

IMPACTS OF THE FINLAND 100 ANNIVERSARY YEAR: PART 4

Conclusions: legacy of the centenary

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Impacts of the Finland 100 anniversary year: Part 4

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Olli Ruokolainen, Mervi Luonila, Vappu Renko, Minna Ruusuvirta,
Mia Toivanen, Katri Haila, Kati Ahvonen & Satu Korhonen

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Abstract

In the conclusions of the overall report we summarize the results of our research project on the Finland 100 anniversary year and present our reflections on the legacy of the centenary. Our objective has been to produce a picture of the impacts of the centenary on the Finnish society and its different actor groups.

The Finland 100 anniversary year will leave as an example for future anniversary years an operating model based on broad participation which in its very openness is depictive of the functioning of Finnish society in 2017.

The centenary did enable a wide range of actions, but on the other hand it did not really highlight any special theme in relation to the Finnish society. The centenary did not endeavor to reshape the great national stories or strongly bring the nation together.

The program and tone of the anniversary year support the building of a national Finnish identity from a diversity of ingredients in the future as well. The anniversary year showed that the celebrations of a national centenary can also deal with smaller, more mundane and more cheerful aspects of Finnishness.

The Finland 100 anniversary year presents itself first and foremost as an enabling and diverse "feel-good" celebration. In view of inclusion, the centenary comes across as an inviting but temporary phenomenon. The successful and cheerful anniversary year showed that Finns still can, if need be, get along with each other quite well or at least give each other space.

Keywords independence, anniversary years, impacts, cultural policy, development projects, networks, cooperation, participation, inclusion, national identity, citizenship, country image, communication, international relations

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Kieli	englanti	Sivumäärä	37

Tiivistelmä

Tässä raporttikokonaisuutemme johtopäätösosiossa tiivistämme Suomi 100 -juhlavuotta koskevan tutkimushankkeemme tulokset ja esitämme näkemyksemme juhlavuoden perinnöstä. Tavoitteenamme on ollut tuottaa näkemys Suomi 100 -juhlavuoden vaikutuksista suomalaisen yhteiskuntaan ja sen eri toimijaryhmiin.

Juhlavuosi jättää seuraaville juhlavuosille esikuvaksi laajan osallistamisen toimintamallin, joka kuvaa avoimuudessaan suomalaisen yhteiskunnan toimintaa vuonna 2017.

Yhtäältä juhlavuosi mahdollisti monenlaista, mutta toisaalta sen avulla ei suuremmin korostettu mitään erityistä suomalaista yhteiskuntaa koskevaa aihetta. Juhlavuodella ei pyritty muokkaamaan suuria kansallisia kertomuksia tai kerääntymään kansakuntana voimakkaasti yhteen.

Juhlavuoden ohjelma ja sävy tukevat moniaineksisen suomalaisen kansallisen identiteetin rakentamista jatkossakin. Juhlavuosi osoitti, että valtiollisen juhlavuoden yhteydessä voi käsitellä myös aikaisempaa arkisempia, pienimuotoisempia ja iloisempia aiheita osana suomalaisuutta.

Suomi 100 näyttäytyy ensisijaisesti mahdollistavana ja monimuotoisena ”hyvän filiksen” juhlana. Osallisuuden kokemuksia tarkastellessa juhlavuosi näyttäytyy kutsuvana mutta hetkellisenä ilmiönä. Onnistunut ja iloinen juhlavuosi osoitti, että suomalaiset tulevat tarvittaessa edelleen varsin hyvin toimeen keskenään tai vähintäänkin antavat toisilleen tilaa.

Asiasanat	itsenäisyys, juhlavuodet, vaikutukset, kulttuuripolitiikka, kehittämishankkeet, verkostot, yhteistyö, osallistuminen, osallisuus, kansallinen identiteetti, kansallisuus, suomalaisuus, maakuva, viestintä, kansainväliset suhteet		
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Effekterna av Finlands 100-årsjubileum, del 4

Slutsatser: Arvet efter jubileumsåret

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Referat

Slutsatsdelen i vår rapporthelhet sammanfattar resultaten av forskningsprojektet om Finlands 100-årsjubileum och presenterar våra synpunkter på jubileumsårets verkningar. Vår målsättning har varit att åstadkomma en uppfattning av vilka effekter Finlands 100-årsjubileum hade på det finländska samhället och dess olika aktörsgrupper.

Jubileumsåret har skapat en verksamhetsmodell för inkluderande för framtida jubileumsår, som med sin öppenhet är en beskrivning av det finländska samhället 2017.

Å ena sidan skapade jubileumsåret en stor mängd möjligheter, å andra sidan betonades inte något särskilt tema i det finländska samhället. Jubileumsårets mål var inte att bearbeta stora nationella narrativ eller att förena nationen.

Jubileumsårets program och framtoning stöder en fortsatt utveckling av en mångfaldig nationell identitet. Jubileumsåret visade att man under ett nationellt jubileumsår också kan behandla vardagliga, mindre och gladare ämnen än tidigare.

Finland 100 framstår i första hand som en möjliggörande och mångfaldig fest med "bra stämning". När man granskar upplevelser av delaktighet var jubileumsåret ett lockande men tillfälligt fenomen. Det lyckade och glada jubileumsåret visade att finländarna fortfarande kan samarbeta när det behövs eller åtminstone ge varandra plats.

Nyckelord	självständighet, jubileumsår, effekter, kulturpolitik, utvecklingsprojekt, nätverk, samarbete, deltagande, delaktighet, nationell identitet, nationalitet, finskhet, Finlandsbilden, kommunikation, internationella relationer		
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Contents

To the reader	7
1 Introduction	8
1.1 Anniversary survey.....	8
1.2 Finland 100: objectives and operating model with its benchmarks.....	11
2 Key results of theme reports on the impacts of the anniversary year	14
2.1 Theme 1: Anniversary year as a promoter of cooperation.....	14
2.2 Theme 2: Inclusion and participation in the anniversary year	16
2.3 Theme 3: The relationship between the anniversary year, national identity and the country image.....	19
3 Perspectives on the importance of the anniversary year	22
3.1 Expert discussion on the impacts of the anniversary year.....	22
3.2 Address: anniversary year from an international perspective.....	26
3.3 Criticism of the objectives and activities of the anniversary year	30
4 What was the legacy of the anniversary year?	33
Sources	37

TO THE READER

The 100th anniversary of Finland's independence was celebrated in 2017, which became a major and diverse state event: Finland 100. This conclusion section of our research brings together the key conclusions on the impacts of the Finland 100 anniversary year, presents the results of the expert discussion on them and compares the anniversary year with international examples and the phenomena of its time. The conclusion section is the last part of the report on the impacts of the Finland 100 anniversary year on Finnish society and its different operator groups.

