HELSEINKI
A FESTIVAL CITY
SATU SILVANTO (ED.)
Helsinki has experienced a festival boom in the last 10 years. Nowadays more than 80 arts festivals are organised in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area every year. This book grew out of the necessity to trace how the scene has developed, who its main actors are and how the residents of the area have responded to the festival phenomenon. Another important question was how festivals transform the city.

The book is divided in three main sections: the first throws light on the history and development of Helsinki festivals, the second is dedicated to festival actors and audiences and the third considers the relationship between festivals and the city.

The Sibelius Week promoting Finnish music culture was the first festival in Helsinki. It was organised from 1951 till 1965. In 1968, the multi-arts Helsinki Festival was established and for a long time, it was the only festival in the city. In the 1980s, several festivals were launched: Liikkeellä Marraskuussa (Moving in November) contemporary dance festival, Rakkautta & Anarkiaa Helsinki International Film Festival, Espoo Ciné and Helsinki Comics Festival. All of them still exist today.

A real festival boom started in the middle of the 1990s and it still continues. Helsinki was a European City of Culture in 2000, which offered the extra resources needed for the creation of several new festivals. Today, the themes of the festivals range from documentary film to flamenco and from media art to metal music. Their size and target groups vary a lot but all of them are international events bringing the newest phenomena in their field to their audiences. No matter how professionally organised a festival is, a lot of voluntary work is carried out to realise it.

A survey conducted among residents of the Helsinki Metropolitan Area as a part of the book project shows that, even though young people are especially active festival-goers, people from different age groups and with various educational and professional backgrounds also participate in festivals. Nine out of ten respondents think festivals are good for the city, and every fourth person sees festivals as being meaningful for them personally.

The book also examines the festival city from economic, political and spatial perspectives. Festivals have been integrated into Helsinki’s attempts to become an economically successful and administratively strong cultural city. The festival scene is, however, constantly changing and new forms of events are emerging, which makes it challenging to use festivals, for example, in city marketing.

This document contains English summaries of most of the articles. For more information, you can contact the authors whose e-mail addresses you will find in the document (and also those authors who don’t provide an English summary here). Inquiries can also be addressed to the editor of the book at satu.silvanto(แต)hel.fi.
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Festivals in the Helsinki metropolitan area
The number of festivals held in Helsinki has increased radically over the last ten years, a trend which can be seen in other European cities as well. As the number of arts festivals grows, other events, too, are increasingly being renamed as ‘festivals’.

This book focuses on arts and cultural festivals in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area. In this book, the term ‘festival’ refers to an artistic or cultural event lasting for several days that is built around a specific art form (e.g. music, drama, cinema, literature) or theme (e.g. urban culture, youth, Asia) and is held regularly (e.g. once a year or once in three years) at a specific venue (e.g. a specific town or hall). The events are organized by professionals or amateurs of the arts; they are open to the public and offer an international programme. The scale of the events may be anything from large rock-music festivals to small-scale poetry readings.

As the roots of modern festivals can be traced back to ancient rites and ceremonies, their history is almost as long as the history of mankind itself. Carnivals in various forms were already an important part of urban life in the 12th century. The first modern urban festivals were the Bayreuth Festival, established in 1876, and the Salzburg Festival, with a history dating back to 1877. The number of urban festivals increased rapidly after the Second World War; Finnish towns, too, launched a number of festivals in the 1950s and the 1960s.

In the 1980s, urban culture in Helsinki went through a significant change; in the 1990s, urban cultural consumption became a national pastime and public interest in urban festivals increased considerably. More new festivals were established around 2000 when Helsinki was one of the eight European Cultural Capitals. Today, Helsinki is the venue for about fifty different arts festivals.
In spring 2006, the City of Helsinki Cultural Office conducted a survey on festivals held in Helsinki. The survey produced 24 responses (a response rate of 49%). The purpose of the survey was to form an overview of the various festivals held in the city and learn more about the organizers’ views and wishes. The responses represent a wide variety of art forms covered by the festivals; the only area not covered was that of children’s festivals. The responses have been compiled into a summary which, rather than presenting any definite conclusions, presents views and observations and identifies the common features shared by the festivals.

On the whole, the responses were positive and showed the respondents’ clear enthusiasm for organizing these events. The respondents were pleased with the high artistic quality of their programmes and the positive feedback they had received from their audiences. However, ensuring continuity (with regard to financing, human resources, venues, etc.) was a common concern. There was a distinct desire to improve networking and audience education and to gain more contacts abroad. The areas where organizers felt that they needed most support were financing, communication and scheduling.

The variety of festivals in Helsinki has increased enormously over the past few years with a growing variety of new events and themes. The City plans to pay even closer attention to this trend and meet the various needs emerging in the festival sector. While the City has provided financial support to festivals, respondents also felt that the City should take on a greater, more active role.
The Sibelius Weeks were launched in 1951, soon after the Second World War, when the Finnish intellectual climate was rather depressed and the country’s artistic contacts with both East and West were practically non-existent. The aim of the Sibelius Weeks was to promote Finnish music and raise its profile abroad.

