On behalf of the centennial celebration the City of Helsinki Urban Facts organised an international conference on 26 and 27 May 2011. The conference was well attended and brought together guests and colleagues from cities, universities, research institutes and other knowledge organisations from home and abroad. The themes of the conference were Information, Knowledge, Improving Life and Open Data, Open Access. The conference consisted of several sessions and a panel discussion. We thank all of the speakers for excellent presentations and contributions. Summaries of the speeches and presentations are published in this Helsinki Quarterly.

In addition, there are three more articles comprehensively contributing to issues surrounding the conference theme of Information, Knowledge, Improving Life published in this Helsinki Quarterly. Finally, Urban History presented by Town Atlases is one topic of this special issue of Helsinki Quarterly.
# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASTA MANNINEN&lt;br&gt;Sharing and Communicating Information and Knowledge – An Ever Topical Issue</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The City of Helsinki as a Target of Fact-Finding. The Anniversary Book</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Helsinki Urban Facts’&lt;br&gt;Centenary Conference, 26–27 May 2011</td>
<td>6–42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening and Welcome Address&lt;br&gt;Mayor JUSSI PAJUNEN: Open Helsinki&lt;br&gt;Deputy Mayor TUULA HAATAINEN: Information for Better Quality of Life</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information and Welfare – Keynote Session&lt;br&gt;Professor DENISE LIEVESLEY; Chancellor ILKKA NIINILUOTO; Director General HELI JESKANEN-SUNDSTRÖM</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panel Discussion&lt;br&gt;Director Joanna van Antwerpen; Professor Leo van den Berg; Senior Lecturer Derek Bond; Professor Michael Parkinson; Director Eero Holstila</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Presentations&lt;br&gt;Director Jeanette Bandel and Senior Researcher Birgitta Ljungdahl; Professor Mari Vaattovaara; Senior Researcher Isabel Martins and Professor Luis Delfim Santos; Information Manager Leila Lankinen; Research Director Timo Cantell</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Data, Open Access&lt;br&gt;Project Manager Ville Meloni and Project Manager Pekka Vuori; Ministerial Adviser Taru Rastas; Director Pirjo-Leena Forsström; Director Istvan Kecskeméti; Head of Unit Berthold Feldmann; Director Klaus Trutzel and Director Thomas Willmann</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MARI VAATTOVAARA
Change of Urban Structure in the Helsinki Region

MAIJA VIHAVAINEN
A Hundred Years of Housing in Helsinki

MATTI POHJOLA
Economic Growth, Welfare and Sustainable Development

Urban History Presented by Atlases and Digital Media
Historical town atlases
Historical Helsinki Atlas
Electronic services provided by City of Helsinki Urban Facts, City Archives

FERDINAND OPLL
Vienna as a Cultural City

ANNGRET SIMMS
Colonialism and Multiculturalism in Medieval Irish Towns
(based on the Irish Historic Towns Atlas)

News
Rapid Indicators on the Helsinki Region
www.helsinginseudunsuunnat.fi – New webservice launched on
TooLS – a first comparative survey of age group 50+ in eleven European cities
Today, every organisation is researching new possibilities of managing, sharing and communicating, and using information and knowledge. Due to evolving web-based infrastructure and practices, there are numerous attractive opportunities to study and try out in various fields of operation. Sharing and communicating information and knowledge are also preconditions for putting information into action and giving it some impact. And, information empowers. Access to information is therefore essential to everyone.

2011 marks the 100th anniversary of urban statistics in Helsinki, as the City of Helsinki established a statistical office in 1911. This office has gradually been developed also to include urban research and other information activities. Today, the City of Helsinki Urban Facts (www.hel.fi/tietokeskus) brings together in one institution urban statistics, urban research and the city archives. The City of Helsinki Urban Facts is a well networked organisation with a long tradition of co-operation with universities and major cities (in Finland and abroad), and well-established cooperation with Statistics Finland.

On behalf of the centennial celebration, the City of Helsinki Urban Facts organised an international conference on 26 and 27 May 2011. The conference was well attended and brought together guests and colleagues from cities, universities, research institutes and other knowledge organisations from home and abroad.

The themes of the conference were Information, Knowledge, Improving Life and Open Data, Open Access. Thanks to distinguished speakers from home and abroad, the conference programme was excellent, and stimulated discussion and the exchange of experiences. Mayor Jussi Pajunen and Deputy Mayor Tuula Haatainen opened the conference. Their speeches are published on pages 7–16 in the present Helsinki Quarterly. The Opening Session was followed by the Keynote Session on Information and Welfare. This session was composed of three keynote speeches delivered by Professor Denise Lievesley (King’s College London), Chancellor Ilkka Niiniluoto (University of Helsinki), and Director General Heli Jeskanen-Sundström (Statistics Finland). A panel was organised to discuss and debate the connection of information and knowledge to quality of life and happiness from an international perspective. A number of short presentations were given on monitoring the quality of life. As an outcome of the discussions, the participants of the conference agreed that measuring quality of life and happiness will require both a quantitative and a qualitative approach, i.e. both objective statistics and findings on perceived well-being and quality of life.

Finally, a comprehensive session on the topical theme Open Data, Open Access was held on the second day of conference. Summaries of the keynote speeches, the presentations and the panel discussion are published on pages 17–31.
The articles by Professor Mari Vaattovaara, Senior Statistician Maija Vihavainen and Professor Matti Pohjola are a valuable contribution to issues surrounding the conference theme of Information, Knowledge, Improving Life. Professor Pohjola received the City of Helsinki Science Award 2011.

Urban History presented by Town Atlases is one topic of this special issue of Helsinki Quarterly. Three contributions have been published based on presentations given at the international conference “Cohesion and Diversity in the European City” held in Helsinki in June 2010 (see pp. 49–69).

At about the same time as the jubilee seminar was being held, we also published our 100th anniversary book Helsinki tiedon kohteena (The City of Helsinki as a Target of Fact-Finding), which presents the history of the City of Helsinki Urban Facts in terms of evolving urban statistics, urban research and urban history (see p. 5).

We would like to thank the speakers, all the attendees and the organisational staff. Thanks are also extended to the authors of the articles published in this special issue of Helsinki Quarterly.

Asta Manninen
Director

Leila Lankinen
Information Manager
The City of Helsinki as a Target of Fact-Finding.
The Anniversary Book Presents the Development of 
the City and Urban Facts over a Hundred Years

The jubilee publication Helsinki – Subject and Object of Urban Information (Helsinki tiedon kohteena – Helsingin kaupungin tietokeskus 100 vuotta) was issued as a part of the celebrations of the City of Helsinki Urban Facts' 100th anniversary. The publication edited by Timo Cantell and Tero Lahti deals with phenomena of importance to the city’s development, phenomena that the City of Helsinki Urban Facts has followed since its establishment a century ago. The work also describes the history of Urban Facts and Helsinki, present day and conceivable future. Its main themes are Helsinki, information and knowledge.

The first chapter of the book focuses on the City of Helsinki and its development, the themes of the chapter on Helsinki being housing; economic development; development in the city’s cultural life as described by publications on arts and culture; change in the life of a typical Helsinki family over a century; and city planning projects that never materialised.

The second part of the book focuses on urban information and knowledge under the themes of urban economy; structural change in the metropolitan area; change over a 100 years in urban information and knowledge and Finnish urban research; and the history of city planning. The concluding article of the book analyses Helsinki’s position in international comparisons and rankings of cities and discusses the future of urban information and knowledge in the context of open data.

The anniversary book also documents an important event during the anniversary year, namely the 100th anniversary exhibition; its contents and atmosphere. Special emphasis is put on the illustrations of the exhibition, which was on display in the Virka Gallery in Helsinki City Hall between 4 March and 3 April 2011.
City of Helsinki Urban Facts' Centenary Conference, 26–27 May 2011

Information, Knowledge, Improving Life
26 May 2011 9.00–18.00

Venue: Helsinki City Hall
Address: Pohjoisplanadi 11-13

Registration
Opening and Welcome Address
Lord Mayor Jussi Pajunen
Deputy Mayor Tuula Haatainen

Information and Welfare
Professor Denise Lievesley, King's College London: Data for Public Policy and Empowerment
Chancellor, professor Ilkka Niiniluoto, University of Helsinki: Improving Urban Life: Facts and Values
Director General Heli Jeskanen-Sundström, Statistics Finland: Statistics and Measuring Welfare - Challenges and Recent Developments at National and International Level
Chair: Director Asta Manninen, City of Helsinki

Lunch
Panel Discussion
Cities and Regions in International Perspective : Information and Knowledge - Connection to Quality of Life and Happiness
Director Joanna van Antwerpen, City of Amsterdam
Professor Leo van den Berg, European Institute for Comparative Urban Research, Erasmus University Rotterdam
Senior Lecturer Derek Bond, Business and Management Research Institute, University of Ulster
Professor Michael Parkinson, European Institute for Urban Affairs, Liverpool John Moores University
Moderator: Director Eero Holstila, City of Helsinki

Coffee, Tea
Short Presentations
Monitoring Quality of Life - A Challenge to City Statistics and Urban Research
Director Jeanette Bandel and Senior Researcher Birgitta Ljungdahl: The Use of Statistics in the City Planning Process

Professor Mari Vaattovaara, University of Helsinki: Livable Cities and Urban Development
Senior Researcher Isabel Martins, City of Porto and Professor Luís Delfim Santos, University of Porto: Monitoring Urban Quality of Life: The Porto Experience
Information Manager Leila Lankinen, City of Helsinki: Housing and Quality of Life in Helsinki
Chair: Research Director Timo Cantell, City of Helsinki

Closing
Reception at the City Hall

Open Data, Open Access
27 May 2011 8.30–13.00

Venue: The Swedish Adult Education Centre of Helsinki, Arbis
Address: Dagmarinkatu 3

Registration
Project Manager Ville Meloni, ForumVirium Helsinki and Project Manager Pekka Vuori, City of Helsinki: Helsinki Region Infostore - Achievements and Experiences
Ministerial Adviser Taru Rantas, Ministry of Transport and Communication: Open Access to Public Data
Director Pirjo-Leena Forsström, CSC – IT Centre for Science: Open Access to Research Data

Coffee, Tea
Director Istvan Keskméti, The National Archives, Finland: Digital Cultural Heritage
Head of Unit Berthold Feldmann, European Commission, Eurostat: After Ten Years of Good Experience in Urban Statistics: A Thorough Reform of the Urban Audit Project
Director Klaus Trutzel, EU Tools project and Director Thomas Willmann, City of Freiburg: Comparable Local Surveys – Experiences of the EU Tools Project

Closing
Lunch
“Information, Knowledge and Improving Life” was the title of the City of Helsinki Urban Facts’ Centenary Conference held in May this year. Those words also accurately describe the mission of the Urban Facts department during its one hundred years of successful operation.

The foundation of a municipal statistics unit in 1911 was the result of the city councillors’ awakening to the fact that they needed hard facts on which to base their decisions. The City Council had noted variations in the causes of death and infant mortality between neighbourhoods and requested district-based statistics on health conditions. Similar decisions had already been taken in major European metropolises such as Copenhagen, Stockholm, Vienna and many German cities.

Our surrounding society has undergone fundamental changes since the beginning of the 20th century. Nevertheless, the past and present city leadership shares the very same need for reliable information in order to be able to make informed decisions and to implement fact-based policies.

A major difference in terms of the timeframe is the supply of information. At present, we have an abundance of digital sources available just by a mouse-click, not to mention public libraries and other information services. We still, however, face several challenges in exploiting them in practice. For the average citizen, it requires great efforts to map out available sources and to learn how to access them – not to mention the challenge of processing and interpreting the information.

In my opinion, we are about to enter a fundamental paradigm shift with regard to public sector data. The norm of the Nordic society model has always been openness. Limitations on disclosure have been an exception and have required an explicit legal basis. Nonetheless, the publicity of documents and accessibility to them are by no means congruent terms. Contrary to the principle of openness, special efforts have been required to attain official documents. Often
this would involve a visit to the registrar’s office of a specific department.

Herein lies the great revolution: thanks to new IT solutions, it will be possible to access virtually all data that may be disclosed as such in digital format. To illustrate my point, I will use the new information management system of Helsinki, Ahjo, as an example. All pending matters are registered and drafted in a citywide database. The different stages in the decision-making process add new information such as reports and statements from officials, departments and committees. Nearing the end of this cycle, there is an extensive amount of information concentrated in one digital system.

Now let us envisage that this information is made available to everyone through a web interface. In my visions, all this information will be available to everyone, from the moment when the preparation process is launched within the city. Just imagine the vast opportunities for think tanks and residents’ associations to present their own proposals regarding, for example, a new city planning project or the development of basic services in a certain district and make an important contribution to the official preparation procedure by providing an additional viewpoint.