Finland 100 research project report package:



1 Introduction

1.1 Anniversary survey

The 100th anniversary of the independent Finnish state was celebrated in 2017. An overall image of the anniversary year was created immediately after the anniversary year in the final report on the anniversary year, compiled in 2018 (Prime Minister's Office 2018). However, this is the perspective of the organisers of the anniversary year and, to a large extent, a self-assessment. On 31 January 2019, the Prime Minister's Office published an invitation to tender, which stated the need to deepen the overall image of the anniversary year by means of research. According to the invitation to tender, the aim of the research project on the anniversary year was to study the significance, results and impacts of the anniversary year more extensively, to make it possible to use the heritage and the lessons learned from the anniversary year in society in the future, and to deepen the examinations already made (application notification 2018 for the Finland 100 research project). Our aim in responding to this invitation to tender has been to create an independent and external overall image through research that complements, deepens and, where necessary, also challenges the original reporting on the anniversary year. *Our aim has been to create a vision of the impacts of the Finland 100 anniversary year on Finnish society and its different operator groups.*

Our reporting is an overview of the dimensions of the impacts of the anniversary year, which can lead to more detailed studies, for instance in the areas we have highlighted. As a phenomenon and a subject of the study, the anniversary year is interesting and problematic at the same time. There are countless perspectives, themes, scales and levels to be studied during a single project, and certainly to be carefully analysed. There will be much to study in the future as well.

In 2017, there was a celebration with the projects of the anniversary year programme, but various events were also spontaneously organised outside the "official" anniversary year programme, inspired by the centenary celebrations. The anniversary year also sparked public debate in different media. Our reporting is limited in this respect, and its material is mainly attached to the official anniversary year programme through final reports, final surveys of the anniversary year operators and interviews with the operators. Although we have created a broader picture of the citizens' experiences through Statistics Finland's citizens' barometers and our own citizen survey¹, we have not dealt

1 The material used in the study is described in Appendix 1 of the preamble to our report package. (Ruokolainen et al. 2020).

comprehensively with the spontaneous activities outside the 2017 anniversary year programme.

Our research project was carried out between 2019 and 2021. The implementation of the impacts for two to three years after the anniversary year has been good because the anniversary year was still relatively fresh in the memory of its organisers and those who participated in it one way or another, but the possible long-term effects of the celebration began to emerge. However, the exceptional Covid-19 pandemic at the time of our research project has introduced an uncertainty factor of its own to the examination of the effects of the anniversary year.

An examination of the impacts and meanings of the anniversary year took place in our research project from the perspective of cultural policy. We justified this by the fact that most of the projects in the anniversary year programme were classified as culture by the secretariat of the anniversary year and by the fact that the open and inclusive operating model for the anniversary year was largely adopted for the organisation of the Cultural Capital years. We have applied the themes used to assess the impacts of the Cultural Capital years in our report package.

Our observation on the effects of the anniversary year is divided into three themes:

THEME 1: COOPERATION AND ORGANISATION

The anniversary year is manifested as a development measure for public administration, which, through more or less conscious efforts, influenced the activation of different operator groups and operators in Finnish society, operating models, cooperation relationships and networking when preparing for the 2017 anniversary year.

What was the importance of the anniversary year for the organisation and cooperation of the operators involved?

THEME 2: INCLUSION AND PARTICIPATION

In setting the objective for the anniversary year, increasing the sense of solidarity and the theme of togetherness were emphasised. Redeeming the togetherness theme in people's minds was the main challenge of the anniversary year and an indicator of its success (Prime Minister's Office 2018). In addition to engaging citizens, the underlying idea of the anniversary year was to energise the larger civil society. The Finland 100 programme was a tool for influencing participation and inclusion on individual and community levels.

How did the citizens participate in implementing the anniversary year, and how did they experience the anniversary year?

THEME 3: IDENTITIES AND IMAGE

The theme of the anniversary year was Finland's independence and its 100th anniversary. During the anniversary year, every Finnish person or Finnophile was able to or obliged to ask a familiar question about the Independence Day ball at the Presidential Palace: what does independence mean to you? In addition to independence, Finnishness was discussed directly or at least indirectly during the anniversary year. The anniversary year was linked to the formation of the national identity of Finns as well as to the image of Finland and the work for the image of Finland carried out abroad.

What was the importance of the anniversary year for Finnishness and the image of Finland?

This conclusion section, which concludes our report package, summarises the results of the three theme reports of our research project, presents the discussion on the results by experts and compares the anniversary year with other similar phenomena and benchmarks. Finally, we will present our views on the legacy of the anniversary year in a comprehensive manner.

1.2 Finland 100: objectives and operating model with its benchmarks

During our research project on the impacts of the anniversary year, we have paid attention to the fact that the Finland 100 anniversary year appears more inclusive and open than the previous anniversaries of our independence (Luonila et al. 2020). The starting point for the anniversary year was to invite all Finns and Finnophiles to present concrete “declarations of love” to an independent Finland in the form of actions (Ruokolainen et al. 2020, 18). The anniversary year is also quite new in terms of its encouraging, networking operating model that relies on the activity of civil society actors (Luonila et al. 2020). The number and diversity of more than 5,000 programme projects, formed through a project application process which is open to everyone, is quite impressive. Arguably, the tone of the anniversary year was also new. Alongside a valuable – or perhaps rigid – celebration of independence, the secretariat of the anniversary year encouraged people to express their joy in its communications (Prime Minister’s Office 2018). At the same time, strong topics such as dealing with the history of independence and discussing the state of the nation had been recorded as objectives for the anniversary year during the preparation process (Prime Minister’s Office 2013).

In the sections of our reporting package, we have highlighted the connections of the anniversary year to both the continuum of previous anniversary years and the operating model of the Cultural Capital years. At the same time, we have also examined the anniversary year in relation to some similar international examples of organising celebrations of national jubilee years. Previous experiences and influences were used in implementing the anniversary year, but the anniversary year also included different and novelty features compared to benchmarks (Table 1).

The objectives set for the anniversary year were quite broad. However, they were also quite logically a combination of the objectives and themes that have been seen in earlier celebrations for the “round years” of national independence. For example, different variations of the togetherness theme are familiar from previous anniversary years. In terms of concrete content and the tone of the celebrations, an attempt to combine joy and dignity has also been made earlier

Table 1. The objectives, activities and contents of the Finland 100 anniversary year in relation to its impacts and benchmarks (see Ruokolainen et al. 2020).

	Objectives	Operating model	Contents
Finland 100	Increasing the sense of solidarity, strengthening the international profile, creating a memorable celebration	Open brainstorming and application for programme projects	More than 5,000 programme projects on highly varied topics and from different sectors of society
Previous centenaries of Finland's independence	The objectives set for the anniversary year were an applied synthesis of previous anniversary years	The starting points of previous anniversary years were mainly more coordinated from top to bottom	Influences include content that balances joy and dignity, the importance of state institutions, the role of schools and educational institutions
International benchmarks for national celebrations (Canada 150, Estonia 100, Norway 200)	Attempt to include citizens as a manifestation of democratic society	Canada's extensive and inclusive programme for the anniversary year	In Estonia, content is more curated for the anniversary year In Norway, the difference is the attempt to provide education on constitutional issues during the anniversary year
Years as a European Capital of Culture (Turku 2011)	Basically, the set objectives differ from those of the anniversary year because of their non-national character	Open and inclusive activities and content production Administrative and technical model for an open project application process	The similarities with the anniversary year include content which strongly focuses on culture and art

Compared to international examples, the anniversary year does not appear particularly exceptional in terms of its principles or objectives. Anniversary year celebrations aimed at inclusion have been implemented in recent years. The international independent celebrations of other democratic states mainly point out that the anniversary year was in line with the time of its organisation in terms of its open operating model and starting point, and it was thus contemporary. International examples include a difference in emphasis on the programme, for example in the balance between the degree of curation

of the anniversary programme and the educational nature and entertainment factor of the topics to discuss.

