times the target audience is also found locally and in the marketing material the local culture, identity and other characteristics are acknowledged and utilized.
Festivals have also national partnerships, for instance, within media (TV, radio, national newspapers), which help them to reach national visibility for the festival but at the same time develop the image of their region because of the localized marketing material. A festival manager argues that "*Pori Jazz is extremely important for the city of Pori from the image building point of view. I know many people who would know the city at all without the festival.*" The cities are also utilizing their local festivals to promote the area for their stakeholders.

The Festivals and Wellbeing of Regions
The festivals in our case regions are many ways collaborating also with other local cultural organizations such as cultural centers for children and art museums. Pori Jazz produces also many free concerts during the festival in a walking street of the city center. In addition, the festival started to produce festival for children called "Kids Festival" with a strong emphasis on audience development and education. The aim is not only to develop future audience to Pori Jazz but also more broadly to rhythm music in collaboration with the local music schools. Festivals provide also various voluntary opportunities for the citizens and local associations, whether in arts, sports or other fields.

The Festivals and Development of Regions
The fifth role of festivals was not acknowledged in the regional strategy documents but was emphasized in the interviews. The festival managers saw that the festivals have also a role in regional and national development. This means that a festival may become an important initiator in its local community that brings together the different public and private actors to develop a cluster around a topic. For instance, Provinssirock festival initiated a strong network of higher education institutions and private local businesses around popular and rhythm music. This network is developing structures for increased collaboration between local SMEs and mega events.
"The aim is to develop the actions. The problem is that here in South Ostrobotnia the firms and partners are very small. They do have interest for collaboration but they do not have the resources for it. With a larger mass we try to find the solution for this...The benefits for the regions is huge in terms of increasing knowledge and skills. On the other hand, we believe and hope that this will benefit us as well, eventually." (Festival manager, Seinäjoki)

Pori Jazz has also been one of the founding members of "Finland Festivals", which is an umbrella organization established, for instance, to improve conditions for festivals in Finland, to influence public policy affecting festivals, assist in marketing, and negotiate partnership agreements. Other festivals have also this type of development of their genre and art form locally, nationally and globally. Festivals have also a developmental role in the infrastructure of cities and regions. In collaboration with the cities, festivals have an opportunity to develop areas.

CONCLUSIONS

In both of the cases the festivals and cultural events are emphasized within four different themes: economic development, education, attractiveness and image building, and coziness and wellbeing. Pori and Seinäjoki give similar meanings to festivals and cultural events in the strategy-making, but they differ in the ways educational and well-being aspects are highlighted. In the case of Seinäjoki, the regional strategy focus on the few economic opportunities related to festivals and events whereas Pori's regional strategy take a more holistic view embedding festivals and cultural events in all of the aspects of strategy.

Another interesting finding is how the strategy texts are close to the actions and operations in the field. This is seen in the language use of the strategy text describing concrete actions and plans to be realized. For instance, in the case of Pori educational objectives are clearly described and in the case of Seinäjoki, the productization of various cultural events is mentioned. This finding contributes with Getz, Andersson and Larsson (2007) argumentation of the net of diverse interests where the actors may take multiple roles such as regulators, facilitators, co-producers, suppliers, collaborators, audiences and the impacted. In this light, strategic-led decision making provide these identified roles and positions for public authorities in the networked festival production. Overall, events and festivals seem to have a remarkable role in the strategic development level of the areas. Moreover, festivals point out the predominant meanings of public authorities in the production system. We found, that the both the strategic planning and the operative actions in festival production have similarities. The festivals execute the regional strategic goals in operational level while producing and developing the festivals. This can be seen in the objectives, operation plans and the overall values of the region in strategic level and concrete actions in the management of producing. This finding led to the fifth theme of the roles of festivals in regional development processes: events and festivals have an active role in improving the city and region, but also enhancing the conditions for art genres in national level.

In his comparative case study Evans (2009) found that the declared policy and strategy rationales indicated that the dominant objectives behind most interventions were Economic development and employment, Infrastructure, Regeneration, Tourism and events, City branding, Education and training, Social/access, and finally, 'Heritage' featured least in the reasons and benefits claimed for creative industry policies. Similar rationales of the strategic development were used in our two case cities. However, instead of building new creative blocks or clusters in the city, Pori and Seinäjoki are relying on their strong heritage of music festivals and event production. This type of strategy has a possibility to positively overlap with other areas of the regional economy instead of investing on various new employment profile or market structure.

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