Bearing this in mind, we are facing not only a groundbreaking paradigm shift in terms of openness, but regarding our entire democratic model and empowerment. It will shake the foundations of our present way of working and the way that we perceive openness today.

The Urban Facts department has always been a pioneer in open data, which is a prerequisite for the efficient exploitation of access to public information. An important question related to openness is the way information is made available. Vast databases are not easily interpreted. Special statistical understanding is required in order to make sense of the information. A great challenge for statistical professionals and researchers is indeed refining information into a more visual format.

An exciting initiative that combines openness with visualisation is the new open Helsinki Region Infoshare project. Its main aim is to make regional information quickly and easily accessible to all. The data may be used by citizens, businesses, universities, academies, research facilities or municipal administration at no cost. The data published during the project is mainly statistical, giving a comprehensive and diverse outlook on different urban phenomena, such as living conditions, economics and well-being, employment and transport.

Behind the project is the vision that making public data readily available to all increases the residents’ knowledge and insight into their region. This in turn improves the abilities of the public to engage in civic activity. Open access to information can also lead to new services and businesses in the area, and it may also advance research and development.

Helsinki Region Infoshare is closely linked to our designation as World Design Capital in 2012. Our core theme has been condensed into two words: Open Helsinki. Like every city in the world, Helsinki exists for its people. An enjoyable urban culture is the result of many factors, perhaps the most important of which is openness. The concept of Open Helsinki is literal – a city where information, ideas, thoughts and people can move freely without unnecessary obstacles hampering creativity.

Among the main objectives of the World Design Capital initiative is to offer means and methods for ordinary citizens to participate in developing their living environment. Actions and plans do not always have to be huge and momentous. The most important thing is to involve people in the decision-making process that applies to the area in which they live. Our ambition is to approach design from a broad perspective, and to see it as a source for social, economic and cultural improvement. Design brings the users’ point of view to processes where we seek the optimal so-
lution to cater for the needs and expectations of our citizens.

Design also helps to render innovations, technologies and systems more sustainable. Data visualisation is also design. It is a fast growing global trend in analytics and information management and an area that is growing in importance following the need to understand complex systems and interdependencies. The main goal of data visualisation is consequently to communicate information clearly and effectively through graphical presentations, and these days even through interactive presentations. From the city point of view, this is crucial from the point of view of developing welfare services and following up their impact.

Publicly available and understandable information is a prerequisite for a functioning modern democracy. Access to relevant and future-oriented information contributes to better decision-making and a better life in terms of liveable cities, competitiveness and sustainability.
Territorial expansion of the City of Helsinki from the foundation in 1550 until today

Population of Helsinki and Helsinki Region 1900–2011 and projection 2012–2050
Helsinki has launched one of the greatest changes in urban structure in its history, emphasising the waterfront and the sea. New districts are being planned and built in Länsisatama, Kalasatama, Kruunuvuorenranta, Pasila and Östersundom.

Kalasatama. Maritime milieu with a central location (construction period: 2010–2030). The new waterfront district will accommodate 18,000 residents and 10,000 jobs.
Illustration: Jarmo Roiko-Jokela. City Planning Department. City of Helsinki.

Kruunuvuorenranta. A cosy residential area and an attractive recreational area for all Helsinki inhabitants. (Construction period: 2010–2025). Will host 10,000 residents and 1,000 jobs.

Länsisatama. An exceptional waterfront district (construction period: 2010–2030). Only minutes away from the centre of Helsinki. Will host 20,000 residents and 7,000 jobs.
Illustration: Tietoa Oy.
The City of Helsinki Urban Facts’ Centenary Conference “Information, Knowledge, Improving Life” brought up important issues: how information and knowledge contribute to the quality of life. Information and knowledge help in the understanding of developments and support preparing for major challenges and change.

A centennial anniversary invites you not only to look back but also to look ahead at the future requirements of information and knowledge. A solid knowledge base about cities and their regions, their current situation, needs and potential is required on a regular basis. In connection with the conference theme “Information, Knowledge, Improving Life”, I would like to briefly present three major challenges.

Firstly, we need an open information policy which would allow for open and free access to public information. This policy request applies to all levels of society: local, regional, national and international. In this context I can say that the Cities of Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen have made the decision to make public data open and freely available. The new online service is Helsinki Region Infoshare – Open Regional Data (see p. 27).

Secondly, it is important to have timely and relevant data and research available on urban phenomena, especially on new urban phenomena and emerging new trends in the urban scene. At this point, cooperation with universities, research institutes and universities of applied sciences is of crucial importance. Next I will present two best practices of coordinating and implementing user-driven urban research and of enhancing the societal impact of scientific research.

The City of Helsinki has a tradition of setting up urban statistics and urban research programmes every three to five years. These programmes are created in a dialogue with key customers and partners, and coordinated by the Urban Facts’ department. The most recent research and statistics programme “Tietoa Stadista” has been set up for the period 2011–2015 and approved by the City Board. The main goal of the programme is to increase information and
knowledge about housing and the environment, democracy and inclusion, health, welfare and services, urban culture as well as the municipal economy, competitiveness and the efficiency of the labour market. Much attention is being paid to various means of raising the impact of statistics and research outcomes.

The other example concerns how cooperation in urban research can bring together universities, universities of applied sciences, the major cities in the metropolitan region and government ministries. It all started in 1998, when the City of Helsinki, the Ministry of Education and the University of Helsinki agreed to intensify their co-operation in the field of urban research. The first agreement generated six new professorships at the University of Helsinki for a term of five years. In 2003, this model was further extended. A new agreement was reached between the Cities of Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Lahti, the University of Helsinki, the Helsinki University of Technology and the Ministry of Education. According to the new agreement, a total of nine professorships in urban research were created, seven professors accommodated at the University of Helsinki and two at the Helsinki University of Technology. The research fields were European metropolitan planning, urban history, social policy, urban sociology, urban economics, urban ecology, urban ecosystem, urban technological systems and urban geography.

This model has been further developed and enlarged. By 2010, the professorships in urban research had been made permanent and the University of Helsinki and the University of Aalto had been granted new staff members. – Aalto University was created in 2010 from the merger of three Finnish universities: the Helsinki School of Economics, Helsinki University of Technology and the University of Art and Design Helsinki.

The present and enlarged structure of cooperation in the field of urban research is being developed within the framework of national metropolitan policy. The focus of the research is on the specific needs of the metropolitan region. So far an agreement has been reached between a large number of key stakeholders – the cities, universities and universities of applied sciences in the region and four ministries – with the aim of strengthening urban research and advancing the use of urban research findings and scientific knowledge.

In the Metropolitan Region Urban Research and Cooperation Programme 2011–2014, the focus of urban research is on the specific needs of the metropolitan region. There are a total of four broad thematic areas requiring high quality urban research. These are:

- Living environment and urban structures
- Multiculturalism and immigration
- Welfare policies and services
- Economy and competitiveness

There are also two mainstream themes to be dealt with, namely governance and internationalism.

In addition, it is important to emphasise a few key questions related to the need to improve the impact of urban research: how can supply and demand be harmonised? How can they be better harmonised? How can partnerships and cooperation between various actors and stakeholders be improved? How can research findings be communicated and put into practice?

In Helsinki we are well-equipped to reflect and tackle these issues. The provision of information, sharing and accessibility were organised in the City of Helsinki as early as 1911 in the form of a statistical unit. This unit grew into the Statistical Office, which has gradually been developed also to include urban research and other information activities. Today, the City of Helsinki Urban Facts brings together in one institution urban statistics, urban research and the city archives. In
the last 25 years, much attention and efforts have been focused on developing and strengthening co-operation with universities and major cities at home and abroad, especially in Europe. The exchange of experiences in the field of urban statistics and research are becoming even more international. It is important to mention the uniquely long tradition of cooperation in the Nordic countries.

Finally, in making our cities more habitable and competitive, we may use the results of a considerable amount of ongoing research on the very topic of urban competitiveness. Traditional theories hold that enterprises, regions and countries mainly compete in factors of production, such as labour and capital. More recently, however, new theories on competitiveness and economic growth have been developed. These new theories embrace a number of factors referred to as characteristics of the information society and knowledge economy. Increasingly we talk about knowledge cities and regions; in such cities, education, research and development, innovation, technology and quality of life have been identified as important factors for success.

### Knowledge, Creativity, Diversity

**Universities in the Helsinki Region**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University of Helsinki</td>
<td>36,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aalto university</td>
<td>18,848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanken School of Economics</td>
<td>2,336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibelius Academy</td>
<td>1,367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theatre Academy</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academy of Fine Arts</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finnish National Defence University</td>
<td>680</td>
</tr>
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**Universities of applied sciences in the Helsinki Region**

<table>
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<th>University</th>
<th>Students</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Haaga-Helia</td>
<td>9,710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laurea</td>
<td>7,644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diaconia</td>
<td>3,112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arcada</td>
<td>2,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humak</td>
<td>1,499</td>
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**Proportion of population aged 25–64 with a higher education degree (ISCED 5–6) in 31.12.2009**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Helsinki</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Helsinki region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
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![Graph showing proportion of population with higher education degree](image-url)
Foreign-mother-tongue residents population of Helsinki and the Helsinki Region on 2000-2009 and a projection until 2030

Personnel of enterprises in creative industries in the Helsinki Region and share of Finland in 2009

- Motion picture, video and television programme production: 2,484
- Programming and broadcasting activities: 3,899
- Wholesale of communication equipment: 4,752
- Advertising and market research: 6,311
- Scientific research and development: 2,182
- Computer programming and consultancy activities: 23,458
- Specialised design activities: 850
- Telecommunications: 6,418
- Publishing activities: 8,755
- Creative, arts and entertainment activities: 1,197
- Manufacture of computer and electronic products: 15,263
- Photographic activities: 559
- Architectural and engineering activities: 12,831
- Printing: 3,361
- Libraries other cultural activities: 53
The Helsinki Music Centre

The Helsinki Music Centre is a concert venue and meeting point open to all. It was opened on 31 August 2011. The main users of the Helsinki Music Centre are the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra, the Finnish Radio Symphony Orchestra, and the Sibelius Academy.

Next door to the Helsinki Music Centre is Kiasma Museum of Contemporary Art. Photo: Anja Stenius.
The first speaker of the keynote session on Information and Welfare was Professor Denise Lievesley, Head of the School of Social Science and Public Policy at King’s College London and Chair of the European Statistical Advisory Committee. She has also recently held the office of President of the International Statistical Institute, one of the oldest scientific associations still active throughout the world, and is active in many professional associations operating globally. Drawing on her extensive experience, she began by identifying five important principles relevant to the theme of her talk:

- Data collected at public expense should be used for public benefit.
- There is a social responsibility to use data resources efficiently and to the fullest possible extent (as data are often under-exploited).
- The burden of responding to requests for data should be minimised.
- The increasing need to share data internationally should be addressed.
- It is a vital aspect of public accountability that research findings together with the data should be made available so that others can refute, confirm, clarify or extend the results.

She stressed that “publicly funded research data are a public good, produced in the public interest, and as such they should remain in the public realm”. She pointed out that many professional bodies have incorporated these principles within their codes of conduct. For example, the International Statistical Institute’s declaration on professional ethics states that “A principle of all scientific work is that it should be open to scrutiny, assessment and possible validation by fellow scientists”. She was encouraged by the growing awareness that failure to exploit the full potential of data has costs for society and many institutions and agencies now espouse the aim of ensuring that data are used as extensively as possible.”

Professor Lievesley went on to emphasise the importance of establishing policies on data access, sharing and preservation; with attention be-
ing paid to incentives, both sticks and carrots. As an example, she cited the policies and practice of the UK Economic and Social Research Council which:

- Limit new data collection
- Encourage secondary analysis
- Require new data and derived data to be deposited in UK data archive
- Determine the date for deposit
- Set standards for documentation
- Provide resources for data access and preservation
- Build data commons
- Fund data use workshops

In addition, she stressed that policies must pay attention to the responsibilities of data users. The end-users should acknowledge and give credit, respect conditions of access, use data responsibly and provide feedback on use. Data sets vary especially in relation to sensitivity and content. With regard to the public use of data, she noted that users have different needs and levels of understanding.