The Sibelius Weeks were held annually for fifteen years. Initially, the music was performed by Helsinki-based orchestras alone. In 1955-60, there were a number of visits made by orchestras from abroad, but then the programme began to shrink until the last event. Although the festival presented both classical music and some popular music and even theatre plays, it was criticized for not providing enough variety, particularly in the 1960s, when the cultural climate was changing. Eventually, it was decided that the festival should be discontinued after the Sibelius Centennial, an event that lent itself as a grand finale to the festival.

In spite of the demise of the Sibelius Weeks, there were immediate plans for a new festival, and the Helsinki Festival was established in 1968, with composer Seppo Nummi appointed Director as of the following year. Nummi was a charismatic personality in the cultural sector, who extended the range of the programme into pop music, jazz, fine arts and cinema. In tune with the contemporary principles of democratization, parts of the programmes were specifically aimed at children, factory workers or even prisoners, for instance. In 1976, Nummi was succeeded by Seppo Kimanen, who maintained the course taken by his predecessor. Major changes took place in 1979, when Veijo Varpio was appointed Director.

Varpio’s vision was to present new classical music composed specifically for the Festival and to cover the expenses for this with revenues from concerts given by world-class performers. Other art forms were to receive less attention, and there was a new theme for the programme every year. After Varpio retired in 1994, conductor Esa-Pekka Salonen and his Artistic Committee took charge of the festival in 1995. Under Salonen, the Helsinki Festival underwent a complete facelift and became a multidisciplinary urban festival – a reform that did not come cheaply, as the festival went 100% over its 1995 budget.

Since 1997, the Helsinki Festival has been run by Risto Nieminen, who feels that public support for the festival can be justified only by ensuring that the festival has a sound artistic content. Accordingly, the programme can consist of both a more ‘serious’ part and a more popular part. For 2007, the Helsinki Festival has applied for a grant from the City to enliven the City’s atmosphere by providing more free concerts and events in the urban space.
The upsurge of Finnish music festivals in the early 1970s had a significant impact on customs and other leisure-related cultural habits. At the same time, the rapidly growing immigration to the Helsinki Metropolitan Area gave an entirely new role for the countryside. Music festivals held in the country served as a counterbalance to urban culture, as the most important festivals in the 1970s and 1980s were held in small rural towns. Finnish arts were searching for a national identity and trying to achieve a European standard. In the 1990s, this approach was pushed aside by urban festivals. Today, instead of the festivals offering ‘correct’ cultural values to the masses, they are aimed at the organizers’ own peer groups.

Music festivals held in and around Helsinki are major contributors to the creation of an increasingly fragmented and differentiated festival culture. Festivals and arts events no longer reflect a single, supposedly permanent set of values or a single, supposedly permanent view of the arts but are tailored for particular groups of consumers. The audiences consist of individual players building their personal and social identities. While they may be outside their normal milieu, so to speak, being detached also means belonging to a group. They may express their own values and attitudes without these constituting permanent ties to their places. People may carry their special characteristics with them but they may equally change their identities horizontally like tourists as they move from one space or field to another, or ‘from one tribe into another’. This was not the case in the 1970s. The audience of Helsinki music festivals have moved from their permanent positions into a space of changing scenes.
To summarize the Russian concept of tusovka, ‘tusovka is creative interaction between free people,’ according to the Russian film director Sasha Bashirov. For eight years, Tusovka Rock at the Gloria Cultural Arena has introduced Russian popular culture, mostly music, to Helsinki on one weekend every spring. The event is organized by Tusovka, a society promoting Russian rock music and popular culture. The aim of Tusovka is to expand the Finnish cultural scene, to raise the profile of Russian popular culture in Finland and to reduce Finnish prejudices against Russia. Accordingly, the main target group is Finnish adults interested in music, but we are delighted to see that our festival is also increasingly popular among Russians living in Finland. The festival is run by volunteers, as is everything else that Tusovka does; the festival is organized by the society’s administrative board, with help from a large number of volunteers selling tickets, for instance. At the festival, the music in the evenings is usually performed by at least one Russian band and a Finnish band of the same genre. The festival also offers people an opportunity to sample Russian foods, buy Russian CDs and learn more about other organizations related to Russian culture. The festival sometimes includes exhibitions of works by young Russian and Finnish artists and photographers and showings of short films and documentaries.
Film festivals provide an important addition to films generally shown in and around Helsinki and provide a wide variety of interesting alternatives to commercially distributed films.

The largest film festival in Finland, the Helsinki International Film Festival – Love & Anarchy, began as a small-scale weekend event in the late 1980s. The Espoo Ciné festival was launched at about the same time; it, too, is today one of the most important film festivals in the Metropolitan Area. Over the years, a number of other festivals, large and small, have cropped up, each offering its own alternative themes to the audiences.

Festivals are often important venues for films with little commercial potential in a country with as small a population as Finland’s. At their best, festival programmes include highly topical, internationally acclaimed films, interesting art-house cinema, and films that stir debate and shake people’s minds. It is more than reasonable to say that the programmes of film festivals reflect contemporary general moods and cultural atmospheres through their variety of films from all over the world.