What is interesting is the concretisation of the objectives and principles of the anniversary year in an open programme-based operating model, modelled after the Culture Capital years. However, to some extent, the surprising similarity makes sense: events and content focusing on art and culture, which are intended to be jointly experienced, are implemented in connection with both national jubilee years and Culture Capital years.

2 Key results of theme reports on the impacts of the anniversary year

2.1 Theme 1: Anniversary year as a promoter of cooperation

In organising the anniversary year, it was possible to channel the enthusiasm created by a unique anniversary year to form and strengthen cooperation relationships. The anniversary year inspired a large number of operators to celebrate Finland's 100 years of independence. The secretariat of the anniversary year and the Prime Minister's Office clearly succeeded in boosting this enthusiasm for a unique anniversary year. It can be said that at least a minimum objective was achieved between the different sectors of central government and society: as a public operator, the anniversary year organisation did not become an obstacle to cooperation and activities by enthusiastic civil society operators. An examination of concrete measures and of the administration of the anniversary programme indicates that the administrative processes did not always keep up with the enormous avalanche of ideas. However, the anniversary year as a whole was an incentive for cooperation and brainstorming.

UNIQUE NATURE AND LARGE SCALE

The anniversary year was basically a momentary phenomenon, and most of its content included events and campaigns focusing on unique celebrations.

The significance of the anniversary year for the promotion of cooperation between operators is concretised on the scale of celebration alone: the cooperation relationships initiated or confirmed by the over 5,000 anniversary year projects and their partner organisations will have a significant (additional) effect thanks to the anniversary year.

In the implementation of the anniversary year, mainly existing networks and cooperation relationships were used and reinforced, but new networks were also created. These connections, which were reinforced during the anniversary year, mainly

continue to exist, and they can be activated and reused with less effort than before. It was possible to channel and assemble existing cooperation networks to implement the anniversary year, and the activities of these networks and individual operators were partly reinforced in the preparation of the anniversary year and during it. The cooperation networks required to implement the anniversary year still exist, and in some cases they have already been reactivated after the anniversary year.

Individual examples can be found of the long-term impacts of the anniversary year on the cooperation relationships and networks of operators, but it is difficult to verify these impacts on a broader scale. Firstly, it is difficult to identify and distinguish the explicit impact of the anniversary year on the deepening of cooperation relations. Secondly, when examining long-term impacts, it is difficult to determine where the effects of the anniversary year end in time or when the impact begins to decline significantly. In general, it can be said that for a large number of individual operators and projects, participation in the anniversary year may have opened up meaningful contacts and cooperation relationships. The developments they have launched are still underway. In the promotion of cooperation and networking, the unique nature of the anniversary year appears to be partly problematic. The organisation of the anniversary year was understandably aimed at producing the content for the anniversary year and organising a unique anniversary year. However, it may be considered whether the vast “mobilisation” of the operator groups could in some way have been used in a more conscious, systematic and goal-oriented manner, for instance in the development of cultural activities or association activities, even after the anniversary year.

NETWORKS AFTER THE ANNIVERSARY YEAR?

The scale of the phenomenon resulting from the anniversary year was also a surprise to those who set the objectives for the anniversary year. Cooperation and networks created as a result of the anniversary year were barely anticipated, and their continuity was not supported. The anniversary year organisation and its regional network as a factor uniting the operators were quickly dissolved at the end of the anniversary year. Relatively limited efforts could have encouraged operators and facilitated features such as the use of cooperation relationships which have been strengthened, for instance, on a regional and local level and in connection with individual projects.

Despite the togetherness theme, the objective of the anniversary year as such was not to increase or support the networking or cooperation of actors, or to produce long-term impacts in this respect. In addition to the lack of resources, it is evident that the scale of the phenomenon resulting from the anniversary year was also a surprise to those who set the objectives for the anniversary year.

Read more: Ruokolainen, O. Luonila, M. Ruusuvirta, M. Renko, V. Toivanen, M. Rausmaa, S. Haila, K. Korhonen, S. Hämäläinen, M. & Kilpi, J. (2020). [Suomi 100 -juhlavuoden vaikutukset: osa 1. Johdanto ja Teema: Yhteistyö ja organisoituminen](#). [Impacts of the Finland 100 anniversary year: Part 1. Introduction and theme: Cooperation and organisation.] Publications of the Prime Minister's Office 2020:10. Prime Minister's Office.

2.2 Theme 2: Inclusion and participation in the anniversary year

In the operating model for the anniversary year, participation was closely present and the anniversary year was successful in its goals in many ways. The operating model for the Finland 100 anniversary year, i.e. networks and objectives aimed at diverse participation, invited active members of the community to create a joint anniversary year – individually and together. The anniversary year organisation welcomed participation by means of open project searches and networked various operators to create the events and campaigns they wanted in honour of 100-year-old Finland.

The anniversary year was highlighted as an inclusive context for consortia in which the participants had a common incentive in participating: taking part in the Finland 100 anniversary year event. In communities, the togetherness theme was implemented in the forms of multidisciplinary project activities and in extensive corporate cooperation. As a result of the engaging and open operating model, companies also participated in the implementation of the anniversary year alongside civil society operators. For example, companies began to actively develop voluntary activities and offered opportunities to participate through the anniversary year products. Similarly, civil society challenged its own activity networks to participate in events and campaigns. The unique nature of the celebrations increased the motivation of operators to participate, i.e. to organise activities and create content: citizens participated in the implementation of the anniversary year as an audience for a particular event, as consumers of anniversary products and programme content, and independently, for example, by producing content for the anniversary year.

CROWDSOURCING AND AGENCY

Through crowdsourcing, the anniversary year created agency through extensive national action. It created the conditions for communities and individual citizens to participate in the implementation of something considered to be of common interest and an opportunity to have a sense of solidarity. The togetherness theme chosen for the anniversary year and the operating model calling for cooperation created methods that enabled participation.

The operating model is manifested as contemporary emotional crowdsourcing, which is often associated with cultural production. As a commissioner, the secretariat of the anniversary year assigned "a limited task for the community to solve, trusting that mass intelligence will produce a good end result" (see Luonila et al. 2020). During the Finland 100 anniversary year, crowdsourcing also manifests itself as an expression of the Finnish "inclusion society" of the 21st century, in which crowdsourcing was used to produce innovations, products and activities, not for citizens but with citizens, by means of inclusion and commitment. The practices were manifested as an active agency, whereby citizenship was concretised into activities that were linked to the celebration of the anniversary year and increased participation. This combination of public administration and citizens' resources formed an inclusive concept for the Finland 100 anniversary year. The experiences of the anniversary year also produced more extensive know-how on the inclusion of citizens for the production of similar national events in the future.