Sharing data is an important policy for which Professor Lievesley presented the following rationale and benefits:

- Development of knowledge
- Encouraging the greater exploitation (and therefore greater impact) of data
- Contribution to sound policy decisions
- Fostering multiple perspectives on data
- Facilitating comparative research
- Creating a knowledgeable data community
- Providing feedback on data and improving data quality
- Improving citations and competitiveness
- Impact on the quality and relevance of teaching

Highlighting the issue of partnerships, such as those with data intermediaries, and between expert users and official data agencies, Professor Lievesley felt that they helped:

- to broaden informed data use and reuse;
- to foster diversity and deepen the quality of data analysis thereby extracting more information from the data;
- to add value to data by bringing subject-matter knowledge to data analysis;
- to improve data quality

In conclusion, she summarised what can be done and what is highly successful, reminding her audience that we “create a diverse range of datasets, many of which are unique, rich in information content and incapable of replication”. Sharing allows us “to extend the value of these datasets through new, high-quality, ethical research and exploitation, whilst reducing unnecessary duplication of data collection”. And finally, she reiterated that “Having collected data at some cost to the taxpayer, good data management and data preservation are required.”
Improving Urban Life: Facts and Values
ILKKA NIINILUOTO

The next speaker of the keynote session on Information and Welfare was the Chancellor of the University of Helsinki, Professor Ilkka Niiniluoto. He is an internationally recognised professor of philosophy with extensive professional experience. He has published numerous books and scientific articles. He is also committed to the social responsibility of the university and is in many ways engaged in the cooperation between the City of Helsinki and the University of Helsinki. The title of his speech was "Improving Urban Life: Facts and Values".

Ilkka Niiniluoto paid attention to the distinction between facts and values and presented a framework to the evolving information society and its characteristics. Above all, he explained the definitions of key concepts and explored the role and value of information in contemporary society.

Today, open access to information is a topical issue. A lot of activities and new openings are underway on international, national and local levels to achieve open access. You might mention the recommendations of the European Commission and OECD. He presented two recently initiated measures for developing the availability, reuse and preservation of data resources in Finland.

These measures are “a roadmap for the utilization of electronic data in research” and “the government resolution on improving the accessibility and promoting the reuse of public information resources in digital format”. The Roadmap project “Data for Research” was set up by the Ministry of Education and Culture and chaired by Chancellor Ilkka Niiniluoto. He also mentioned the web service Helsinki Region Infoshare - open access to data on the Helsinki region (see pp. 27–30).

While focusing on statistics, Ilkka Niiniluoto started by giving an overview of the milestones of the history of statistics in terms of the production of statistics, as a discipline at the University and as a profession. He continued by pondering ethics and politics in statistics. He also focused on data and trends. Although, we have an endless number of statistical facts, there are still information gaps and selection of data remains a challenge. In this context, the role of values request attention. We may recognise “value judgments in relation to statistical data; assessment of trends, such as social indicators: progress and regress; and decision-making relative to evidence justified by statistical and scientific research”, he stated.

Reflecting on values again, Ilkka Niiniluoto raised the question: “where do the relevant values come from”? He continued: “from philo-
sophical arguments, general morality and ethics, empirical value studies, value profiles of institutions or political debates”. How do we understand urban values? According to research, there are specific or distinctive urban values. Although urbanisation continues, measuring people’s perception of city and nature reveals mixed attitudes.

In conclusion, Ilkka Niiniluoto highlighted the concepts of quality of life and welfare. He stated that the ultimate value premise of social and urban planning is good human life. Consequently, the quality of life is composed of subjective aspects (satisfaction and happiness) and objective aspects (basic needs, food, housing, health, wealth, security, and education); both aspects are needed. As far as the measurement and monitoring of quality of life are concerned, there are research, critical redefining of key concepts and rankings based on composite indicators going on.

Statistics and Measuring Welfare – Challenges and Recent Developments at National and International Level
Heli Jeskanen-Sundström

The third speaker of the keynote session on Information and Welfare was Heli Jeskanen-Sundström, Director General of Statistics Finland. She has broad experience in the field of statistics on national, EU and international levels. She has held the office of President of the IAOS, the International Association of Official Statistics. At the moment, she is re-elected Chair of the Conference of European Statisticians (CES) and its bureau, both of which operate under the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE). She also has long experience of co-operation with OECD. The co-operation between the City of Helsinki Urban Facts and Statistics Finland is well established through long tradition.

Heli Jeskanen-Sundström gave her talk on “Statistics and measuring progress and well-being”. She started by giving background information on what has been done and where we have gone in measuring well-being and the progress of societies. She mentioned five international initia-

Measuring and monitoring quality of life
- Economics of happiness
- Sustainable development
- United Nations Development Programme and Human Development Index, HDI
- State of the Future Index, SOFI, Washington University Millennium project
- Redefining Progress, Genuine Progress Index, GPI
- Prosperity Index, Legatum Institute
- The Happy Planet Index, HPI, The New Economics Foundation
- Mercer Quality of Living Survey
- Mercer Eco-ranking of Cities

International Initiatives
- OECD project on measuring the well-being and progress of societies
- European Commission’s communication “GDP and beyond - measuring progress in a changing world” in 2009 (identifies five actions to improve measurement of progress in a changing world)
- Europe 2020 strategy on smart, sustainable and inclusive growth (five objectives)
- OECD’s green growth strategy
tives and also described the situation in Finland. All in all, there are specific needs behind the initiatives, such as the need to supplement GDP and measure progress; measure citizens’ well-being and (possibly) happiness; assess inequality and divergence in society; and consider environmental issues extending over generations. One gets the feeling that well-being is indeed a multi-dimensional concept. (See also Professor Matti Pohjola, pp. )

Official Statistics of Finland are a comprehensive collection of statistics describing the development and state of society. A major part of these statistics describe well-being and the environment. In addition, Statistics Finland produces periodicals and keeps databases dealing with the measurement of well-being and the environment. Heli Jeskanen-Sundström also explained why the GPI (Genuine Progress Indicator) fails to give a full picture of well-being. Looking at the perspective of well-being alongside GDP (Gross Domestic Product) calls for the measurement of income, consumption and wealth from a household perspective, and also the measurement of leisure time and household activities. In addition, there is a need to measure human capital, competence and life-long learning. Statistics Finland provides various statistics and surveys on these phenomena and topics.

In addition, Heli Jeskanen-Sundström mentioned a number of other perspectives relating to well-being and reported on corresponding statistical data. In the framework of measuring well-being and progress, she highlighted two cases: Statistics Finland’s environmental statistics and the Greenhouse Gas Inventory. She concluded that international co-operation in statistics is crucial and that the agenda for the development of indicators on well-being and the environment is both comprehensive and challenging.

Where is Finland as regards measurement of well-being and the environment?
- Production of wide range of statistics describing wellbeing and the environment
- Satellite accounts compiled in connection with National Accounts
- Periodicals: Hyvinvointikatsaus, Tieto&Trendit
- Findicator database: http://www.findikaattori.fi/
- Research reports by experts

Agenda for the development of indicators on well-being and the environment
- Production of comprehensive statistics describing living conditions will be continued within available resources
- Environmental accounting will be revised
- Progress in line with the international statistical development policies
- Recommendations of the Working Group of the Prime Minister’s Office
European Regions 2010: Economic Welfare and Unemployment

Source: http://www.espon.eu/

This ESPON map shows the socio-economic situation of European regions by benchmarking each region at the European level. The map combines GDP per capita and unemployment rates using the latest available data, including some estimations made by ESPON.

As indicator for the level of economic welfare the GDP-PPS per capita is used. GDP-PPS is the gross domestic product (GDP) per power purchasing standard (PPS) where PPS takes into account the relative cost of living and inflation rates. This makes it possible to compare the indicator between countries. This indicator is then divided by the total population in the region (NUTS 3).

The unemployment rate is a harmonized indicator from EUROSTAT that reflects the attractiveness of a region and represents unemployed persons as a percentage of the labour force. The labour force is the total number of people employed and unemployed aged 15 to 74.

In order to cross GDP-PPS per capita with unemployment and to present a European level benchmarking of the regions, both indicators are divided into two classes: above and below ESPON average. - GDP per capita, 2010, ESPON space=25.232€; unemployment rate, 2010, ESPON space=9.6%. 
Panel Discussion
Cities and Regions in International Perspective.
Information and Knowledge – Connection to Quality of Life and Happiness

Eero Holstila, Director of Economic Development in the City of Helsinki, and former Director of City of Helsinki Urban Facts moderated the panel discussion on “Cities and Regions in an International Perspective. Information and Knowledge – Connection to Quality of Life and Happiness”. He has a unique career serving the City of Helsinki over the past 40 years in key positions with impact on the development of the City. He introduced the four panellists: Joanna van Antwerpen is CEO of the Amsterdam Innovation Motor initiated by the City of Amsterdam and former Director of Urban Statistics and Research at the City of Amsterdam; Leo van den Berg is a professor at the Erasmus University Rotterdam and is Director of the European Institute for Comparative Urban Research (EURICUR) at the Erasmus University Rotterdam; Michael Parkinson is professor at the Liverpool John Moores University and is Director of the European Institute for Urban Affairs at the Liverpool John Moores University; and Senior Lecturer Derek Bond is a member of the academic staff at the University of Ulster, Director of the ESRC’s Northern Ireland Research Laboratory and has also held the Chair of SCORUS, Standing Committee of Urban and Regional Statistics of the International Statistical Institute.

Eero Holstila introduced the question of the role of the EU in urban issues and urban policy. He asked the panellists to comment from their positions on the current state of EU urban policy and the possible next steps.

Joanna van Antwerpen focused on competitiveness and introduced a concept adopted in the City of Amsterdam, namely AIM, the Amsterdam Innovation Motor. AIM is working to increase the capacity for innovation in the Amsterdam area. It invests in all stages of the innovation process, backing new ideas and supporting new ventures that stimulate entrepreneurship. AIM is active in various EU projects, such as Smart Cities. AIM has many similarities with Culminatum Ltd, which operates in the Helsinki region. Michael Parkinson summarised the current situation of EU engagement in urban issues and urban policy as “one step forward, two steps back”. He judged that governance and scale are critical for cities. Leo van den Berg underlined “organising capacity” as a key word for the success and well-being of cities. He said that how to govern a metropolitan region is a topical question and challenge everywhere, as we live in a stakeholders’ world. Derek Bond contributed with experiences from Northern Ireland. He explained how the University of Ulster is at the same time engaged in local and regional issues and international networks with the aim of making the best of local assets, creating new jobs and increasing sustainable competitiveness.

In his concluding remarks Eero Holstila referred to some statements from the debate and
envisaged future challenges for EU urban policy. He concluded that it is obvious that the debate about European urban policy has come a long way from the initiatives raised by the European Commission in the early 1990s. The international exchange of knowledge and experience can be seen as a major contribution of EU policies, although it is not enough. Cities should be at the tables of all EU DGs and policies, he emphasised. In addition, he said, we need new good questions to pose and present at these tables to ensure good quality of life in European cities.

The panel discussion addressed the interrelations between knowledge, urban policy and quality of life. Panelists from left to right: Professor Michael Parkinson, Professor Leo van den Berg, Director Eero Holstila, Director Joanna van Antwerpen and Senior Lecturer Derek Bond.
The Use of Statistics in the City Planning Process

JEANETTE BANDEL & BIRGITTA LJUNGDHAL

Director Jeanette Bandel and Project Manager Birgitta Ljungdahl from the Stockholm Office of Research and Statistics told how Stockholm uses statistics in the city planning process. Here the information needs of various service sectors are most crucial when monitoring the quality of life of the inhabitants. The city is responsible for child care, education, elderly care and social welfare service provision.

Urban development and projection of population growth are the most important factors when planning the services responding to the needs of different age groups. Jeanette Bandel and Birgitta Ljungdahl collected population data from Stockholm beginning in 1720 to the present day and also made a forecast for 2090. Over 290 years, Stockholm has developed from a city of some 50,000 residents to the current metropolis of more than 800,000 inhabitants. Growth will continue over the coming decades and the population is expected to exceed 1.3 million by the end of the 2080s.

Population growth results in expanding service needs. Over the past ten years, the growth in the number of children of day-care age was 15,000, which required the creation of 330 new children’s day-care centres. In 2011, 50 new day-care centers were needed for 2,400 children between the ages of 1 and 5.

At the end of her presentation, Ms Bandel told how the need for municipal services forms the basis of budget allocation for the city districts. In addition to the population forecast, information on the economic resources of the district also form the basic data for the financial decision-making of the city.

Monitoring System for Urban Quality of Life in the City of Porto

ISABEL MARTINS & LUIS DELFIM SANTOS

Improving the quality of life is a central topic on the political agenda of the city of Porto. To improve decision-making processes and to create new approaches and tools for discussion, the City of Porto in conjunction with the University of Porto have developed a monitoring system to study the dynamics that directly or indirectly influence living conditions in the urban centre and other parts of the city. The quality of life assessment is based on a panel of quantitative indicators and a perception survey.
Initially the approach included four domains—environmental conditions, collective material conditions, economic conditions and society. Each of these domains was grouped into thematic areas, quantitative indicators and basic variables. The subjective data was collected by means of a perception survey. The first survey took place in 2003.