2006 was a particularly dramatic year for cinema in Helsinki, as a total of thirteen cinemas were closed down within one year. This was a particularly hard blow for art-house films, which are more often than not shown over a longer period on small screens. By the end of the year, cinema-goers in Helsinki were effectively left with two commercial cinema complexes, both run by Finnkino. As a result, the importance of film festivals as venues for non-commercial films has become even greater.
FROM DRAWERS’ DAYS TO AN INTERNATIONAL EVENT

The Helsinki Comics Festival as the feeler of the comics scene

Ville Hänninen

The Helsinki Comics Festival is by far the biggest and most important comic event in Finland. The festival has its roots in the Piirtäjäpäivät event (Drawers’ Days) organised in 1979 by the Finnish Comics Society. The first Helsinki Comics Festival was organised in 1983. Since 1988 a two-day event has been organised every year. The years 1995-2001 were crucial for the development of the festival. Then the budget of the event increased and it changed from a small event aimed at comic fans to a multi-art event attracting wider audiences. The festival also started to follow international comic trends more actively. The biggest festival so far was organised in 2000. More financing was available from Helsinki’s City of Culture Foundation, which made it possible to realise several important projects.

The transformation of the Comics Festival from an event of collectors and fans into a festival co-operating with other fields of art and open to a wider public was due to the fact that the whole Finnish comics scene underwent a radical change. The Finnish comics started their rise in the mid-1990s. At the end of the 1980s, only a few Finnish comic books were published every year, but nowadays the number of annual publications varies between 30 and 40. The Comics Festival has been active in presenting Finnish comics, especially young, not yet established talents. The Helsinki Comics Festival is an important event from the viewpoints of the Finnish comics culture and the number and versatility of, and public attention given to Finnish comics publications.
Dance festivals have appeared as an important factor in boosting the status of contemporary dance amongst the other performing arts and alongside the visual arts. The first contemporary dance festival in Helsinki was launched in the 1980s: Moving in November was a much-needed arena for Finnish dance performances. Most Finnish dance artists were then, as now, based in Helsinki. However, through the establishment of five regional dance centres in the 2000s, contemporary dance has raised its profile around the country.

This article presents the evolvement of contemporary dance festivals in Helsinki over the past twenty years and describes trends within the dance festival sector. It seeks answers to questions such as what kind of networks and cooperation models have evolved through these festivals, what are the results achieved, and also, whether festivals have served the development of dance field more than cultural consumers.

The main festival presented in the article, Moving in November, is practically the only annual arena for international contemporary dance in Helsinki today, with Helsinki Festival and Kiasma Theatre’s URB Festival complementing the scene. These few festivals organize most of the international dance performances seen in Helsinki, since there is no venue dedicated solely to guest performances in dance. This poses quite a challenge for Moving in November with a very tight budget, and for production houses that work in partnership with the festival. As the budgets of the production houses have been diminishing during recent years, partnership and networking with both Finnish and international instances become increasingly important.

In the 1990s, in particular, several new dance festivals were launched in Helsinki, some of which are still held annually, while others have been one-off events or perhaps repeated once. While the number of dance artists and, accordingly, the number of contemporary dance performances have increased considerably, festivals are still considered attractive and appropriate forms to present work. From the audience perspective, festivals offer an excellent opportunity to get a somehow focused view on different art forms; especially, when there are related events such as debates, talks, club nights and other events complementing the programme.
The Flamenco Festival organized by Helsingin Flamencoyhdistys has been drawing large audiences for ten years now. The festival programme includes excellent courses in dancing, singing and guitar playing and flamenco concerts by Finnish and Spanish performers. The festival has helped to raise significantly the profile of flamenco in Finland by introducing a variety of flamenco performers, each with a highly individual style of interpreting their art. For professional Finnish flamenco artists, it has offered an opportunity to learn how others create flamenco and to present their own ideas for others to see and hear.
The first CIRKO, or the Helsinki Festival of Contemporary Circus, held in October 2006, was the largest circus festival ever held in Finland. The festival attracted a great deal of public interest and drew large audiences, which is an interesting reflection of the change in the status of circus in the Finnish arts in the past 30 years.

Modern circus, or cirque nouveau, found its way to Finland roughly twenty years after it had started to evolve in France in the 1970s. The French performances seen at the Helsinki Festival in the 1990s had a significant impact on the new generation of Finnish circus performers. As in France, the development of Finnish circus relies on training. The first children's circuses in Finland were established in the early 1970s. Today, there are five circus schools in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area teaching hundreds of children, and many of today’s professional circus artists have been practising their art since childhood.

The first festival for modern circus artists was the 5-3-1 Festival of New and Experimental Juggling established in Helsinki in 1999. It grew further, making circus performance less of a marginal art form and bringing it closer to mainstream arts, and it became one of the main international events in the field, signifying a change in modern circus.

The postmodernist conception of art, which has erased the borders between high and low culture, has inevitably made circus performance a firm part of the cultural sector. Thanks to the increasing self-awareness and growing resources in circus, CIRKO has become an important part of a dynamic urban culture and joined the developing chain of the international community of circus artists and producers.
In the late 1990s, Finnish children’s theatre was running out of new ideas and creators, as the Children’s Festival was withering away and was finally discontinued, the Theatre Pieni Suomi ran into financial difficulties and was merged into the Helsinki City Theatre and the Vihreä Omena puppet theatre was closed down after a long struggle.