The methods of crowdsourcing succeeded in involving a network in the production of the anniversary year, which provided a framework for the programme and content production for the Finland 100 anniversary year. In other words, the voluntary work was a success, and individual citizens and communities felt that participation in the voluntary work was of momentary importance. In addition, the anniversary year seems to have had some permanent impacts on the forms of voluntary work, as the social activation of companies took place in different sectors during the anniversary year. At the same time, it should be noted that the themes of corporate social responsibility have increasingly emerged in recent years. Promoting voluntary work also contributes to these themes and thus reflects the general developments in society.

MOMENTARY SOLIDARITY

The anniversary year clearly appears as a project-like, momentary phenomenon formed around one-off events and campaigns. It should be noted that this starting point also has an impact on the interpretations and conclusions that can be drawn from citizens' participation in the anniversary year and their experiences of participation. One example of this is that the main objective set for Finland's 100 anniversary year, the increase in the sense of solidarity, in many respects remained momentary and one-off for individual events.

It is challenging to demonstrate the direct impacts of Finland's 100th anniversary year on voluntary activities and the general atmosphere. The anniversary year seems to have had positive effects on the general atmosphere in Finland. On the other hand, the citizens' survey carried out in autumn 2020 shows that although participation in the anniversary year was mainly considered important in the citizens' barometer material immediately after the anniversary year, the memories of the impact of the anniversary year on the sense of solidarity have been forgotten to some extent. It can therefore be considered whether the anniversary year would have been an even larger phenomenon and a more open celebration if the use of the anniversary year's symbols was possible for everyone, without a programme application process that controls activities and ideas. It is also interesting to consider whether this could have influenced the experience of inclusion. Were the lack of resources or the hectic nature and intermittently chaotic nature of the operating model, for example, an obstacle to wider activities involving different operator and population groups?

Individual citizens' opportunities to participate can be criticised, and the ways in which they participated in the anniversary year were quite traditional. On the regional level, the strong presence of established operators was felt to have trampled on smaller local associations. Despite a new operating model relying on crowdsourcing, participation was channelled into relatively traditional ways and to the same groups which have also been found active in previous studies. As a result of the programme projects, there were extensive forms of participation, from concerts to the construction of bird houses and seminars to rowing church boats, but in the light of the data, participation followed a rather traditional pattern: women participated more often than men, and cultural events and other events were more popular than organising independent activities.

Read more: Luonila, M. Ruusuvirta, M. Renko, V. Ruokolainen, O. Toivanen, M. Rausmaa, S. Haila, K. Korhonen, S. Hämäläinen, M. & Kilpi, J. (2020). [Suomi 100 -juhlavuoden](#)

vaikutukset: osa 2. Teema: Osallistuminen ja osallisuus. [Impacts of the Finland 100 anniversary year: Part 2. Theme: Participation and inclusion.] Publications of the Prime Minister's Office 2020:12. Prime Minister's Office.

2.3 Theme 3: The relationship between the anniversary year, national identity and the country image

The open operating method and non-profiling of the anniversary year made it possible to deal with a wide range of topics related to Finnishness. This meant, for example, highlighting everyday or "minor" topics and their history in addition to remembering the established turning points of independence, prominent figures and major events. Today's societal themes, such as equality and equity, were also highlighted in many ways.

The diversity of the anniversary year also meant that the geographical multi-layered nature of national identity was given some space, and the local aspects were emphasised in the topics covered in the projects. Most of the projects included in the programme for the anniversary year were linked to a broader national context through local activities and local history, either by organising the projects with local operators and activating local communities or by linking the projects with national history through local events, individuals and topics.

DIVERSITY AND TRADITIONS

The thematic diversity of the anniversary year does not mean that the traditional themes of Finnishness and independence have been fundamentally reformed with the anniversary year. The Unknown Soldier, veterans and the Independence Day ball at the Presidential Palace still have a central place in the themes included in the celebration of independence..

The citizens did not feel that the anniversary year had had a particularly significant impact on the image of Finnishness. Apparently, the diversity of anniversary year projects and, for instance, the local and minor topics that have emerged in them were not sufficiently significant alongside the topics traditionally related to Finnishness and the independence of the Finnish state. An individual citizen could also experience only a small part of the anniversary year in the form of an individual project. In other words, when

examining the topics and contents, there were no major new national narratives on the diversity of the anniversary year. On the other hand, the objective of the anniversary year was not to dismiss the traditional images of Finland.

The impact of the anniversary year on the ways of celebrating independence was limited, but the tone of the celebration was discussed, and it may have changed in a lighter and happier direction. With the anniversary year, there was a desire to change the way independence is celebrated – even though the citizens themselves wanted to celebrate largely in traditional ways and by carrying out their traditional plans. In some respects, concrete ways of celebrating changed for a rather small number of citizens. However, there were changes in the tone of the celebrations. The cheerful tone of the celebration of independence that was highlighted with the anniversary year was welcomed by citizens.

The anniversary year was a thematic highlight in the continuum of the work on the image of Finland. The anniversary year did not particularly change the image of Finland, although it brought some special attention to Finland. During the anniversary year, we relied on familiar themes that build the country image, such as the functioning of society, education and equality, and the fact that Finland is regarded as a problem-solver. In other words, the activities of the anniversary year had a greater effect on the amount of visibility than on the content of the image of Finland. One of the objectives of the anniversary year was to strengthen Finland's international profile (Prime Minister's Office 2018, 10), not to change or challenge it. Against these set objectives, the anniversary year was quite successful on an international level.

LONG TIME SPAN AND ANNIVERSARY OF THE WORK ON THE IMAGE OF FINLAND

The time span for building the country image covers at least several dozen years, and it is based on the permanent strengths of national identity and Finnish society. The impact which celebrations of limited duration have on the major content of the country image should be examined with realistic expectations.

The personal and individual experience of Finnishness was positive after the anniversary year, but the anniversary year does not seem to have had a wider impact on experiences of the properties of Finnish society. Matters close to the citizens

which are easily identifiable were significant during the anniversary year, and after the experiences of the anniversary year, it was mainly felt that Finnishness was a strong personal experience. On the other hand, it was not felt that Finnish society as a whole became for instance more open, diverse or united thanks to the common experiences during the anniversary year.

With regard to wider societal impact, it is possible to consider how the “membership” of Finnish society was finally determined during the anniversary year. The theme of multiculturalism, which is closely related to the definition of national identity and Finnish identity, was primarily discussed through an operating model aiming at openness and projects dealing with the topic during the anniversary year. A significant proportion of the projects for the anniversary year dealt with equality and equity. However, during the preparation and implementation of the anniversary year, no material was collected on this topic to the extent and in the detail that would have enabled an analysis of the anniversary year experiences of national identity for different language and minority groups after the anniversary year.

The modus operandi of the anniversary year was a message as such. At least in principle, the open project application process that offered individual citizens the opportunity to become involved reflected the basic democratic values of Finnish society. In this respect, the anniversary year was quite contemporary and reflected the functioning of Finnish society in 2017. This is important for national identity. The celebration of the first century of an independent nation and its programme were determined by the actions of anyone complying with the law and good practices.