The monitoring system for quality of life in Porto has turned out to be an important instrument. It has supported municipal activities by offering information for the purposes of setting priorities, evaluation and budgeting. It has also formed an important platform for dialogue for key urban actors and for the involvement of citizens.

Porto’s experiences have shown that it is challenging to track trends and to compare the quality of life over time and territory or between population groups.

At the end of their presentation, Senior Researcher Isabel Martins and Professor Luis Delfim Santos summarised challenges for the next survey, the developing of the proximity model of quality of life in Porto and the dissemination of research results at city- and district level.

Professor MARI VAATTOVAARA gave a presentation on "Liveable cities and urban development". She has extended her presentation into the article "Change of Urban Structure in the Helsinki Region", see pp. 32–37. Information Manager Leila Lankinen dealt with housing and quality of life in Helsinki from a long term development perspective. MAIJA VIHAVAINEN, Senior Statistician at City of Helsinki Urban Facts, is writing about this very issue in her article entitled "A Hundred Years of Housing in Helsinki", see. pp. 38–42.
Helsinki Region Infoshare –
Achievements and Experiences
PEKKA VUORI & VILLE MELONI

Helsinki Region Infoshare (www.hri.fi) aims at making information, especially various urban and regional statistics about the Helsinki Region and its municipalities and sub-distRICTS, freely available by offering easy access in a user-driven way. Indeed, Helsinki Region Infoshare (HRI) offers a new, open model for sharing and reusing public data. The starting point for this project is at least three-fold. Firstly, broad cooperation in the region requires a good information basis covering the whole region. Secondly, the cities in the Helsinki region believe that open data, openness and open cooperation bring about a competitive advantage by stimulating new businesses, products and services and by improving existing ones. Thirdly, open access to statistical information and public data is essential for society and to enable the public to participate and interact. In addition, an open data and open access approach supports harmonisation of data and improves operational efficiency at all levels of administration.

Helsinki Region Infoshare is a research and development project running from 2010 through to 2012. The core municipalities of Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen in the Helsinki Region, Forum Virium Helsinki and Sitra (the Finnish Innovation Fund) are participants in this project, which is coordinated by the City of Helsinki Urban Facts. Forum Virium Helsinki is responsible for project planning, providing R&D-services and coordinating sub-projects. The Ministry of Finance is providing financial support for the project. Developing HRI has been inspired by encouraging examples as www.data.gov.uk and www.data.gov.

The data published by the HRI is mainly statistical, giving a comprehensive and diverse outlook on different urban phenomena, such as demography and living conditions, economics and well-being, employment and transport. A high share of the data offered is GIS-based, allowing for varied use and applications.

After 2012, the target is to ensure that open data and open access will become part of the ordinary operations of the municipalities in the Helsinki Region. Therefore the next steps will comprise further development of the content and functionalities of the web service www.hri.fi in dialogue with the users. In addition, efforts are to be targeted at making more data sources open and freely accessible, encouraging the use of the data, increasing applications of the data, organising application competitions for developers, expanding cooperation with universities and companies, and so forth.

Special attention is paid to data visualisation, which is a goal to be achieved through various means and co-Operational working patterns. Two
distinctive programmes are on the agenda, namely the Helsinki World Design Capital 2012 and the IBM Smarter Cities Challenge in Helsinki.

As an example of different forms of cooperation, Ville Meloni representing Forum Virium Helsinki, and Pekka Vuori representing City of Helsinki Urban Facts mentioned the annual Apps4Finland competition for new web applications based on public data. This contest is aimed at finding new ways to utilise public data sources and to provide visibility for young talents and application designers.

Open Access to Public Data

TARU RASTAS

Taru Rastas, Ministerial Adviser at the Ministry of Transport and Communication, presented the current state of “Government actions on accessibility and reuse of public information resources”. The EU Digital Agenda and the strategy “Productive and Inventive Finland – Digital Agenda for 2011–2020” have provided the background for the work on improving accessibility and reuse of public information resources. More productive use of public sector information resources was made a key objective in the national strategy for developing the information society (Productive and Inventive Finland – Digital Agenda for 2011–2020), which was submitted to the Finnish Parliament in November 2010.

The field of open data and information resources has seen a number of working groups recently:

- Accessibility of Public Information, Ministry of Transport and Communications
- Promoting the Accessibility and Use of Public Sector Information Resources, Ministry of Finance
- Technical interfaces for Public Sector Basic Information Resources, Ministry of Finance
- Information Resources for Research study project, Ministry of Education and Culture/CSC

The government resolution on improving accessibility and promoting reuse of public information resources in digital format was issued in March 2011. Taru Rastas clarified that the government resolution presents the policy lines and measures needed to improve the accessibility and increase the reuse of digitalised public sector information resources in all areas of society. The policy lines include development measures to clarify data policies and legislation, to create structures and practices that enable use and to promote the development of services and applications. The aim of the policy lines as regards public sector data policy is that public sector information resources become openly accessible and reusable under clear and common conditions for reuse that are equal to all.

Taru Rastas went on to say that the government resolution also includes policies and measures for making digital information resources administered by the public sector accessible to citizens, enterprises and organisations, authorities and academic and research institutes in an easily retrievable and utilisable format through information networks. The goal of this policy line is that information resources will be widely accessible to the general public so that they promote innovation and research activities, the de-
The development of digital products, services and markets, impact and transparency of public administration and promote citizens’ participation in decision-making. She concluded by saying that when implementing services and opening up information, however, we must always ensure that the right to privacy, business secrets, copyrights, national security and other similar principles and rights are not jeopardised.

Open Research and Data in Finland

Pirjo-Leena Forsström

Dr Pirjo-Leena Forsström, director of CSC–IT Centre for Science, highlighted in her presentation the growing significance of knowledge in society and science. The background for the presentation was the work conducted within the Data for Research project set up by the Ministry of Education and Culture. The aims of the project were to steer the work related to national data resources, to form an overall understanding of the situation in Finland and to draft a national plan for developing the availability and preservation of data resources to be used in research.

The growing significance of knowledge is evident in society in a number of ways. The knowledge-based society emphasises innovation orientation, and knowledge (through reliable information) is one of the most important resources of society. Finland has a significant collection of high-quality public sector information. However, some of the publicly-funded data are currently difficult to find, access and utilise.

The competitiveness of Finnish research requires a strong commitment to the building of an information infrastructure and to the strengthening of the related knowledge and skills. These issues also form the basis for international research cooperation, innovation and the enhancement of equal opportunities for data usage between researchers. All these support national well-being and productivity.

Dr Forsström argued that national research data should contain data sets produced or administered by the public sector and the research system. The use of the data should be guided by legislation and uniform terms of use, taking data confidentiality issues into consideration.

Science is changing

- The complexity of knowledge increases – deeper knowledge in narrower fields
- Interdisciplinary research expands – Complex problems
- The cost of research (infrastructure) skyrockets – Government involvement needed.
- Increasing critical size in research – Networking, both financially and in human potential
- Stronger influence of the economy
- New ways of doing science: „knowledge born in cyberspace” through the interaction of dislocated scientists
- Development costs beyond the possibilities of companies – request for state intervention, company consortia
- Science has become fully international. Globalization of science.

At the end of her presentation Pirjo-Leena Forsström summarised the key challenges to be met in order to reach the Finnish vision of open research data. The most crucial actions to be taken are the expression of collective will from the government platform, establishing a cross-sector coordination group to enhance data issues from a research perspective, commencing the planning of an information infrastructure for research, and legislative reforms that enhance the wider utilization of data resources.
Digital Cultural Heritage

István Kecskeméti

The duty of Finnish National Archives is to ensure that records belonging to the national cultural heritage are preserved, and to promote research based on them, said Dr. István Kecskeméti, Director of the Archiving Techniques Unit of the National Archives of Finland. The aims of digitalisation of collections are to improve accessibility, to conserve and preserve originals, to digitise microfilms and to gain new customer groups.

Customer needs, usage and national and local values guide decisions on what collections are chosen for digitalisation. During the period 2004 – 2010, a total of 10,000,000 images were digitised representing about 1.5 per cent of collections. However, this comprises about 30 per cent of the needs of genealogists, who are the single largest customer group of the National Archives.

The Thorough Revision of the Urban Audit Project

Berthold Feldmann

The Urban Audit database of European major cities and regions was established a decade ago starting as a pilot project launched by the European Union’s DG Regio department, said Dr. Berthold Feldmann, Head of Unit, Urban and Regional Statistics, Eurostat. Since the pilot phase, the Urban Audit database has been developed and maintained by Eurostat (European Union Statistical Office) in cooperation with national statistical offices and cities.

The Urban Audit includes variables covering many demographic, economic and social aspects and three spatial units that are divided into core cities, larger urban zones and sub-city districts. The data base has been developed into an ambitious voluntary data collection in order to give a comprehensive statistical picture of urban life in more than 350 cities and regions of Europe. The
information has been intensively used in EU Policy context and analyses.

The problem with data collection and analyses is a rather low overall response rate of only about 60 per cent. Some of the other mayor challenges are data delivery delays, comparability, usability of statistics and missing data.

In 2010 and 2011, several stakeholder meetings have been held. As a result of these meetings, ten actions have been approved to revise the database. The first target is to include all European towns and cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants in the database. The second is to create consistent spatial definitions of cities based on objective criteria. This will significantly increase the comparability of statistics.

The third development need relates to the content of the database. The current variables, 40 of which are collected annually and 330 every three years will be substituted with 85 annual variables and 175 collected every five years. This reform will increase the scope of annual data collection and decrease the frequency of the exhaustive data collection with a significantly shorter list of variables than is currently the case. The fifth target is to reach an 80 per cent response rate by deleting those variables with a poor response rate and by increasing the amount of centrally-collected data.

The sixth and seventh actions target an increase in direct cooperation with cities in order to improve data validation. Cities form an important user group and it is necessary to intensify dialogue with them. Two final requirements for improvements are to increase awareness of urban statistics and to exploit synergies with other statistical data collections.

In conclusion, Dr. Berthold Feldmann presented an ambitious timetable for the revisions. The implementation of the revised database will take place in January 2012.

City of Freiburg: Comparable Local Surveys – Experiences of the EU Tools Project

Klaus Trutzel & Thomas Willmann

The challenges of an ageing population in Europe require reliable information through continuous monitoring and repeated structural analyses. In their presentation, Director Klaus Trutzel and Director Thomas Willmann described the situation in the ongoing EU TooLS project that focuses on demographic change and the challenges of an ageing European population. The aim of the project is to create an infrastructure for comparable surveys to be developed and applied throughout Europe.

Supported by the European Union, the EU TooLS project aims initially to develop and then carry out reliable and comparable surveys on municipal administrations and service providers as well as the ageing population. In addition to quantitative data, there is also an emphasis on qualitative data collection to deepen available knowledge retrieved in this area.

A number of European cities are engaging in this EU TooLS process of developing and testing the survey. In Finland, Helsinki, Espoo and Vantaa are joint members of this project and they co-operate with such cities as Freiburg and Amsterdam in testing the survey. Within the framework of this project, two international conferences and national seminars will be held. The final report will be issued at the end of 2012. See also p. 71.
As a part of relatively late but rapid – by international comparison – urbanisation process, the Helsinki Region has become a city region or metropolitan area that, by virtue of its growth, has started to be differentiated in terms of social and spatial structure. The structural changes taking place in the region are conditioning the decision-making and policy of the region’s municipalities, while also revealing various governance problems. In the following, I describe the structure and dynamics of the socio-spatial changes of the Helsinki Region. In conclusion, I raise the question of the city region’s future structural basis in the light of international experience. The issue of how the urban structure of our city region is likely to evolve and be directed is, as far as I can see, of great consequence precisely now, now that our city region has 1.3 million inhabitants.

Growth into a pocket-size metropolis

The material and thereby structural basis of most European city regions, namely the core cities, already strongly existed at the beginning of 20th century. A substantial part of the present building stock, or at least of the city region’s core, had already been built by that time. In Finland, however, urbanisation was only just beginning. As an example, the area covered by today’s Helsinki Region with its 1.3 million inhabitants, by that time had 138,000 inhabitants, of which 82,000 were in Helsinki. The rest of the region consisted of villages and smaller communities whose residents predominantly worked in agriculture.