In 1996, the Finnish branch of the International Association of Theatre for Children and Young People (ASSITEJ) launched the Bravo! project, which was then included in the 2000 Cultural Capital programme. The Theatre Academy arranged courses, excursions and work projects to encourage new professionals to work in theatres for children and young people.

In 2000, the Bravo! festival invited performers from other cultural capitals of Europe. As the event proved highly successful, the culture offices of the cities in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area were delighted to continue their partnership and wanted the festival to continue on a regular basis. The programme for the next festival, which was held in 2002, contained performances by famous foreign companies only, while another festival, Hurraa!, was established in 2003 for Finnish companies.

The Bravo! festivals of 2004 and 2006 brought new perspectives into children’s theatre and received a great deal of media attention, and finding new creators in the sector is an ongoing process.
When Oliver Kochta-Kalleinen and I were invited to be curators for the Amorph!03 festival organized/produced by the Artists’ Association MUU, we were at a loss at first. We had felt that performance art had sunk to stagnation since the 1970s, with performance festivals turning into private playgrounds for performance artists mainly performing to each other. Nevertheless, we took up the challenge and decided to do something that had topical relevance from the perspectives of both performance festivals and contemporary art in general.

We organized the first summit meeting of Micronations. The term ‘Micronations’ referred to any groups and individuals who had declared themselves as sovereign states. The opening venue for Amorph!03 was the Finlandia Hall, the traditional scene for important meetings in the history of diplomacy. The first day of the three-day festival was dedicated to the actual summit meeting, which was closed to the public. In the evening, the public could participate in the grand opening gala, which balanced between the absurd and the sublime.

The next two days were spent on Harakka Island. The Micronations established temporary embassies in the old bunkers on the island, providing an opportunity for the public to talk to representatives of the states and even apply for citizenship. In the evening, we would heat the sauna, which offered a more traditional Finnish way of establishing unofficial diplomatic relations.

The summit meeting itself was a large-scale performance working on a number of levels. It was a commentary on the system of citizen states, where the formal rituals can be seen as theatre performances; on the other hand, the establishment of a Micronation could also be seen as a performance. We did not, however, manage to turn the festival into a media performance, which would have added one more layer to the Amorph!03 performance festival.
Most neighbourhood festivals are small events organised by locals for locals. They contradict the definition of a festival as an international and professional event. However their amateur nature does not make them less meaningful. The article presents a brief history of these events and their role in the city.

The neighbourhood festivals originated in the 1950s and 1960s in rapidly growing Helsinki. The small events helped in making contacts and creating the local atmosphere in new suburbs. The festivals maintained their role as solely local gatherings until Helsinki was going through severe depression at the turn of the 1990s. At the time two reasonably affluent neighbourhoods turned their festivals into city-wide events. The free admission, together with beer stands and refreshing mixture of unprofessional and professional local performers, attracted up to 20 000 visitors. These festivals showed that an event created by residents for residents could become a meaningful event for the whole city.

The festivals adopted yet another new role when Helsinki started its economic recovery in the mid 1990s. A new, reasonably big neighbourhood festival was established first in a disreputable central neighbourhood and then almost ten years later in a less well-to-do suburb. These festivals aimed to revitalise the image of the neighbourhoods. Both of them turned out to be success stories and they showed the strength of cultural activity in neighbourhood regeneration.

All in all, the local festivals have been most needed in the hardest times. At these times also the city has most developed its support for residents’ cultural activity. However, Helsinki is currently experiencing an economic boom, and at the same time the Helsinki City Cultural Office is undergoing major organisational changes. Only time will tell what status the residents’ festivals will have in the Helsinki of tomorrow.
With more than 50,000 visitors, the World Village Festival is one of the largest cultural events in Helsinki. Free of charge to the public, it also provides information on NGOs, global education and immigrants. The main organizer of the event is the Service Centre for Development Cooperation (KEPA), which provides services for nearly 300 Finnish organizations and associations.

The festival is always held during the last weekend in May and offers music, dance, information, workshops, sports, food and anything else one could imagine. According to producer Kai Artes, each theme has a meaning and audience, as the festival is never exactly the same for everyone.

The festival’s programme can be divided into two parts distinctly different in style: one consists of new, surprising elements and is mostly aimed at young people, while the other is more traditional and aimed at an older generation. There is also a wide-ranging programme for children and families. In recent years, the organizers have focused particularly on the quantity and quality of factual information, maintaining, nevertheless, the casual, informal spirit of the festival: the programme includes plenty of different interviews, presentations and workshops, which sets it apart from other festivals.
PARTICIPATING IN THE NEW MEDIA CULTURE

The traditional way of participating in an event is for the audience to meet at a specific physical venue. With the arrival of the new media, audiences have become more fragmented and divided into even smaller sub-audiences, and the forms of participation have increased in number.

This article discusses the various forms of and motives for audience participation, using the examples of three events related to the new media culture, all sharing experimentation with different forms of participation and the tools used for such forms. Åäniradio was a local radio project, which took place in Helsinki, remote Auckland was a mini-conference on geographical isolation, the content of which was broadcast through streaming technology from various continents, and Capturing the Moving Mind LIVE was an experimental mobile event where the audience could follow the social documentation of a conference on the Trans-Siberian railway line on the Internet.