Our review shows that the anniversary year repeated and supplemented rather than challenged Finnish identity and the image of Finland. The importance of the culmination of the anniversary year is limited alongside the practices upholding Finnishness that are present every day, and the elements of national identity that have been constructed and built over hundreds of years. When examining the importance of the anniversary year, it is entirely appropriate to ask whether an individual anniversary year has the potential to modify – let alone transform – the extensive continuum of the experience of Finnishness. Perhaps the importance of the anniversary year is that we stop and reflect on what kinds of daily and self-evident details related to Finnishness and Finnish society we highlight at a time of celebration.

Read more: Ruokolainen, O. Luonila, M. Renko, V. Ruusuvirta, M. Toivanen, M. Haila, K. Korhonen, S. & Ahvonen, K. (2021). [Suomi 100 -juhlavuoden vaikutukset: osa 3. Teema: Identiteetit ja imago](#). Valtioneuvoston kanslian julkaisu 2021:9. [Impacts of the Finland 100 anniversary year: Part 3. Theme: Identities and image.] Publications of the Prime Minister's Office 2021:9. Prime Minister's Office.

3 Perspectives on the importance of the anniversary year

3.1 Expert discussion on the impacts of the anniversary year

In March 2021, our research project convened a group of experts who had been producing the Finland 100 anniversary year programme or had studied the anniversary year or related themes. The aim was to discuss the possible long-term impacts and significance of the anniversary year.

The expert group included Iisa Aaltonen, M.A., Tove Ekman, Director of the Finnish Cultural and Academic Institutes, Professor Jouni Häkli from the University of Tampere and Adjunct Professor and University Researcher Jukka Kortti from the University of Helsinki.

The discussion highlighted the historical and political dimension of the anniversary year, the perspective of civic activities and international activities. The aim of the speeches was to integrate the anniversary year into broader societal developments. The anniversary year as a whole was discussed in a very positive tone, and the anniversary year was found to have been a success as a whole.

The discussion on the anniversary year can be thematically divided into six sections, the main findings of which we will present in the following description. The results of the discussion by experts mainly supports the observations made in our research project, but compared to our research, differences in interpretation also emerged in the discussion.

Operating mode of the anniversary year

It was noted in the discussion that the Finland 100 anniversary year of 2017 was a unique effort for Finland as a whole. Instead of the state and the anniversary year organisation defining "from the top down" what kind of events and activities the anniversary year includes, the experts found that Finns were given free rein to make the anniversary year look like the people themselves. It was considered that the Government acted as an activator and enabler in planning and implementing the anniversary year.

The participants felt that the anniversary year was a success in building an event in which all Finns were able to participate. The organisers of the anniversary year did not define Finnishness or who could call themselves Finnish, and the discussion suggested that this

allowed for multiculturalism and enabled involvement regardless of ethnic background. However, it was noted that participation in the anniversary year was more popular among Finns who were already active. Nevertheless, it was considered that the togetherness theme of the anniversary year met the expectations.

It was agreed in the discussion that the attempt to involve everyone and the attempt to focus on the informal and “less elitist” aspects was a successful solution. These solutions were considered likely to strengthen our civil society. As stated in the discussion, the implementation of the anniversary year indicated how Finland has survived many stages of its history as a democracy.

Objectives for the anniversary year

The discussion of the experts also highlighted the reverse side of the organisation of the celebration: the story and concept of the anniversary year were not particularly clear, even though features such as versatility were regarded as positive in themselves. It was recalled in the discussion that the anniversary year also included plenty of bypaths that were even comical, such as some of the anniversary year products that were considered dubious. In this context, it was considered whether the impacts of the Finland 100 anniversary year would have been greater if the strategy for the anniversary year had been more defined by the Government and had had a clear theme and core message.

On the other hand, it was suggested in the discussion that a stricter outline of the objectives and the message of the anniversary year could have seemed too “elitist” and emphasised the wielding of power instead of handing over the power to define the anniversary to citizens in the spirit of Nordic democracy. The stronger the steering, the more likely it would have been that the anniversary year and the ways it was celebrated would have generated more resistance. The contents and ideology of the anniversary year were not defined beforehand. Instead, the anniversary year operators were given the freedom to define them each in their own way.

The importance of the anniversary year as part of building a national identity

On the one hand, it was pointed out in the discussion that minor expressions and practices of national identity are present everywhere and that national identity is not solely constructed of “wow experiences”. Unnoticed everyday activities contribute to larger tendencies. Highlights such as the anniversary year take place against this background. It was also considered that the national identity of Finns was already strong before the Finland 100 anniversary year, and most of us basically seem to have embraced Finnishness. With this in mind, it would be excessive to think that a single anniversary of our independence is much more significant than the rest of the 99 years of national

independence in Finland, or that the anniversary would have a special impact on Finnishness.

However, it was pointed out in the discussion that national identity is not necessarily formed automatically and it can be very actively influenced. In this respect, Government actions were considered to play a role in how people experience Finnishness when united for celebration but also in their everyday lives. During the anniversary year, Finland's essence as a Nordic democracy was highlighted.

It was also suggested that the anniversary year had an important "metalevel" role. It is significant that in 2017 and after, we stopped to reflect on what is actually involved in celebrating our independence. Even after 2017, the anniversary year can inspire research and reflection on national identity.

Determining Finnishness during the anniversary year

During the anniversary year, an effort was made to bring joy and to take a lighter approach to the themes of celebrating independence, some of which are quite hard. However, it was suggested in the discussion that Finnishness or Finnish identity are no longer largely based on features such as the legacy of victory over the enemy during World War II. It was argued that there is a general public myth of Finnish identity being based on its warlike history. Today, features such as education and equality were considered key parts of our identity.

In the Finland 100 themes, multiculturalism was regarded as having emerged quite well, even though in 2017, the after-effects of the refugee crisis of the previous years was still felt, and attitudes were not inclusive. It was argued in the discussion that multiculturalism is in its early stages in Finland compared to countries like Sweden, and that operating methods and the forms of expression for multiculturalism were partly still experimental during the anniversary year. The debate on multiculturalism has generally been affected by the 2015 refugee crisis and the global rise in nationalism.

In the discussion, it was felt that geographically, the anniversary year was successful in becoming an event that involved the entire country. Finland consists of a group of local identities, and the national aspect is something that goes beyond local specificities. The togetherness theme of the anniversary year became more important than the focus on the capital, and even more events related to the anniversary year were organised outside the Helsinki Metropolitan Area. At these events, local history was linked to major Finnish stories and the anniversary year. Experts said that the strategy for the anniversary year was successful in allowing local history in thematic terms as well.

The experts considered that during the anniversary year, there was no desire to emphatically transform the narrative on Finnish identity. Efforts were made to avoid ideological confrontations. In the opinion of the experts, features such as how much it could have been possible to discuss details such as where and by whom Finland, Finnishness and our national identity may be discussed, by defining the themes of the anniversary year more strictly, remain unclear.