The growth of the Helsinki Region into a medium-sized European metropolis has been a process with many phases. Helsinki became the capital of Finland in 1812, which implied the deliberate gradual construction of a basis for a “natural national leadership” in all fields of economy and culture. Yet, the region’s growth throughout the 20th century was not linear. Finland remained a poor country dominated by agriculture and forestry up until the 1950s, as structural change had hampered by, especially, the wars. An economic upswing related to rapid urbanisation can be seen from the 1950s onwards. At first, public industrial investments were prominent, but then the 1960s saw spectacular structural change in the form of urbanisation and suburbanisation. Not only Helsinki but also its urban region received a substantial influx of migrants from the countryside as faster urban growth than ever before was predominantly channelled into suburbs in the 1960s and 1970s. Over two decades, from the 50s to the 70s, the share that the population of the cities of Espoo and Vantaa made up of the region’s inhabitants grew from 8 to 20 per cent, i.e. from around 40,000 inhabitants to over 170,000 (figures 1 and 2).
Figure 1. The growth of the city region

Figure 2. The growth of the city region

Outer Helsinki Region = Hyvinkää, Järvenpää, Kerava, Kirkkonummi, Mäntsälä, Nurmijärvi, Pámäätä, Sipoo, Tuusula ja Vihti

The surrounding municipalities make Finland’s “second largest municipality”

Growth pressures in the Helsinki Region not only concern the core municipality but, increasingly also the surrounding outer part of the metropolitan region. Today, those areas that grow fastest in the region are located in the surrounding municipalities. After the construction of the extensive suburban developments in the 1970s, a new wave of suburbanisation has come about. Many of the surrounding municipalities have had spectacular growth rates, and their aggregate population now totals over 300,000, which would be Finland’s second biggest municipality if they were put together. In the meantime, Helsinki proper’s share of its region’s population has fallen from 73 to 43 per cent (Figure 2).

Traditional city planning tends to talk about “urban sprawl” when referring to the change in the urban structure that suburbanisation brought about. Yet, there are other approaches to this internationally familiar phenomenon than a moralising one. Suburbanisation is likely to continue. Moreover, the network city or polycentric urban region – both known from international urban development - is only in its early stages. The Housing and Land Use Programme of the City of Helsinki (2009) recognises the limited capacity that Helsinki has to respond to future growth: although there is still construction ground available in many locations, only 20 per cent of the expected population growth will fit into the city. The recent incorporation of the adjacent areas into the neighbouring municipality of Sipoo have not significantly altered the situation.

Change in the social structure

In earlier studies together with Matti Kortteinen, we constructed an interpretation the essence of which is change in the structural framework: little by little: Helsinki and its surroundings have turned into an urban area with many municipalities. In this growth process, its labour and housing markets have become differentiated, and so has its social structure. In my thesis (Vaattovaara 1998), I raised the issue of how local differences grow, after establishing how deprivation in the Helsinki Region showed a mosaic-like pattern of poverty pockets in single blocks or even houses.

As early as the 1990s, when spatial income differences were still quite small – even relatively unchanging – it was becoming apparent that spatial differences had started to grow. Even then, deprivation in terms of income, education and unemployment were already showing clear signs of concentrations in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area. Those areas that over the preceding 20 years had experienced relative downshifting into the lowest income quintile seemed to be located very near areas of earlier deprivation. In my thesis, I paid special attention to education as a differentiating factor between neighbourhoods. I found it particularly apparent that neighbourhoods with the highest education were rising above the average even though the level of education at large had risen significantly. And the fact, too, that education became a special dimension in our factor analysis was an interesting finding from the angle of social differentiation (Vaattovaara 1998).

In the first joint research project together with Matti Kortteinen, we went on developing a structural interpretation of social differentiation. In our first article (Kortteinen & Vaattovaara 1999), we presented three basically different interpretations of social differentiation. At that point, based on empirical findings we tried to analyse gradual socio-spatial change from a trend that had up until then been towards decreasing social differences towards one of growing social differences. The interpretations of social differentiation and possibly polarisation of the metropolitan region that we presented relied on existing data related to trends in the economic situation, segregation and patterns of structural spatial changes in the region. Later, we used various materials to study how the social structure had
developed in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area (Helsinki, Espoo, Kauniainen and Vantaa) and the entire Helsinki Region (14 municipalities) over more than a decade (Kortteinen & al. 1999, Vaattovaara & Kortteinen 2003).

For many years, the accumulation of deprivation seemed relatively moderate, although the deep economic recession in the early 1990s had a clear impact on the urban structure of the Helsinki Region too. Recurrent observations of how socio-economic ascent and accumulation of well-off people contributed to social differentiation encouraged the Academy of Finland to finance our research project Suomalainen Slummi? (Finnish slum?), where the target group was calibrated from deprived to well-off people. The analyses that we made, variable by variable, endorsed our interpretation that the ambition of the successful to choose their own housing and living environment followed a pattern familiar from studies made in many other parts of the world (Vaattovaara & Kortteinen 2003, Kortteinen & al. 2005, 2009).

The impact of spatial differentiation on well-being together with a number of case studies helped to paint a picture of the structure and dynamics of socio-spatial diversity, and of the social content and societal impact of poverty pockets (Vaattovaara 1998). Relying on our most recent study (Kauppinen & al. 2010), we are now ready to declare that local accumulation of deprivation in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area has reached a level where it is a serious social problem. Spatial accumulation of deprivation reduces to a statistically significant degree residents’ opportunities for the future in those particular neighbourhoods, e.g. the likelihood of finding a job. Perceived insecurity too, albeit without a recorded increase in crime, is a social factor in the most deprived areas, a factor that influences people’s willingness to move.

Thus spatial differentiation of the social structure has led to a situation where factors of background and living conditions in certain neighbourhoods have caused avoidance, alienation and insecurity. In other words, there are places where local social life has become, as it were, a motor of segregation. Earlier, there was reason to approach socio-spatial segregation in the region from the angle of industries and administrative-political division (as new industries settled in certain locations, and the municipalities in the region applied different housing policies emphasising existing differences). All new research findings presented above describe phenomena that exceed the limits of such differentiation. Spatial differentiation has also come to be based on growing internal divisions within the population and the fact that people have started avoiding each other and moving from one residential area in the region to another accordingly.
This means that differentiation in some places has clearly become self-feeding.

In the mid 2000s, there was still a strong debate in the media – even on the front page of the Helsingin Sanomat, Finland’s biggest daily paper – challenging our empirical research findings on how, after a long period of decreasing social differences between neighbourhoods, the Helsinki Region was becoming spatially differentiated. The issue was even addressed in an editorial in the newspaper (12 March 2007). Today, social differentiation, even segregation, seems to be the self-evident common assessment of the state of the social structure in the Helsinki Region. The fear of differentiation and segregation is also an important element in the current debate on how to develop the governance of the region.

Anyway, as Helsinki’s employment zone and housing market area has expanded geographically, the various parts of the region have taken on different profiles. In Espoo and western Helsinki, for example, an ICT cluster of international importance has come about. As pictures 3 and 4 show, socio-spatial differences have grown. In terms of its structural development, the Helsinki Region has started to resemble other European metropolises in many respects.

A shift in the region’s development – from a monocentric to a polycentric city region

By European standards, we are facing a shift in our urban development. Our city region is growing into a metropolis. Several studies have shown how – in this process – important changes take place in the structural development of city regions. From the point of view of structural development, one of the crucial development features then is a shift from a monocentric metropolis towards a network of city centres.

Dutch researcher Martens (2009) has shown how the transition from a monocentric to a polycentric city region has taken place at pretty much the same stage in a great many major European cities. When a city region grows beyond 1.3 million inhabitants a significant shift is seen in the spatial pattern of growth. The region turns from a monocentric into a polycentric urban region. The main centre in the region, in our case Helsinki, is being challenged by other centres. This phenomenon has been separately analysed in several international studies (Martens 2006) and Finnish studies (Joutsiniemi 2010). What is interesting from the point of view of structure is how this shift coincides with a certain size.

These international studies also show that the shift towards a polycentric city region is not unproblematic. On the contrary, Martens (2006) shows how city planning everywhere in Europe has struggled to master change and find a new course. He describes how, when a city re-
gion reaches 1.5 million inhabitants, city planning is in an ambivalent state as to the desired urban structure. As a rule, Martens (2009) finds that planning appears to react to changes when they have taken place and reluctantly supports the birth of other centres, too, whilst sticking to the objective of preserving and strengthening the monocentric structure. When a city region reaches around 1.5 million inhabitants, its planners usually start actively to plan and steer the structure of the city region towards an inevitable polycentric structure.

Recent debate on the ways of governance of our city region and on changes in municipal structures are, as far as I can see, linked to the difficulties that arise from the ongoing structural shift. While the debate has partly even shown embarrassing and surprising features, it is now in a very important phase. And, I feel that instead of settling for some kind of consensus, the debate should continue. As international examples suggest, the time for possible proactive action is right now.

Conclusions
It is important to take dynamism into account when steering the structural development of a city region. Its internal development of city regions is directed by interaction between local actors. The public sector (municipal policy, community planning), the population (with its increasingly different groups) and a changing business community all see each other and the changes taking place in the region from their own special angle and try to act according to their own views. The structural changes in the business community together with the characteristics of housing demand and migration provide a crucial framework for how the development of a region can be directed.

If we account for the strong migration that takes place within a city region, our assessment of the logic of steering structural development may change. As an example, in the 2000s every fifth resident of the Helsinki Metropolitan Area has moved into a new home. With 20-29 year-olds, the ratio is every second. If we also account for changes in the location of business premises and for changes in jobs, we are looking at a dynamic structure whose optimal shape is challenging to find.

A city region is influenced by development in the surrounding community and business life as well as by the economic performance of the region, but it is also a dynamic system, which allows for internal decisions that have crucial effects on social and economic change in the region. Thus the internal evolution of a city region cannot be explained merely by changes in the operational environment. Local decision-making such as city planning and housing policy has a far-reaching impact on the overall development of the urban structure.
In 1900, Helsinki was a city of 18,000 dwellings and 93,000 inhabitants (Suomenmaan virallinen tilasto, i.e. official statistics of Finland 1908, pp. 139–141). Since then, population growth in the city has been rapid. The number of dwellings has increased seventeenfold, reaching 328,000 in late 2010. Population growth has not been quite as fast: only a fivefold increase leading to 589,000 inhabitants at year-end 2010 (Statistics Finland). This population growth has strongly paralleled industrialisation and subsequent changes in production structures and has been seen in the other larger cities in Finland, too. It has not been linear: there have been slower periods, stagnation and even decrease. Such exceptional periods have usually occurred during national crises such as the civil war in 1918, the economic depression in the early 1930s, and the wars against the former Soviet Union between 1939 and 1944. After these crises, however, the dwelling stock and its quality have grown exceptionally fast.

Housing in Helsinki in the early 20th century
The city structure of early 20th century Helsinki was characterised by social division. Central Helsinki was home to the gentry in their spacious, comfortable and elegant dwellings; in their proximity the merchant bourgeoisie in their slightly less classy dwellings, and on the outskirts of the city in modest housing conditions, sometimes in mere sheds, the working class and the poor. The overall level of housing was not high. Almost half of dwellings were just a large room with a stove in it. The average number of residents per dwelling was 5.2 and the housing density was 2.1 persons per room. No less than 39 per cent of the population lived in what was then considered crowded homes with 4 or more people per room (the kitchen counted as a room). The level of amenities was modest with a bathroom with bathtub only in 22 per cent of dwellings and electric light in 32 per cent. (Suomenmaan virallinen tilasto 1908, 28–32, 51–53, Suomen virallinen tilasto IV Väestötilastoa 50:1, 1917, 6, i.e. official statistics of Finland).

Due to growing housing demand in the first decade of the 20th century, construction was brisk, and the housing stock grew by 53 per cent. Growth then slowed down during the First World War and, especially, during the crisis caused by the civil war in Finland in spring 1918 (Suomen virallinen tilasto IV Väestötilastoa, 50:1, 1917,6. i.e. official statistics of Finland).

After the civil war and the country’s independence process, social reform got under way while, also, the economic situation improved towards the end of the 1920s. Housing construction was very brisk in Helsinki, and the number of dwellings completed per capita was almost three times as large as in the first decade of the 21st century. In the 1920s, the number of dwellings completed per thousand residents was 14.2, compared to 5.6 in the first decade of the 21st century.
With new construction in the 1920s the city, which had mainly consisted of low-level wooden houses, rapidly turned into a city of taller stone houses, and by 1930, two-thirds of all buildings in Helsinki had three storeys or more. That year, there were 58,000 dwellings and 210,000 inhabitants in the city, which meant the number of dwellings had increased by 225 per cent and inhabitants by 125 per cent over just three decades. The standard of amenities had improved and in 1930, 84 per cent of dwellings had electric light, 85 per cent running water and 33 per cent a bathroom with a bathtub (Suomen virallinen tilasto VI Väestötilastoja 72:1 1932, 12, 18–20, 40–41 i.e. official statistics of Finland).