The audiences participated both physically and electronically through the Internet in the events. Participation was both passive and active and took place across radio frequencies, over an Internet radio and on a moving train. Key target groups at these events were interest groups that were select niche audiences or peer groups. The target groups were also involved in the process of creating the events as partners and ‘telecolleagues’ as well as in the content production. The main motive for people’s participation was a sense of agency, and each event had a distinct time and space.

Events such as those described above are created through networks, where the target groups for these events are also found. Bringing the new media into the midst of the public and expanding the potential audience beyond the original target groups is therefore a major challenge for the producers of such events, as agency itself can become a problem if the invitation for the audience to participate fails for some reason. If these new forms of participation are adopted, the audiences, too, must adopt new kinds of roles. Thus, the change process requires a sustained effort in audience development. The role of the producer, therefore, is increasingly often not only to take care of administrative matters for an event but also to act as a moderator between the audience and the production.
Producers have traditionally held the reins of festivals, taking charge of the various themes and bearing the ultimate responsibility for the success or failure of the festivals. They are increasingly seen as jacks-of-all-trades where matters related to festivals are concerned, but it has also emerged that producers themselves have fairly clear ideas about how their expertise should be defined. This article focuses on professional festival producers in Helsinki and how they define their own work and job descriptions. The article is based on responses from 33 producers gathered through electronic questionnaires sent to them in spring 2005.

Festival producers defined their expertise from five different perspectives. In most cases, expertise was defined through the operating sector (public/private/third/freelance) and the arts represented at the festivals (e.g. dance/popular music/theatre). Other perspectives were the business management of festivals, the target audiences, and partnerships with other players (particularly the social and health-care sector and the tourist industry). However, a producer may slip smoothly from one role into another as projects or even situations within projects change.
Our article is based on a festival survey conducted on the Internet among residents in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area (N=1055). This survey was the first of its kind. According to the results, most residents (74% of the respondents) participate in urban festivals at least occasionally. Obviously, metropolitan residents have far better access to festivals than people living in other parts of the country, considering that there are around fifty different art festivals in Helsinki alone each year. However, they also attend festivals elsewhere in Finland and even abroad, while a number of small-scale urban festivals remain fairly unknown to the public.

The results are in clear contrast to the long-established view according to which middle-aged women are an over-represented part of the audiences at all cultural events – culture defined here narrowly as ‘high culture’ such as theatre or classical music. If we take a closer look at all festivals arranged, whether large or small, whether famous festivals with wide-ranging programmes or low-budget festivals related to very narrow genres, the view changes radically. There are both men and women in the audiences, they have diverse educational backgrounds, and the middle-aged are increasingly giving way to teenagers and young adults. Ageing people, too, take part in urban festivals.

People in festival audiences can today be more clearly categorized on the basis of their main values and lifestyles rather than their professional statuses, educational backgrounds or income. Most frequent festival-goers were either ‘experiential-type’ people or ‘influencers’, and the festivals attended by these two groups were distinctly different. The former were interested in festivals focusing on new genres such as electronic music, whereas the latter preferred classical music and literature. The group best defined as ‘open-minded seekers’ was primarily looking for social situations in general and other people’s company.

People living in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area have incredibly positive views of festivals in Helsinki: nine out of ten respondents considered festivals important for the city, and one in four felt that festivals were meaningful for them personally. The large variety of festivals was also seen as a strength as it offered different programmes for different people. Having fun was no longer considered a sin but something that created a positive atmosphere in the city. Many pointed out that festivals helped improve community spirit, although some festivals were seen as something aimed at small, closed groups.

An interesting programme was the main reason for attending a festival. Accordingly, content issues should not be ignored when festivals are being marketed to ever-larger audiences. The atmosphere of a festival was also an important factor. After all, the audience has an important – if not the most important – role to play in creating a unique atmosphere for a festival.
Who goes to festivals in Helsinki? Where do they come from? What sort of backgrounds do they have? What do they think about the festivals? This article presents observations picked from surveys of the audiences at the Helsinki Festival over a number of years, with particular focus on how the catchment area has changed.

The Helsinki Festival is an excellent research subject as the festival programme consists of a very large variety of performances, both small and large events, in the sphere of both high and low culture; the venues are anything from large concert halls to downtown streets, and many of the events are free of charge. The results of the survey can be applied to audiences at other festivals in the Metropolitan Area as well.

In general, most of the audiences of Helsinki Festival are women, have had a secondary or higher education, are white-collar employees or students, are actively interested in the arts and live in or near the centre of Helsinki. However, the variety of the events itself makes it very difficult to apply these generalizations and mean values to the audiences, as it includes high-priced and free performances, ethnic and classical music, theatre and dance, events held on weekdays and those held at weekends, etc.

Most members of the audiences at the Festival live in Helsinki or elsewhere in the Metropolitan Area. The percentage of foreigners has increased in recent years, but most of them come to Helsinki for business or for a holiday rather than with the Festival as the primary reason for their journey.