International dimension of the anniversary year

In the discussion, the international dimension was not considered a particularly large contribution to the anniversary year. In general, it was proposed during the discussion that international attention should be paid more to issues such as different rankings and themes rather than the anniversary years. It was also noted that in addition to the centenary celebrations, many other events affecting Finland's image have also taken place in recent years. For example, the young female prime minister of our country and our female-dominated Government have been in the spotlight internationally, and the impact of this on Finland's image is not negligible. It was also stated that a hundred years of independence is not necessarily impressive as such. It was pointed out in the discussion that in the longer term, education, equality and the position of women have long been key elements of Finland's image and its way of standing out.

Success of the anniversary year

In the opinion of the experts, it is still too early to assess the long-term impacts of the Finland 100 anniversary year, and they will become clearer over time. A clear result should not necessarily be expected of the anniversary year. It was considered that the anniversary year was highly contemporary and reinforced the heritage of civil society by involving as many citizens as possible and by emphasising peer action rather than guidelines from the top. This was considered an excellent choice.

One of the clear effects of the discussion was that the tone of celebrating Independence Day changed. Independence Day is no longer an almost religious celebration and a serious moment of silence. It was suggested in the discussion that with the anniversary year, Independence Day has become a more cheerful type of celebration.

3.2 Address: anniversary year from an international perspective

One of the objectives of the anniversary year was to reinforce Finland's international profile (Prime Minister's Office 2018, 5). In connection with the celebration of the "round years" of Finland's national independence, the European theme has also been highlighted increasingly with each anniversary year (Ruokolainen et al. 2020). According to recent reports, being European is an important part of identity for Finns (Pitkänen & Westinen 2018). When examining the significance of the anniversary year associated with national identity, it is appropriate to examine Finnishness from a European perspective and Finland as part of a broader international connection. The expert address of Philippe Kern, a researcher and consultant specialising in creative industries, places the Finland 100 anniversary year into this broader context.

The key argument in Philippe Kern's address is that national celebrations are opportunities to work on a national identity that enables cultural diversity and can seize the opportunities of globalisation. In an ideal situation, a "new kind of narrative on Finnishness" would empower citizens to play an active role as part of the developments of globalisation and the European community of values, rather than to see themselves as victims of globalisation. This would not mean the end of national specificities and their celebration but rather the emphasis being placed on national characteristics that support the positive aspects of globalisation. With its themes and projects, Finland 100 highlighted such developments, but ultimately, the long-term investments in equality and education made by Finnish society will also have an influence on the background in the anniversary year.

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FINLAND 100 CELEBRATION AND THE EUROPEAN PROJECT: A NEW IDENTITY?

Winner of the Silver Bear in Berlin film festival Finland's master of deadpan comedy, Aki Kaurismäki tells in "The other side of Hope" the story of an unlikely friendship between a Syrian asylum seeker and an elderly Finnish restaurant owner. Khaled (Sherwan Haji) arrives at the port of Helsinki fleeing war-torn Syria to seek asylum in Finland. Dazed and frustrated by the administration he meets restaurateur Wikström (Sakari Kuosmanen).

With humanity and sincerity the Finnish film maker addresses the failure of modern-day Europe in greeting vulnerable asylum seekers and the difficulty of policies to adapt to a new world requiring more solidarity and trust than exclusion and hatred.

Like in many other countries the old bases of feelings of national sameness are being undermined by economic globalization, transnational political integration, migration and individualism. There can be no society that does not feel the need to uphold and reaffirm at regular intervals the collective sentiments and ideas that underpin its unity. The Commemorative rituals of the 100th anniversary highlighted shared history, communicated core values while celebrating together enhances attachment to the group. It is expected that participation in the event increased feelings of national attachment and contributed to enhance social cohesion. However, there is no certainty.

Finland as an independent country is now 104 years old. The country is also celebrating a quarter of a century membership to the European Union, a club of States willing to promote economic integration and free movement of people around democratic values. Back in 1995 the year Finland joined the EU multinational giant Nokia was still conquering the world with portable phones and new engineering prowess contributing to making world's citizens more connected. Little Finland with its 5.5 million inhabitants was at the forefront of the globalization movement, modern design and architecture, promoting its praised education system, metal bands with a Sibelius twist and sauna traditions. The country largely benefited from globalization trends. According to 2021 World Happiness Report² Finns are for the 4th time consecutively the happiest people on earth. This does not go without challenges.

One of the key challenges for the society is adapting to demographic changes, particularly the aging of the population and migration flows. According to the population forecast of Statistics Finland the Finnish population is projected to turn to a decline in 2031. Aging, migration, the need for a renewed workforce as well as globalisation has made the country increasingly international. Approximately 7.3 % of the entire Finnish population had an immigrant background in 2018. The largest numbers are from neighboring Estonia and Russia. More than one third is from European Union countries. Due to the wars in the Middle East and Africa there was a sharp increase in the number of asylum seekers in 2015 as everywhere in

2 <https://worldhappiness.report/ed/2021/happiness-trust-and-deaths-under-covid-19/>

Europe. In 2015, Finland received 32,476 asylum applicants, which is about 10 times the figure in 2013 and 2014. Some 20,500 of these were of Iraqi origin, and 5,214 came from Afghanistan³.

As a result, the largest groups of foreign-language speakers are those whose native language is Russian, Estonian, Somali, English and Arabic.⁴

An additional objective of the 100 anniversary celebration was to strengthen Finland's international profile. Is the country, the happiest in the world, attractive to talent and students? Figures show that few Erasmus students visit the country (7500) less than for Slovakia. The amount also does not compare well with 12 000 visiting Sweden or the 28 000 students going to Denmark.

Nevertheless, some would make us believe that Finland is ethnically and culturally homogeneous and represent a unique cultural community. Finnishness is more than blonde hair and blue eyes. Ethnic segregation is modest, and there are also few signs of social and cultural isolation or religious radicalization in the country. The Finnish neo-nationalist and xenophobic movement has been, at least so far and in comparison, with much of Europe, quite moderate. Historically Finland has adopted a strong policy aimed at supporting diversity. The country is largely bilingual (Finnish and Swedish). Finland tops the European league for usage of foreign languages, together with Luxembourg. Its law supports the rights of cultural minorities (notably cultural autonomy of Sami with Sami counting as an official language).

However, the Finns Party (Perussuomalaiset), which registered a remarkable victory in the 2011 parliamentary elections and entered government in 2015, made its political breakthrough partly by mobilising anti-immigration and anti-multiculturalist sentiment. In March 2021 Minister of Employment Tuula Haatainen (SDP) acknowledged that " the attitudes of Finnish society continue to make it more difficult for those who have already moved to the country to find employment,". She called on the country to streamline and expedite work-related immigration application processes.⁵

3 https://www.stat.fi/til/vamuu/2020/12/vamuu_2020_12_2021-01-21_tie_001_en.html

4 https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/finland/population-demographic-situation-languages-and-religions_en

5 https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/finland_to_trial_two-week_permit_process_times_in_work-based_immigration_effort/11837623

A main task of public authorities is to encourage the native population to better accommodate new arrivals and accept the coexistence of “old” and “new” Finns and people with different backgrounds and identities. In today’s interdependent world national identities have to be rebuilt in such a way that as many members of society as possible can feel included. The risk of societal fragmentation in economic, political and cultural terms exists, and it has to be taken seriously.