Around 1900, most people in Helsinki rented their homes. In 1910, for example, 85 per cent of dwellings were rented. By 1930, owner-occupied housing had increased, and only 63 per cent of Helsinki residents lived in rented homes (Suomen virallinen tilasto IV Väestötilastoja 50:1, 1917, 4, Suomen virallinen tilasto, VI Väestötilastoja 72:1, 1932, 22–23 i.e. official statistics of Finland).

Besides the actual tenants, there were also plenty of lodgers and boarders. (Lodgers or sub-tenants are people who rent part of a dwelling from the tenant and who do not usually take their meals with the tenant’s household. Boarders are people other than domestic servants who are unrelated to the members of the tenant’s household but who habitually take their meals with the tenant’s household) (Freely after the Multilingual Demographic Dictionary UN 1958). There are no statistics on the numbers of lodgers and boarders before 1930, but these forms of tenancy were an essential part of housing in Finland in the early 20th century. In 1930, lodgers made up 11 per cent of the population and boarders 5 per cent (Suomen virallinen tilasto VI Väestötilastoja 72:1, 1932, 56–57 i.e. official statistics of Finland.)

In the early 1930s, dwelling construction in Helsinki collapsed as the global economic depression hit Finland, too. In 1933, for example, only 583 new dwellings were completed. In the latter half of the 1930s, housing construction picked up strongly again, and 1938 saw completion of 4,112 dwellings in Helsinki (Building statistics of City of Helsinki Urban Facts).

In the late 1930s, the housing situation was exceptional in the sense that, according to certain statistics, housing demand in Helsinki was satisfied – although housing in, for example, night hostels increased during the second half of the decade and the number of lodgers remained high (Moden 1947, 95–105., Taipale 1982, 123).

Housing in mid-20th century Helsinki

In the early 1940s, the housing situation in Helsinki changed drastically as the impacts of the war against the former Soviet Union were directly felt on the housing market. During these times of war, all efforts were focused on making it through the war, and after the war, the resuming of normal economic activities – including payment of the heavy war indemnities to the Soviet Union – were first and foremost in Helsinki and the rest of Finland. Also, livelihood and housing had to be organised for the roughly 400,000 evacuees from those areas in eastern Finland that were conceded to the Soviet Union with the peace treaty.

Whereas in the late 1930s, housing demand and supply were, at least in principle, in balance in Helsinki, a large housing deficit occurred in the second half of the 1940s. In 1950, the deficit amounted to 19,000–28,000 dwellings (depending on the way of reckoning) with a dwelling stock of 106,000 (Helsingin kaupungin tilastotoimisto, 1958, 45–47, i.e. Helsinki City’s statistical office). With a higher-than-normal dwelling loss due to buildings being destroyed by bombs while construction of new buildings was almost non-existent in a situation where tens of thousands of evacuees and other migrants needed a home, a severe housing shortage arose which
lasted well into the 1950s. As a result, homelessness was higher than ever in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Homeless people were housed in bomb shelters, in church sacristies and parish halls, barracks and other temporary shelters not intended for housing. The situation was so exceptional that even families with children could be housed in bomb shelters (Taipale, 1982, 120–128, 184–190).

The number of lodgers increased rapidly in the 1940s. By 1950, they totalled 51,000 in Helsinki, accounting for 14 per cent of the population. But the situation improved rapidly, and in 1955 lodgers totalled just 26,000 (Statistics Finland).

Crowded housing was common and, to some extent even today, characteristic of housing in Helsinki. Criteria of crowded housing have, of course, changed many times since then in Finland – six times altogether over the 20th century (Lankinen-Vihavainen 2011, p 22). In 1950, a dwelling was considered to be crowded if it had more than two inhabitants per room, when the kitchen was also counted as a room. By that definition, almost one-third of Helsinki residents lived in crowded conditions that year (Helsinki census 1950, IV, 9).

When the worst housing shortage had been overcome in the 1950s, crowded housing decreased, too. In 1960, 11 per cent of households and 17 per cent of the population lived in crowded conditions, i.e. more than 2 persons per room (kitchen counted as a room). By 2009, this proportion had fallen to 0.7 per cent of the population, amounting to 4,101 people. By the current definition, which says housing is crowded if there is more than one inhabitant per room (kitchen not counted as a room), 10 per cent of households and 20 per cent of inhabitants (110,000) lived in crowded conditions in Helsinki in 2009 (Statistics Finland).

By modern standards, the level of amenities of dwellings was low in mid-20th century Helsinki. In 1950, almost one-fifth of dwellings lacked indoor running water and three-fifths lacked hot water. Over half of dwellings had no washing facilities. With vigorous housing construction and repair and the demolition of poorly equipped old dwellings, the standard of amenities in dwellings gradually improved, and today practically all dwellings in Helsinki have the aforesaid amenities (City of Helsinki Urban Facts 2006, p 4, Statistics Finland).

**Structural features of dwelling stock and population in Helsinki**

Another cause of the housing shortage was the exceptional structure of the dwelling stock in Helsinki. In 1950, small 1–2 room flats (where the kitchen was one of the rooms) made up 69
per cent of dwellings—almost the same proportion as in 1900, and furthermore, the proportion of 5-room or larger homes had by that year fallen from 15 per cent of the dwelling stock in 1900 to only 8 per cent. Households typically had several members: in 1950, 41 per cent of households had four or more members, and only 11 per cent were single households. Today, the situation is practically the opposite, with 49 per cent of households having just one member and 10 per cent having four or more members. In 2010, small 1–2 room flats made up 41 per cent of dwellings (Statistics Finland).

Since the housing shortage in the 1940s could not be helped by building new dwellings, regulations were issued to alleviate it. Already in the early 1940s, renting regulations had been introduced (Juntto 1990, pp. 200–216, Turpeinen 1997, pp. 76–79). The most significant and far-reaching legislative change in housing policy made during the exceptional post-war times was the creation in 1949 of the Arava system of state subsidies for interests on housing construction loans. The system was supposed to be only temporary, but when in the 1950 an assessment of the socio-economic resources of tenant candidates was linked to it, it became permanent and a basis for the creation of a housing system characterised by a division into freely financed owner-occupied housing and state-subsidised rented social housing. Unlike many other parts of Finland, Helsinki has a relatively strong market of private rented dwellings, too.

The new state subsidy financing system soon proved an important encouragement to construction: over half of all dwellings built in Helsinki in the 1950s were built with a state subsidised loan. And afterwards, as well, the state’s loan interest subsidy has been important: of the 250,000 new dwellings completed in Helsinki since 1949, almost half (46%) have been built with a state loan interest subsidy (City of Helsinki Urban Facts 2007, pp 14–15, and its statistics on construction in Helsinki).

The massive construction of new housing in the 1950s,’60s and ’70s also implied the demolition of dwellings—old dwellings with poor amenities were cleared away, but so were, in places, entire spaces of older housing. Some of the latter were regarded—especially afterwards—as architecturally valuable, but on the other hand, the massive construction of new housing blocks gave tens of thousands of Helsinki residents and migrants from other parts of the country greatly improved housing conditions—more space and better amenities—than earlier.

It is estimated that dwelling loss in the 1960s and ’70s amounted to 24,000 dwellings. 23 per cent of the dwellings constructed in the 1960s and 29 per cent of those in the early 1970s were needed to compensate for this loss (Helsinki City Planning Department 1974, Helsinki Metropolitan Council YTV 1980, 2–4, 13). Today, dwelling loss is minor: during the last five years, less than 200 dwellings a year have ceased being used as dwellings.

In the 1970, the housing situation in Helsinki soon became influenced by vigorous housing construction in adjacent cities, too: the population in Helsinki decreased by 35,000 people, i.e. 7 per cent. The phenomenon is exceptional in Helsinki’s development, and while at the same time the number of dwellings increased by 30 per cent, crowded housing and lodgers decreased significantly.

Another reason for growing housing space was the change in household composition: in the 1970s, the proportion of single households of all households grew from 24 per cent to 39 per cent, and the proportion of households with four or more members shrank from 26 per cent to 16 per cent (Statistics Finland). Since 1950, the number of households and dwellings has grown clearly faster than the population: between 1950 and 2010, the number of dwellings grew by 210 per cent, the number of households by 187 per cent, but the population by only 66 per cent (Statistics Finland).
In the mid-20th century, Helsinki was still predominantly a city of rented housing, with three-quarters of dwellings being rented in 1950. Housing policy in the 1950s then favoured the production of owner-occupied housing, and the proportion of rented dwellings started decreasing. This trend went on until the early 1990s due to both an emphasis on owner-occupied housing production and to rented dwellings being sold to owner-occupiers. As a result in 1990, rented dwellings made up only 37 per cent of dwellings in Helsinki, over half being owner-occupied.

The exceptionally deep economic depression in Finland in the early 1990s impacted on the housing market, and rented housing rapidly became more common again. At the end of the 1990s, rented dwellings accounted for 47 per cent and owner-occupied for 43 per cent of dwellings in Helsinki. Today, their proportions are equal, both at 45 per cent (City of Helsinki Urban Facts 2007, pp 11–15; Statistics Finland).

An important feature of housing in Helsinki is the role of social rented housing: of all rented dwellings in the city, 21 per cent have been state-subsidised – the City of Helsinki owning the majority (45,000) of these dwellings. In Helsinki, the city’s rented dwellings are an important and affordable housing alternative, and thus at year-end 2010 almost a quarter (23 per cent) of children in Helsinki lived in one of these rented dwellings (Statistics Finland, City of Helsinki Urban Facts 2011, p 21).

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**Maija Vihavainen, M.Pol.Sc., Senior Statistician at City of Helsinki Urban Facts. Special fields of work are e.g. statistics on housing and constructing. International cooperation includes comparative statistics, joint projects and publications on Helsinki and St Petersburg.**
Doubting that economic growth translates into welfare is something of a fashion today. Criticism primarily addresses GDP, changes in which are often seen as a yardstick of economic growth. As a measure of the revenue generated by all economic activities in a country, GDP is, in principle, as good or bad a yardstick of the welfare of a nation as is personal income of the well-being of individuals. There may of course be wealthy people who are unwell and unhappy, but as a rule income, well-being and satisfaction with life correlate positively. This is quite simply explained by wealthy people having more freedom of choice than poor people do. If they did not have, an even distribution of income would not be such a vital goal in economic and social policy.

The same applies to national economies. We are concerned about income differences between countries because we feel that those who live in poor countries do not have the same opportunities for a good life as those who live in rich countries do. It is clear of course that GDP per capita – an indicator of income level plain and simple – does not directly measure other elements of welfare, but there is evidence it correlates strongly with them (Jones and Klenow 2010).

Criticism of GDP

Last year, criticism of GDP was revitalised again with the final report of a committee appointed by French President Nicolas Sarkozy (Stiglitz, Senja Fitoussi 2010). It is a detailed overview of the need to measure standard of living, quality of life and sustainable development – and of the problems that go with various gauges. The committee openly declares that “no single measure can summarise something as complex as the well-being of the members of society. Our system of measurement must encompass a range of different measures” (p. 12). Relying on this report, an expert group appointed by the Finnish Prime Minister’s Office (2011) recommended that a set of measures of well-being be constructed for Finland.

A set of measurements is needed because well-being in a society is influenced by other factors too, including income differences, leisure time and the state of the environment. GDP says nothing about income differences. Two countries that have identical GDPs per capita may have different income differences. The value of leisure does not come out in calculations of GDP. To achieve the same standard of living, people have to work longer days in some countries and...
shorter days in others. Neither does GDP account for the sustainable use of natural resources in terms of forest felling, for example, nor for environmental problems such as pollution or eutrophication.

Research on well-being can be extended to cover these factors too. The system of national accounts and other economic statistics contain plenty of material for such a study. Indeed, the problem is not a lack of data, but rather how to combine factors that lack a common measurement. As an example, the weight coefficients of income differences and average income level depend on social values – on how important an even distribution of income is considered to be compared with high income. Whose moral values should be applied? The same goes for environmental problems: how valuable is a virgin forest, clean air or a noise-free housing environment? Some people find these more important than others do. Thus the choice of weight coefficient will inevitably be subjective, which makes it difficult to construct a comprehensive index of well-being. A reasonable option would be to develop separate measures for different elements of welfare and to leave their interpretation to policy-makers. This can be done by creating supplemental or satellite accounts such as environmental accounts.

**Finland by international comparison**

As an example, we may look at Finland’s success in international comparisons of standard of living and well-being. Figure 1 uses GDP per capita to show how the standard of living has developed over the last 50 years in the United States and the so-called “old” Member States of the European Union (“EU-15”). Although Finland and the EU have been catching up, the standard of living is still clearly higher in the USA. In recent years, GDP per capita has reached 80 per cent of the US level in Finland and 75 per cent in the EU on average. It could be noted that Finland has been clearly above the average standard of living in the EU.