Interestingly, the majority of the audience consists of people living in or near the centre of Helsinki, although people living in that area form only 28.5% of the population of Helsinki and 16.5% of the population of the entire Metropolitan Area. Why this part of the population is more active than the rest is somewhat unclear. Obviously, they have the easiest access to cultural events, but it is also possible that they specifically look for cultural services and other services readily available at the centre of the city.
The impacts of festivals on the local economy are diverse. They become visible in the investments and job creation related to the organisation of a festival and in audience consumption. Second, they are manifested in the characteristic describing the socio-cultural setting and the “spirit” of a place; how lively and attractive a city is and what kind of production networks are created there. In my article, I concentrate on the latter, that is, the unquantifiable effects of festivals on the local economy.

Cultural festivals have created around them cultural clusters that generate creativity. These have provided new impulses for local development. It is impossible, however, to mechanically calculate or predict how the development will proceed. Rather, it is a multifaceted question of how different networks and the attractiveness of a city mutually construct themselves in a dynamic relationship. Festivals have their own role and task in the process. The same is true for the dynamism, authenticity and cultural diversity of the area. They all have an indirect, unquantifiable connection to the contents of festivals. Also, they are reflected in the quality of the living environment and help to attract a skilled labour force.

According to several studies, factors related to the quality of the living environment and the cultural atmosphere of a city reinforce the attractiveness of a city as a whole. Partly due to this, festivals and the cultural offerings of cities have been integrated into comprehensive business development policies of cities. Festivals, clusters of creative industries and the cultural vitality of cities mutually reinforce each other and thus improve preconditions for the success of local economic life. This is why cultural festivals have become part of the development policy of the City of Helsinki as well.
Culture and the arts are increasingly considered to play a key role in enlivening the urban environment. This article examines how urban policy in Helsinki aiming at economic success affect the city’s cultural policy, focusing on festivals in particular, and vice versa – what is the role of culture in urban policy. What does Helsinki’s ‘festival policy’ involve and what notions of culture as a contributor to the development of the city is it based on? The article is based on six interviews.

A significant consequence of the Cultural Capital year was the emergence of a new cultural discourse in administration and decision-making. Culture expanded from its own sector into two new discourses. Outside cultural policy, culture adopted two other roles, one in social welfare and the other in business.

In the new discourse, culture is ubiquitous and cultural policy applicable anywhere. It emphasizes an administrative culture that transcends the borders between public and private and between the various administrative sectors and philosophies in local government. People working in cultural administration in Helsinki have recognized the importance of following and sounding out new creators, forms and ideas in the cultural field and also have a good grasp of an experimental policy involving conscious risk taking. Rapidly arranged, changing arts festivals with select audiences complement this policy perfectly.

In terms of cultural policy, festivals sustain the idea, based on a welfare-state ideology, of disseminating culture democratically to everybody while simultaneously supporting the goals related to the vitality of the city and urban space, marketing the city’s urban image, and that of a creative, dynamic economy. Because of their momentary and transient nature, they boost the significance of cultural production as they bring forth new ideas, which means that their role in culture is effectively the same as that of innovations in a modern economy. Thus, the discourse of economy provides a model for the discourse of cultural policy.
Festivals are often defined as public events tied to a specific time and place and with a particular theme and a distinct purpose. However, more and more ‘festivals’ are today no longer tied to any time or place and may even be mobile events. How is the essence of urban festivals changing? What new attributes and forms can be applied to the concept of an ‘urban event’? Can the new forms even be accurately termed as ‘festivals’ or ‘events’? This article focuses on such changes; new forms of events discussed in this article are events creating ‘conscious’ spatial interventions and thus emphasizing the relationship between the event and the urban space.

The first part of the article examines cities as scenes of cultural events. The past 150 years have been a golden era for urban festivals and mega-events. A good example of major arts events is the network of European Cultural Capitals introduced in the 1980s. The system of Cultural Capitals, which grew out of a need to stimulate the non-economic dimension of the European Union, is also a boost to the cultural leadership of each city concerned. If we are to believe the promise of the slogan for the year, “culture was good” for Helsinki and the eight other European cities in 2000, as it provided an opportunity to outline the events and festivals in Helsinki, the ways to produce them and the experiences to be provided by them in the years to come.