Finland’s commemoration was the opportunity to develop the country’s vision on the identity narrative in the context of increased European integration and internationalization. It was also about reflecting on the sense of togetherness. Indeed the European project is the fruit, the result of tensions between cultures, identities and ideas. Cultural differences have made Europe the largest trading bloc in the world and the wealthiest. It is the confrontation, the pluralism of languages and cultures that has liberated thoughts, promoted intellectual exchanges, scientific and artistic development, and openness to the world. This diversity continues to shape Europe’s destiny in the same way as it will determine Finland’s future. This aspect of Finland identity – as a member of a community of values nurturing democracy, culture diversity, gender equality, the rule of law and social justice was also worth celebrating. The new nationalism is surely about promoting a community that defends the same values independently of ethnicity, history and religion: a nationalism compatible with supranational forces and which contribute to the emergence of a new world order capable of tackling world issues (environment, migration, health or social justice).

As regular victim of imperialisms and wars fought to uphold various national myths Finland is best placed to invent a nationalist narrative accommodating the challenges of demographic trends (depopulation, age), migration or transnational interdependence (economic integration, climate, increased mobility, pandemics). Thus national celebrations become the opportunity to work on an identity that acknowledge and welcome cultural differences and set the terms for a pacific coexistence and integration with a view to build a common future.

A new cosmopolitanism is emerging driven by globalization, digitization, pandemics and environmental challenges. It forces authorities to consider the formulation of a new Finnish narrative on the meaning of integration, sovereignty and identity. Ideally such definition would contribute to empower citizens as actors of globalization trends setting standards rather than to portray people as victims thus generating fears, anxiety and resentment. It

would also ensure that people understand the value of European integration and the meaning of building a community of citizens promoting the same principles, setting the bases of a civilization of solidarity and trust. This will not mean the end of nationalism particularism or its celebration but the pooling of such national characteristics for a common good that make globalization safe again including by setting higher standards for freedom, the environment, food safety and public health, for instance.

Every country is confronted with the challenge of making the national narrative and sameness coexist with the participation in the European project and the demand of globalization. It is Finnish European commissioner Jutta Urpilainen who is in charge of international partnerships within the EU executive. This position includes building inclusive and equitable partnerships to reduce global poverty, support sustainable development as well as overseeing European international cooperation and development policy whilst promoting EU values. She might be well inspired by one of the great concepts in Finland called "Everyman's Rights" which gives any citizen the right to roam freely in natural areas like forests, fells, lakes and rivers, without permission from landowners. This principle is a foundation to a more inclusive national narrative, inspiring a loyalty based on intrinsic values rather than on national myths.

It is remarkable that the birthday present to the Nation to mark the 100th anniversary of its independence was the Oodi library, a book-heaven located in right the center of Helsinki, opened in late 2018 and which was voted the world's best new library the following year. The new public library is a tangible symbol of Finland's dedication to literacy, skill-acquisition and equality. It is also a major contribution to the idea that cultural investment empowering people is one of the best ways to build social harmony in an interdependent world. Oodi the place of emerging myths emphasizing universal sameness, the importance of cultural diversity and exchanges?

3.3 Criticism of the objectives and activities of the anniversary year

The anniversary year was a success in how it was organised and in relation to the objectives that were ultimately defined for the anniversary year. However, the preparation of the anniversary year was a lengthy process in which one can see offshoots of other kinds of centenary celebrations and the differences in emphasis in terms of the objectives,

operating model and tone of the celebration. These “alternative anniversary years” and the criticism of the anniversary year as it was realised emerged somewhat from the material we analysed. Even in the case of critical comments, it was mostly noted that the implementation of the anniversary year was considered rather successful as a whole.

The anniversary was open and aimed at positive and cheerful celebrations. The idea behind the togetherness theme was that the anniversary year included good news about Finland and that every Finn and Finnophile is allowed to participate in the celebration in the way they see fit, assuming that good practices are followed. The contents of the programme for the anniversary year were determined to a surprisingly large extent from the starting points of different operators in society. However, on the overall level, the anniversary year did not have very well defined goals for its activities. The first major subject of criticism that has emerged from our material is, in fact, excessive sprawl.

According to the objectives set, the anniversary year should address the past, the present and the future as well as generate discussion on the state of the nation (Prime Minister's Office 2018; Prime Minister's Office 2013). Another criticism raised in particular during the interviews is that when celebrating national independence, the birth of our country and our democratic society was not necessarily highlighted enough. The third criticism is that the state of democracy and current threats were not necessarily discussed at an adequate level, with adequate dignity or with an adequate volume.

The fourth criticism based on and interpreting several different data materials is that on the overall level, a strong social debate was not necessarily encouraged during the anniversary year, even though this could be done on the level of individual projects. The anniversary year, as it was realised, stated that in many ways, the state of Finland was good in 2017, and did not highlight problems – though problems were not particularly covered up either. This is probably related to the fact that the anniversary year was intended to be “captivating, inclusive and of wide interest to the citizens” (Prime Minister's Office 2013).

Originally, the aim of the anniversary year was also to examine the image of the nation and to look for a new direction for the future (Prime Minister's Office 2013). The fifth criticism is based on a number of data sets and, in interpreting them, the fact that the anniversary year as a whole did not ultimately involve very large visions or visualisations of the future: the centenary could have been a good time for collective, state-level reflection on what we are aiming for as a society and what this would require of us.

The sixth criticism concerns the implementation and the group of participants rather than the objectives of the anniversary year. In particular, the criticism of the regional workshops and the feedback of the project operators concerns the fact that in spite of its openness principle, there was occasional administrative and technical friction in the application

process for the anniversary year programme. In this way, perhaps the most spontaneous material and new operators with no previous project experience or resources were eliminated from the project implementers for the anniversary year.

As regards criticisms, it is appropriate to ask what matters should be emphasised strategically on the level of the overall objectives of a national event such as the Finland 100 anniversary year. What kinds of matters should be promoted by the main party responsible for the anniversary year, the Prime Minister's Office, the secretariat of the anniversary year and the state institutions? What can be left to partial implementers, projects, civil society and its various operators, with confidence that nationally important themes will be sufficiently highlighted in the celebration? And what ultimately is the purpose of the state's anniversary year and, consequently, the tone of the celebration?

Figure 1. The theme and objectives of the anniversary year as well as topics that have received less attention.



Despite critical perspectives, the implementation of the anniversary year with an open operating model and communication that highlighted positive issues was a successful solution. In lively terms, the open operating model of the anniversary year meant that the actions of active civil society were carried out instead of a simple discussion on democracy and the state of society. In these actions, individual citizens participated in creating an anniversary year together with the state institutions – at least in principle.

4 What was the legacy of the anniversary year?

The impressive celebration of a hundred years of independence will inevitably reduce the importance of the next decades of our national independence. However, time passes quickly. What should be remembered and adopted about the Finland 100 anniversary year and phenomenon, for instance when organising the 125th anniversary of Finland's independence? What does Finland 100 say about Finnish society and Finns in 2017, and what will be the wider social significance of the anniversary year in the coming years? How is Finland 100 relevant to Finns and Finnish society even before the next celebration of the “round years” of national independence?