Figures 2 and 3 extend the comparison to include leisure time and income equality in 2010 as well in the USA and the old EU Member States (excl. Luxembourg). The horizontal axis of Figure 2 shows leisure time inversely, i.e. the number of hours that go in a year minus the number of hours per capita spent at work in a year. Expressed in this manner, people have most leisure time in France and least in Portugal. The USA, Netherlands, Belgium and France are clearly dominant over the other countries in this comparison. If leisure is not considered important, USA is the best country, but if it is, the winner is France. Finland does not do very well – we work longer than most other compared nations. Only Sweden, Austria, Greece and Portugal have more working hours per capita. In international comparisons of well-being, Finland’s score suffers above all from our long working year (Fleurbaey and Gaulier 2009).

If we also add income equality to the analysis, Finland’s position improves. This is shown by
Figure 3, whose horizontal axis is an index measuring the evenness of income distribution. It has been calculated by subtracting the Gini coefficient for disposable income from 100. The index reads zero if all income in a country goes to just one person and 100 if all inhabitants of a country have an equal income.

Finland ranks highly by this comparison. Only Austria and Sweden have higher income equality. The figure aptly shows the well-known finding that the Nordic countries do well in all comparisons that regard an even division of income as important. The same conclusion also applies when health and education are added to the comparison (Kangas 2008).

Finland and the other Nordic countries usually do very well in international comparisons of welfare. Regardless of the way of measuring, they rank among the 10–15 best countries. In my opinion, this is explained by the fact that the welfare indicators used in these rankings correlate positively with either GDP per capita or income equality or with both of them.

The growth of our welfare

Finland and the other Nordic countries thus do better in rankings of welfare than in those of standard of living. We may therefore conclude that welfare has grown faster than GDP and that GDP thereby underestimates welfare. Incidentally, a totally different picture is conveyed by the current GDP-critical debate in recent Finnish research: while GDP was growing fast, the GPI (Genuine Progress Indicator) put forth as an alternative showed that our welfare kept falling. According to the GPI, our welfare would have been highest in 1989. Today, it is back at the level of the 1970s (Hoffrén ja Rättö 2009).

In reality, things can’t have gone that wrong. On the contrary, our welfare is higher than ever, but probably lower than that of generations to come.
Let us do a simple experiment. Let’s imagine that we could choose whether we would like to live our lives over again either in 1989 or in 2009 without, however, knowing who we would be – young or old, well or ill, highly or lowly educated, rich or poor. Our identity would be determined by drawing lots. Just as when we are born. Which year would we choose?

If we were the statistical average Finn, most things would be better for us in 2009 than in 1989. Our consumption would be 30 per cent higher, 20 per cent more public services would be at our disposal and we would have 10 per cent more leisure time. We would be better educated and we would live in a cleaner environment. But since income inequality has grown, the risk of not having the average income but instead being either richer or poorer would be greater.

How much would that influence our choice? That depends on our attitude towards taking risks. If we were as risk-averse as the average consumer is, a six per cent increase in the expected level of income would be needed to compensate for the welfare loss arising from the increase in the risk of not receiving the expected level. Since consumption in 2009 was 30 per cent higher than in 1989, the increase in average income has more than compensated for the increase in inequality.

Before our final choice, we would still have to calculate the likelihoods of staying alive in either year and apply it to the aforesaid factors. If we assume that all ages between 0 and 100 years are equally likely, the life expectancy of new-born babies describes these likelihoods: 80 per cent in 2009 and 75 per cent in 1989.

The result of the experiment inevitably suggests that 2009 would be the better choice. Thus, from the angle of the average citizen, welfare has grown since 1989. It has been calculated that welfare in terms of consumption, leisure time, income equality and life expectancy has been growing faster by one percentage point than income over the last decades (Jones and Klenow 2010).

### About the sustainability of development

But what if the growth in the standard of living and welfare is unsustainable, because it is based on ruining our natural resources and environment, on exhausting forests and other natural resources and polluting rivers, lakes, the sea and the air that we breathe? How can we be sure that economic growth is based on solid ground?

Economic theory provides a criterion that is in principle simple, but hard to calculate in practice: we could define sustainable development as development that satisfies the needs of present generations without, however, ruining the chances of future generations to fulfil their needs. In other words, economic growth is sustainable if welfare of the society in future is always as good as welfare today. We can show that economic growth is sustainable if the value of national wealth does not decrease over time. Generations to come are given at least as good opportunities as we have had. National wealth covers all the assets relevant for welfare including the level of technology, physical and human capital, natural resources and the state of the environment.

In practice, the measuring of sustainable development is a more complex matter, because we would have to find coefficients that make the assets co-measurable so that we could sum them up. These so-called shadow prices are coefficients that convert changes in assets into changes in welfare. We should know, for example, how reduced rates of suspended particles in the air contribute to welfare through improved health.

Thus a national economy would be on a path of sustainable development if the value for society of its comprehensive national wealth did not fall over time. Therefore a country that uses its non-renewable natural resources such as oil must invest in physical capital, human capital and/or technology at least as much as the value of the natural resources used, when values are measured with shadow prices.

Some conclusions can be drawn without using the difficult-to-define shadow prices if we...
Figure 4 shows that the essential capital assets have grown quite fast. Between 1985 and 2008, real expenditure on research and development increased by 6.5 per cent, fixed investments by 2.4 per cent and the real education expenditure of public organisations by 1 per cent a year. They show that technological, physical and human capital have grown rapidly. Slightly more than half the growth in our standard of living shown in Figure 1 has been generated by technological progress, and the rest by increases in physical and human capital (Pohjola 2010).

The state of our environment has also improved in the sense that emissions of sulphur, nitrogen and particles into the air have decreased significantly – sulphur emissions by 7 per cent a year. Emissions into rivers, lakes and the sea have also decreased (Syke 2008). In return, carbon dioxide emissions and the use of domestic natural resources have increased a little, according to Figure 4.

At least judging by these measures, economic growth in Finland is not on an unsustainable course. The state of our environment is in many ways better now than 10–20 years ago, although climate change may threaten its development (Syke 2008). Investments in technology, physical and human capital made to safeguard future welfare are growing strongly.

Conclusions

The welfare of a nation can be seen as the return on national wealth which is comprised of technology, fixed and human capital, natural resources and the state of the environment. The wealthier a society, the higher the income and well-being of its members are now and in future.

Our national assets have accumulated rapidly as far as technology and human and physical capital are concerned, and they have not essentially diminished in terms of natural resources and a sound environment. In this sense, development has been sustainable enough to provide a basis for future welfare. Finland today is wealthier and, as a consequence, our welfare higher than ever. Yet, as our national assets grow, it is lower than the welfare of generations to come.

Obviously, this does not mean everyone is well and happy in Finland. Social inequality has increased and climate change threatens our future. But if we talk about averages, our findings are relevant. And one thing that they show is that GDP does not necessarily overestimate welfare and well-being, as has often been said. On the contrary, it tends to underestimate it.
Professor Matti Pohjola, Aalto University School of Economics, has conducted both theoretical and applied research in several fields of economics. His PhD thesis dealt with economic growth and fluctuations and was one of the first applications of mathematical chaos theory on economics. Pohjola has used mathematical game theory to study economic growth, labour market, economic power and international environmental problems. In his recent research, Pohjola has focussed on the effects of technology – ICT especially – in Finland.

Professor Matti Pohjola received the City of Helsinki Science Award 2011.
Historical town atlases
Professor Emerita Anngret Simms (University College, Dublin) and Director, Professor Ferdinand Opll (City Archives of Vienna), who have been in charge of coordinating the work on historical town atlases done within the framework of the Commission Internationale pour l’Histoire des Villes – The International Commission for the History of Towns, feel that the atlases provide valuable source material not only to academic researchers but to town planners and authors of local chronicles, too.

The first atlas was published in England in 1969, soon followed by Rheinischer Städteatlas (atlas on towns on the Rhine) and Deutscher Städteatlas (German city atlas). These early works mainly focussed on smaller towns with interesting historical – mediaeval – strata surveyed through archaeological excavations. Later, some capitals, too, have had their own historical atlases compiled, including London in 1989 and Helsinki in 2009. The first volume of Historischer Atlas von Wien (Historical Altas of Vienna) was published in 1981, and the last in 2007. Historischer Atlas von Wien shows with illustruous examples how Vienna has over the centuries developed as a city of culture.

Historic Helsinki Atlas
MARTTI HELMINEN

The Helsinki Atlas has been prepared according to European standards. It is part of the European Historic Towns Atlases project started by the International Commission for the History of Towns, which was founded in 1955. So far, almost 400 atlases of different European cities have been published, including 11 Nordic atlases. Helsinki joined them in 2009.

The Helsinki Historic Towns Atlas is entirely bilingual, in Finnish and English, with a webversion in Swedish.

The historic Helsinki Atlas contains maps and, for example, analyses of the physical and demographic development of the city and of how various functions and authorities have been located and developed over the centuries. Numerous photos also help the reader to get a picture of bygone Helsinki. Most of the maps published are from Helsinki City Archives or Helsinki City Museum, but some have been provided by the Military Archives, the National Archives, and the National Library in Sweden. The atlas thus contains maps not earlier published in Finland, some of them quite impressive.

The development of various functions has been described using so-called theme maps since the 19th century. Findings are available not only about public services authorities, but also about private service providers, too, such as private
schools, hospitals, kindergartens and shops. For example, one map shows how, in 1900, doctors’ surgeries were primarily located in newly-erected stone buildings along avenues Bulevardi and Heikinkatu (the latter today Mannerheimintie) and around the park of the Old Swedish Church. The maps give these locations in various cross section years between 1850 and 1950.

Before the First World War, Helsinki was a very international city. This is reflected in the foreign-language, i.e. German, French and Russian, kindergartens, as well as by the number of books in foreign languages ordered by Helsinki’s public libraries. Both kindergartens and libraries are shown on the theme maps.

By studying city plans and the physical and social structure of cities, we can stumble across unexpected knowledge. An essential element in Scandinavian historical town atlases has been their socio-topographic analyses, with maps showing the local distribution of social strata in the city. In the Helsinki Atlas, a socio-topographic analysis was made of the social structure in two presumably very different city blocks. An analysis of the residents along Aleksanterinkatu street over 150 years is also included.

The two blocks studied are Block 124 in the Punavuori-Rödbergen district by the name of Tilhi-Sidensvansen and Block 48 in Kaartinakaupunki-Gardesstaden district by the name of Pyöriäinen-Tumlaren. The analysis of the social structure in these blocks proved what researchers had guessed, namely that – as in other Scandinavian cities – the social fabric of the city was fairly homogeneous at that time. In early 20th century Helsinki, an architect and a teacher could live in the same block, even building, as cobblers, painters or other workers.

Aleksanterinkatu is one of Helsinki’s oldest streets, and has a chapter of its own in the atlas. The shifts and turns of its history; its residents and buildings were a highly interesting subject of study. The street contributes to our understanding of changes that have taken place in the central blocks of Helsinki.

While in 1850, no less than 33 of the 40 properties along this street were owned by private persons, in 1945 only four were – and in 2000 not a single one. Similarly, the houses along the street had a total of 1,619 residents in 1900, but in 1970 only 64 persons and today fewer than 20.

The purpose of the European atlas project in the 1950s was to convey a picture of the history of towns destroyed by the Second World War and of their physical development. In Scandinavia, towns have also been destroyed by recurrent fires. It is estimated that each older town with a predominance of wooden houses in Scandinavia has burnt at least twice. In Helsinki, fires caused great damage already in the 17th century, and the city burnt down completely in 1713 during the
Great Northern War. The most recent great fire in Helsinki was in 1808, when one-third of all buildings were destroyed.

Decisive to Helsinki’s development in the new Grand Duchy of Finland after 1809, was elevation to the capital of the country in 1812 and also the great fire of Turku in 1827, after which the old Åbo Akademi, Finland’s only university at the time, was relocated to Helsinki and renamed the Imperial Alexander University, later to become the University of Helsinki. The 1808 fire had cleared space for the construction of new buildings, and architects and builders constructed a whole new town.

What is the atlas needed for? Who will need it? Obviously, it will be of use to teachers and students, academic historians and local historians. With all its diverse maps, the book is a varied historical work compiled for all Helsinki residents – and everyone else taking an interest in our city.

Source:
Historiallinen kaupunkikartasto
Historic Towns Atlas
Marjatta Hietala – Martti Helminen – Merja Lahtinen (eds.) Helsinki 2009.