In the second part of the article, the focus shifts from the city as the host for these events to the actual space for the events: what constitutes the new space for events and to what extent is public urban space the space for ‘spectacles’ created at these events? Examples of the relationship between public space and cultural events discussed here are ‘spatial interventions’, where the act of creating is the actual event, often aiming at appropriation or creative use of public space. Such ‘post-festivals’ conflicting with the traditional notion of festivals can be found in public art and its electronic versions, temporary events and street media alike. They often border on activism and tend to be omitted whenever creative urban event practices are mentioned. In Helsinki, too, the definition of a ‘creative city’ from the viewpoint of culture festivals is being debated. An important question is how the bird’s-eye view applied to large festivals and the more challenging forms of creativity, such as direct interventions urban space, can be reconciled to produce ‘genuinely’ creative urban culture. Such ‘post-festival’ urban events are also about a more subtle way of creating a ‘sense of space’. Urban events can be used as a tool for appropriating space and as a magnifier of space and the community around it. This also gives new forms to the attributes and categories applied to the concept of a festival.
It is easy for the outsiders to be misled by the cliché image of the Finns frolicking in the nature, jumping from sauna into the snow in the winter and bathing in lakes in the summer. The papers in this volume make it clear that much of Finnish social experience has acquired a distinct urban character and has been articulated through very broad panoply of festivals taking place in Helsinki. The crowded festival scene with a variety of programming formulae reflects the transition of the Finnish society after the end of the Cold War, the shift from the long-standing neutrality to an active EU membership and exposure to the economic and cultural consequences of globalization, with cultural programming becoming more international and more diverse. Festivals are all over Europe the cultural form that affirms diversity and weakens the assumptions derived from homogenic notions of national culture. At the same time the festival orientations and programs also reflect the socioeconomic and cultural stratification of the contemporary European societies, divergent leisure habits, taste preferences and the need to punctuate the flow of routine (cultural) consumption with some festive, intensive, exceptional highlights. Hence the overall explosion of festivals, accelerated multiplication of formats and thematic foci, unexpected interdisciplinary syntheses and specific artistic, cultural and social agendas advanced through festival concepts and programs.

Urban audiences, as Helsinki example shows, seem to possess an insatiable appetite for festival offerings and an inclination to confront unknown and lesser known forms (flamenco, new French artistic circus), test own cultural prejudices in festival experiences (Russian rock) and plunge in the exoticism of globalized citizenship (The World Village). If in 1950s and 1960s festivals had a chiefly manifestative, representational role and sought to compensate for the deficiencies and limitations of the local cultural production with exceptional artistic import, today festivals stimulate, innovate, mainstream and affirm new cultural practices, artistic orientations and topics. The compensatory role has been rephrased: a film festival reconstructs the film-going audience of interest and passion beyond the standard Hollywood productions, and surpasses the video club taste monopoly, created by the shutting down of numerous cinemas. This Helsinki experience is being repeated in many European cities and film festivals of specific focus provoke great audience enthusiasm within a narrow programming niche - ecological or human rights, anthropology, religion or music films all find their own audiences.

Fragmented cultural consumers appear as members of specific communities of interest, articulated and galvanized through internet and capable of securing to festivals that are willing to experiment with digital technology a prospect of a significant secondary audience, to be built in time and space, in addition to the primary audience attending live events. For festivals that seek their own audience only once a year, internet has brought an opportunity to sustain audience loyalty and interest between the two yearly editions, but only if they are capable of offering a continuous flow of information, news, and special experiences, real or virtual, and not just gossip, PR prose and fun-
raising appeals. Here again festivals could be expected to lead the engagement with the already existing digital technology in order to recycle their cultural offers and extend the shelf life of their products, something that hopefully all cultural organizations will follow, thus sur-passing the gap between traditional cultural producers and the ‘new media’.

Increasingly, festivals are not just artistic packages with appealing and valued content but instruments to re-examine the urban dynamics, focal points of sociability, mental maps of local topography and rearrange the direction and patterns of mobility within the city space. Whether they take place in the open space, reclaim emblematic prestigious edifices (Finlandia) or seize neglected, abandoned and peripheral objects, festivals challenge the habitual pathways and perceptions and in some cases instigate economic development through cultural activity – but only if they succeed to protract and sustain the political economy of attention from one single event to a lasting programming. In the urban space, functionally dominated by housing and consumerism, festivals reaffirm the public sphere in its civic dimension, including polemic, debate, critique and collective passion for a certain art form or topic. As cities understand better the key success factors of urban renewal and grasp the limitation of a dreamt about tourist bonanza (that refuses to materialize in the multiplied drink holes and shopping malls), festivals appear as a precious force to mark the perimeters of the public sphere, upgrade it by the concentration of creative gestures and their collective appreciation.

All over Europe there are an increasing number of one-shot festivals, made to happen only once, without any ambition for repetition or institutionalization. Those festivals are usually set up by organizations that are anyhow active in cultural programming and that prefer to package a number of distinct events into one cluster, squeeze it in a long weekend and attach a bombastic festival title to it. This method certainly eases the fundraising and the marketing. Another festival form are prolonged programming packages such as a ‘year of …’, marking some anniversary, or European Cultural Capitals series. Having been part of the program in 2000, together with several other (very different) cities, Helsinki had an opportunity to rethink the midterm effects of such a formula and the discrepancy between the initial expectations and the ultimate delivery that marks practically all cities that have taken the label after Athens did in 1985. If nothing else, the experience exposed Helsinki to the increasing competition among the European major cities as tourist destination and revealed the complexity of shifting gears of cultural policy to make the existing cultural infrastructure more cooperative and the present cultural constellation more diverse, ambitious and internationally engaged. While festivals, it seems, do have the capacity to alter the prevailing mentality of cultural organizations in a city and make them see each other not only as competitors but also as potential allies, it is not yet clear how the festivals exemplify and implement the fuzzy, fashionable paradigm of a ‘creative city’. More than a direct economic benefit or some instantaneous delivery of social cohesion, festivals seem to be able to advance the artistic discourse and provide much exposed platforms for a debate on the course and accents of the cultural policy, especially in the crucial knot, tying together the local resources and needs and international developments and opportunities.