In other words, the heritage of the anniversary year opens up in two ways: firstly, by examining the lessons that the anniversary offers for special national celebrations and, secondly, through broader social importance.

When examining lessons and heritage, we should also consider what can be expected of a phenomenon such as the anniversary year in general. The effects of the anniversary year, and more broadly, its legacy, first of all come down to the fact that certain objectives were set for the anniversary year, which can be considered to have been achieved according to the original target setting. Secondly, the anniversary year aimed to achieve something that could be considered as not having been achieved. Thirdly, the anniversary year did not necessarily aim for something that, as a result of the anniversary year, came up unexpectedly or spontaneously.

The anniversary year will provide subsequent anniversary years with an operating model for extensive inclusion. Even in earlier independence anniversary years, efforts have been made to actively involve citizens, and the anniversary programme has been implemented by a large number of operators from different sectors of society. However, the open call for projects and the thousands of project proposals that were submitted constituted a phenomenon that diverged from previous anniversary years. The operating method opened up an opportunity for citizens and different operators in society to define the content of the anniversary year through their own activities. In this respect, the lesson of the anniversary year for organising the next national celebrations is that an open operating model that relies on the activity of civil society is functional.

In organising the centenary celebration, it was possible to rely on the unique nature of the situation, but it is appropriate to consider whether a similar wave of enthusiasm can be relied on for less important anniversary years. A widely inclusive and enabling operating model also obliges the organisers of the anniversary year at least in terms of communication: if they energise and inspire people, preparations should also be made to support the participants, either financially or by providing advice. The operating model was ultimately a combination of positive communication and national, spontaneous voluntary work of Finns and Finnophiles. The possible networks created in connection with the anniversary year and the impacts on cooperation relationships between different operators in society are, in the end, quite random.

The democratic method of implementing the anniversary year describes the operation of Finnish society in 2017. The anniversary year programme grew into a phenomenon largely implemented by civil society. Citizens were prepared to cooperate with the Government, and individual citizens or at least different operators in civil society were recognised at least in principle as active operators alongside state institutions and organisations or large corporations. In practice, the anniversary year was largely based on established operators and certain active civil society actors. Of course, it can be considered whether the openness of the anniversary year was inevitable even when organising a national celebration in Finland in 2017, i.e. whether the anniversary year's open operating model with low hierarchies was a special merit or a result of the operating methods and properties of our society. In people's memories, the open operating method of the anniversary year is in any case symbolic.

On the one hand, the anniversary year allowed for many kinds of events, but on the other hand, it did not emphasise any particular topic concerning Finnish society. Basically, the anniversary year was inclusive and inviting. The key objective of the anniversary year was to strengthen the sense of solidarity on a relatively general level. Many of its programme projects also dealt with themes such as equality and equity, and in this respect, they kept up with the times quite well. However, on the overall level, the anniversary year did not attempt to make a strong contribution to a particular social issue, and the anniversary year was thematically rather fragmented. Even though the anniversary year aimed to focus not only on the past and the present but also on the future, no special visions were presented to Finnish society. The potential social discussion was left to individual programme projects and their implementers.

When examining experiences of inclusion, the anniversary year appears to be an inviting but brief phenomenon. It is difficult to establish anything certain about the social significance of the anniversary year and its effects on the experiences of inclusion in the long term, though on the basis of the material collected in 2020, features such as the feeling of solidarity among Finns would seem to have decreased somewhat since

the anniversary year. It is possible that spontaneous activities of the anniversary year, which were created and implemented outside the actual programme projects, may even have been most relevant when examining the creation of memories, participation and the experience of inclusion. However, exact interpretations of non-participants or those otherwise excluded from the activities of the anniversary year cannot be made based on the material that was available to us.

Memories of the programme and tone of the anniversary year will support the building of the multifaceted Finnish national identity well into the future. The anniversary year is mostly remembered as an invitation to a joint celebration and as enabling a diverse Finland both nationally and internationally. For instance, Finnishness was largely approached through local identities, and this was possible thanks to the openness of the anniversary year programme. Nor is it negligible that based on their experiences of Finland's anniversary year, citizens still personally embrace their identity as Finns. Internationality and multiculturalism were also discussed during the anniversary year, at least on the level of individual projects, though these topics were not particularly highlighted on the level of the entire anniversary year. In addition, after the anniversary year, citizens did not feel that the anniversary year had had social implications for the diversity of our society.

The research data we used did not allow for further examination, for example, of the attitudes of different population and language groups towards the anniversary year. In our research, we focused on issues that have taken place in the framework of the anniversary year programme. Consequently, we have not necessarily been able to catch up with the attempts to define Finnishness that were made around the anniversary year. It may altogether be said that globally, the anniversary year aimed to achieve a positive and neutral celebration where everyone was invited.

The anniversary year showed that today, topics of a more everyday, small-scale and cheerful nature may also be discussed as part of being Finnish. In addition to remembering large national narratives and spectacular heroic acts, the programme projects of the anniversary year included remembering features such as the everyday life during the decades of independence, work and the history of local communities. For the legacy of the anniversary year, this is important in two ways. Firstly, it shows that the open programme application process used for the anniversary year resulted in a celebration of independence with more voices. Secondly, the anniversary year highlighted topics on independence and Finnishness, the discussion of which can also be continued over the next anniversary years and, in general, when discussing Finnishness and its meanings.

It is significant that during the anniversary year there was joy alongside dignity, and this change was welcomed by the citizens. Finland 100 was not the first anniversary year of our

independence where the organisers have sought a new tone, but this time the aim for a new tone seems to have been stronger than in previous anniversary years.

However, the importance of the anniversary year in terms of national identity, the ways of celebrating independence and the country image is limited, particularly in the longer term. It seems that the anniversary year did not change the practices of celebrating independence that citizens consider essential, or the key themes of Finnish national identity, though the anniversary year's programme highlighted the diverse range and offshoots of themes and customs that are seemingly proposed for the canonical national identity. In fact, the enthusiasm of "early adopters" for novelties may have been manifested during the anniversary year, and this may subsequently prove significant.

In any case, the familiar image of Finnishness as well as the daily practices and the celebration topics that are highlighted each year on Independence Day have a strong long-term impact on how Finnishness is perceived. With regard to the external image of the country, during the anniversary year, we relied on familiar areas of expertise already identified in our work for the country image. Through these areas of expertise, we wanted to highlight the position of Finland as a member of the international community.

In the end, memories will define the importance and heritage of the anniversary year. How do Finns and Finnophiles appear to remember the Finland 100 anniversary year? **In memories, Finland 100 appears primarily as an enabling and diverse celebration with a "good feeling".** One of the objectives of the anniversary year was to "create a memorable celebration". However, during the anniversary year, there was no attempt to shape major national narratives or to gather together strongly as a nation. When preparing for the anniversary year, the tense social situation and the refugee crisis seemed to call for an open celebration with a positive feeling, with no desire to create a tense atmosphere at an important time. Indeed, a successful and cheerful anniversary year showed that Finns still get along fairly well, or at least give each other some space.

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