Despite continuous growth of festivals and evident display of their complexity and diversity, there is surprisingly little research in the festival phenomena, especially longitudinal and comparative attempts are rare. This omission has prompted the emergence of European Festival Research Project, initially as an informal research platform and later as an international consortium of cooperating institutions, aiming to study the festivalization of the daily life in its Europe-wide manifestations and draw some conclusions, forecast trends and offer recommendations to festival operators, public funders and potential sponsors. At the same time EFRP
instigates reflection among the festival professionals, stimulates the teaching of festival topics in the professional curricula, prompts young researchers to address the festival issues in a European framework, and discusses research results in occasional workshops and pools them together by making them available at the website of the European Festival Association (www.efa-aef.org/efrp). It is an open, inclusive process, driven more by issues than specific national festival constellations, and seeks to address the artistic, cultural, economic, social and educational impact of festivals, to study their programming, politics, governance, management and finances.

In addressing the Helsinki festival topography this volume is a rather unique attempt at self-understanding, comparison and conceptual clarification and strategic development of festival concepts inspired and sustained by the same urban framework. With the proliferation of festivals, public authorities, and especially municipalities are confronted with dilemma which festivals to support and with how much subsidy, to what extend to pool them together for the sake of some presumed efficiency, or rather leave them apart, respecting their autonomy and conceptual specificity. Inevitably, festival proliferation forces public authorities to define their objectives and expectations and in fact profile a local festival policy that will include monitoring, assessment and evaluation of individual festivals that seek public support. Festival policy of public authorities is the topic of a colloquium that EFRP is organizing with CIRCLE (European network of cultural policy research) in Barcelona in October. This book on Helsinki festival practice and the reflections they prompt is in itself a worthy contribution to the Barcelona debates in the fall.
FESTIVALS IN THE HELSINKI METROPOLITAN AREA

Asia in Helsinki
Amorph! International Performance Art Festival
Animatricks
Ankkarock
April Jazz
Art goes Kapakka
Artisokka - Helsinki Women Film Festival
Avanto Helsinki Media Art Festival
Backas Jazz
Baltic Circle
Bravo!
Cinemaissi
Cirko – Helsinki Contemporary Circus Festival
DocPoint – Helsinki Documentary Film Festival
Espoo Choir Festival
Espoo Ciné
ETNOSOI!
Flow Festival
Fête de la francophonie
Funky Elephant Festival
Festival flamenco de Helsinki
Forces of Light
HellDone
Helsinki Balalaika Festival
Helsinki Comics Festival
Helsinki Early Music
Helsinki Festival
Helsinki International
Helsinki International Film Festival – Love & Anarchy
Helsinki Jazz Festival
Helsinki Klezmer Festival
Helsinki Organ Summer
Helsinki Pride
Helsinki Samba Carnaval
HelsinkiTap
Huima
Hurraa!
Illumenation
International Feet Beat Tap Festival
International Piano Festival in Espoo
Irish Festival in Finland
Itä-Helsingin kulttuuriviikot

www.kulttuuri.hel.fi/aasia
www.muu.fi
www.animatricks.net
www.ankkarock.fi/
www.apriljazz.fi/
www.artgoeskapakka.fi/
www.artichoke.lasipalatsi.fi/
www.avantofestival.com
www.backasjazz.fi/
www.q-teatteri.fi/baltic_circle
www.assitejfi.org/tapahtumat.html
www.cinemaissi.org
www.cirko.net/festivaali/
www.docpoint.info
www.kuuroespoo.fi/
www.espoocine.fi/
www.globalmusic.fi/etnosoi
www.flowfestival.com
www.frankofoniajuhlilii.fi/
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www.flamenco.fi/festari.html
www.valonvoimat.org
www.helldone.com/
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www.earlymusic.fi
www.helsinkifestival.fi
www.muotolehti.fi/helsinkiinternational/
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www.uiah.fi
www.feetbeat.fi
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www.finnish-irish.fi/festivaalisivu.html
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Kaktus
Kallio kipinöi
Kallio kukkii
Klassisen kitaramusiikin festivaali
Kettupäivät – Finnish Short and Documentary Film Festival
Kirko soikoon Church Music Festival
Kivenlahti Rock
Koneisto
KontuFestari
Kumpulan kyläkarnevaali
Kurkirock
Käpylä kyläjuhlat
KynnysKINO
Lens Politica
Les Lumières – Festival of the Enlightenment
Loistefestari
Louhela Jam
Maailma kylässä World Village Festival
MADFest
Martinaden
Masters of Arts Festival
Minimailma
Moving in November
Musica nova Helsinki
Night Visions
Nordic Chinese Culture Festival
Örgän Night and Aria
PixelACHE
Poetry Moon
Russian Seasons
Ruutia!
SADE
Side Step
STFU Helsinki
Teatteri.nyt
TUMfest
Tuska Open Air Metal Festival
Tusovkarock
UMO Jazz Fest
URB - Urban festival
Vantaa Baroque
Viapori Jazz
View
Vinokino – Lesbian and Gay Film Festival
Yalla! International Oriental Dance Festival
Z-in-motion
Ääniradio
5-3-1 Festival of New Juggling in Helsinki

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