Scandinavian Atlas of Historic Towns
New Series, No. 2, Suomi-Finland
Electronic services provided by City of Helsinki Urban Facts` City Archives

Reports of the City of Helsinki’s municipal administration 1875–1974, i.e. the municipal annual reports, form a 50,000 page review of Helsinki City’s policy-making and of the work of its administrative bodies and departments.

See http://www.hel2.fi/Helsingin_kunnalliskertomukset/
The SINETTI archives database contains reference data about the materials stored by City of Helsinki Urban Facts` City Archives, i.e. knowledge about the data that can be studied at the archives.

See http://sinettiarkisto.hel.fi/HELKA/ArkistoHaku.html
The SINETTI maps register contains the historical maps of Helsinki City Planning Department, Helsinki City Real Estate Department and Ab Parkstad-Vanda-Puistokylä Oy.

See http://sinettiarkisto.hel.fi/HKIARKISTO/preKAMa4.po
The SINETTI drawings register contains 15,000 historical building permit drawings from Inner Helsinki, a historical card index on properties in the city and garden plans of private detached houses.
This essay is based on a paper given at the International Conference "Cohesion and Diversity in the European City" organised by the Finnish Society for Urban Studies, the Finnish Historical Society and City of Helsinki Urban Facts together with the International Commission for the History of Towns in Helsinki (15–16 June 2010).

To base a search for detailed definitions of terms like "Culture", "Cultural City" or even "Vienna, City of Culture" on modern information media will doubtlessly lead straight to a deluge of information, characteristic of the present plethora on offer. Since even an attempt to specify the concept of "Culture" is a formidable task which lies beyond the scope of a presentation, it must be stated that no attempt will be made at this point. The expression "Cultural City" has evolved in Europe since the mid-1980s into a kind of trademark, whose origin lies in an initiative sponsored by the Greek Minister of Culture, Melina Mercouri. Her aim was to strengthen European integration by an annual nomination of a town as a European Cultural City. As it turns out, the subsequent use of the term "Cultural Capital of Europe" or "European Cultural Capital" has paradoxically led to an inflation of nominations. Since 1999, several cities have been awarded this title every year, sometimes even a region. Apart from this European municipal competition, the basic concept of a "Cultural City" is in no way protected and is employed by Leverkusen, Graz and Cologne, as well as by Schwaz in Tyrol on their official websites.

Also for Vienna, the extremely vague notion of a "Cultural City" is often employed during official presentations. On the official homepage of the City of Vienna (www.wien.gv.at), the "Culture and Leisure Time" section on the menu bar in turn leads to the domains 21 subdirectories of Music, Theatre and Exhibitions etc. There are also Sports and Jewish Vienna sections.

Even with a basic inhibition against the use of modern information data as the foundation for our present analysis, one thing seems clear: it definitely makes sense to take a closer look at the concept of "Cultural City" at least from two angles on the basis of a selection, on which an agreement seems at least feasible: to elaborate, on the one hand, what can be identified as an element of municipal culture, and, on the other hand, to clarify how a city takes advantage of the opportunities provided by culture. That this should be embedded within a chronological framework, and not only for the present era or the last century, should not prove surprising considering our customary approach as historians. Based on such a broad chronological approach, it soon becomes
obvious that the relationship between City and Culture was subject to a multifaceted evolution. The mediaeval city, by means of its politically engaged citizens, took an active role, while it forfeited its formative character regarding manifestations of cultural activities from the 16th century until around the mid-19th century. The notion of Culture had evolved from Urban Culture to Culture within a City.

Culture as an expression of human activity is always initiated, supported, modified and quite commonly also exploited by individuals or by groups of people. But is it correct to consider an “Urban Culture” as a homogeneous entity? Is it even legitimate to assume homogeneity of urban society, thus ignoring social as well as cultural discrepancies? It is a much simpler task to draw the line externally and to show that there were, and still are, contrasts and clear differences between urban and rural culture, as well as between the way of life and mentalities of townspeople and country people. With regard to a municipality proper, let us keep in mind the enormous gap in cultural behaviour and understanding not only between members of the higher echelons of society and those engaged in crafts and trade, but even more distinctly between each of these two groups and the social strata with the least income and the lowest quality of life. Very closely related to this mode of approach to our topic based on specific strata, the question arises concerning the initiators and promoters of cultural statements and ways of life not only by the city, but also within the city. Only at first glance does it appear that significant differences in this field can be identified merely for earlier epochs of the older municipalities, such as, for instance, in the late mediaeval early modern city between the bourgeoisie and other inhabitants on the one hand, and the clergy and the nobility on the other. Although it is a fact that in modern times very much has changed dramatically in this respect, we must emphasise the following point: while the city served in early modern times mostly as a stage, as a setting for the cultural initiatives of extra-municipal promoters, though these were active within its limits, the name of the town in these cases, employed as an attribute, indicated precisely this phenomenon, namely the location of the event. However, this perception has changed considerably in the present era. The notion of Viennese Culture or that of other cities is today considered to a much greater extent to be synonymous with the city itself, but beyond this, the concept is perceived as and employed by the city itself as a vital element of its reputation.

To put things in an historical context, we will precede with a brief chronological summary of the situation in Vienna from mediaeval to modern times: as a municipality established in the first half of the 12th century on Roman foundations, it stood, from the very beginning, in a very closely knit relationship to the sovereign, in some ways an almost symbiotic connection. The Babenbergs took advantage of a modern form of urban settlement structure, which was also used by other dynasties. From the very outset, towns were conceived as centralised locations and presented obvious and clear-cut opportunities. This held true also for the new social conglomerate of the evolving bourgeoisie. It did not take long for this very bourgeoisie to demand a voice in political matters, a request which was ultimately granted by the city sovereign after numerous ruptures, the conferral of privileges and the simultaneous retraction of all-too excessive autonomous rights.

In the mediaeval city, the urban culture represented what in many respects, a captivating as well as an exciting amalgam of elements from bourgeois as well as from courtly culture. It was the religious realm which often served as the common bond. As an example, we can point to the very old theatrical tradition of religious plays as well as processions for certain religious festivities. All this, namely the urban culture, consisting of bourgeois as well as of courtly elements - to which the inhabitants of the city, devoid of influ-
ence on political decisions, had access at best as an audience - underwent an enduring change in the early 16th century: for many cities, this period of the Reformation was characterised by an economic downturn and loss of political influence. This was also the case with Vienna. On a political level, the urban autonomy of the imperial capital got into a predicament by its confrontation with the new rulers of Spanish-Habsburg origin. It appears that Vienna experienced an identity crisis during the 16th century. A rather peculiar and unforeseeable historic event, namely the failed first Siege of Vienna by the Ottoman Empire in 1529, would then provide a link to new conceptions of identity and constitute a significant component in Vienna’s newly developed self-awareness as a fortified city, a “Bastion of Christianity”, which was indeed welcomed and cultivated by the Habsburgs.

Especially as regards Vienna in the 17th century, we can certainly no longer talk of an essentially bourgeois culture. Bourgeois circles, which were still represented in the city council in this epoch, increasingly turned into a kind of elite clique, a social stratum conducting itself almost like a patriciate, but remote from any opportunity to exert even the slightest political influence. The second Siege of Vienna by the Ottoman Empire in 1683 would prove to consolidate for a considerable length of time the importance of a quasi-heroic defensive struggle by the Viennese. A consequence of the military victories that were achieved against the Ottomans after 1683, was the eventual opening up of the vicinity of the imperial court for habitation by the high nobility. The emergence of the palais of the Viennese nobility up until the 18th century was, in a way, just an external coating, behind which the enrichment of the cultural flair in Vienna by a further social stratum of high nobility in addition to the emperor can be perceived.

It is precisely within this kind of environment, not only socially but also chronologically, that we find the roots of a characteristic feature of municipal Viennese culture, which is responsible for what we still today associate with a culture referred to as “typically Viennese”, namely music. The major representatives of Viennese Classicism bear witness with their biographies of varied duration to the development from the characteristic court music of the nobility to a musical tradition of bourgeois circles.

For the first time a genuinely civil municipal culture was to prosper. Compared to medieval conditions, this culture was completely remodelled. But participation in the political sphere as had appeared at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century within the context of the French Revolution and its basic tenets of liberty, equality and fraternity, as an at least viable option on the horizon, was out of the question. In fact, there was no room for civil or indeed municipal participation. The so-called Josephinian magistrate reform of the 1780s primarily served to professionalise the administration. The defeats against Napoleon Bonaparte, as well as the ensuing economic disaster of 1811, dealt a hard blow to Vienna. While a certain influence of new foreign political ideas was discernable in the cre-

ation of the General Code of Civil Law in 1812, the defeat of Napoleon would introduce a strong restorative phase in political decision-making in Austria and Vienna, characterised by severe censorship and referred to after its proponent as the “Era of Metternich”.

The significance of military strength as an aspect of municipal self-conception and definitely also of cultural awareness, which had been derived from the events of 1529 and 1683, no longer remained. But what took its place at this point, what was associated with Vienna from now on, how did the city perceive itself, how was it seen by others?

In fact, it seems as if precisely at the time of this exciting transitory phase in some ways new aspects of a cultural flair, clearly with a different emphasis than before, came to the fore: we are referring again to the significance of music, which now became the prime determinant of the general reputation of Vienna. Already for the Congress of Vienna 1814–15, the famous remark by the Prince de Ligne “Le Congrès ne marche pas, il danse” held true. The triumphal and widespread success of “Viennese music” became established during the 19th century and comprised the popularity of the “Viennese Waltz” and the operetta, as well as the excellence of the great composers and orchestras.

Until the end of the monarchy in 1918, the following three aspects accounted for Vienna’s cultural significance:

1. its political-constitutional role as the imperial capital and residence of the Austrian Empire with all associated functions as a centre;
2. the consequential importance as a centre for the economy, the sciences and, of course, also for culture and cultural institutions of every conceivable variation;
3. the formidable concentration of intelligence and creativity, which characterised Vienna in this epoch lasting approximately one century, culminating in the so-called “Wiener Moderne”, where contributions stemmed from scientists as well as from artists.

Even from these somewhat simplified indications, it must be obvious how dramatic the impact of the events in 1918 would prove to be for Vienna. Originally what was the elegant metropolis of a large empire, Vienna became the capital of “ce qui reste” or “What remains is Austria,” to quote French prime minister Georges Clemenceau at Versailles. Devastated by a most severe economic situation combined with a truly complex and difficult relationship to the new federal state as well as to its provinces, the chances of achieving a turnaround were very slim. Its best option lay in picking up and continuing, yes, even in expanding on the ideas of the “Wiener Moderne” and this was in fact done enthusiastically by the city, now governed by the Social Democrats. It was social principles which were of foremost concern for the Viennese government during this era. These included not only the communal housing projects of the “Red Vienna”, but also a very strong promotion of new cultural opportunities like the initiation of the so-called “Wiener Festwochen” (1927).

A considerable contribution to the definitely vibrant theatre and cabaret scene in Vienna was made, in an almost peculiar reverberation of the late monarchy, by Jewish wit and intelligence – One of the most prominent examples of Red Vienna’s “Kommunaler Wohnbau” (Communal Housing): the “Karl-Marx-Hof” (19th district of Vienna).
still a significant element and source – which would come to dramatic end in 1938. In view of the Holocaust, the Second World War, ignited by boundless irresponsibility, as well as through the impact of the air raids until 1945, Vienna would live through probably the most difficult years since its beginnings. Ravaged and humiliated, destroyed and robbed of its cultural self-confidence, the institution of indispensable and most basic existential necessities had absolute priority for the Austrian capital after the war. Surprisingly quick, namely from around 1950 onwards, an attempt was undertaken to develop a cultural profile based on tradition. Still under allied occupation, the “Wiener Festwochen” already took place again in 1951. Soon afterwards first efforts were carried out to revitalise its role as a forum for dialogue, a function, which Vienna had for the most part lost after 1918. A most interesting indicator of these efforts can, for instance, be found in the official guest book of the City of Vienna, which was established in 1954 for one of the first state visits, the so-called “Golden Book”.

Further observations are also indications of the way the official Vienna perceived itself as a city of culture and effectively purported to be. Useful cues are, for instance, provided by bestowals of nomination as an honorary citizen, the highest honour the city confers. It is striking that these nominations, after 1945, not only include a large number of politicians, but also two painters, two film-makers, two writers, four scientists and six musicians (Oskar Kokoschka: 1961; Herbert von Karajan and Karl Böhm: both: 1978; Elias Canetti: 1985; Leonard Bernstein: 1987; Billy Wilder: 2000; Eric Hobsbawm: 2008; Eric Kandel: 2009).

These observations based on the nominations for honorary citizenship make it clear that music had retained its prominent status and that also the sciences have become an important factor for these bestowals. Especially the latter correlates strongly with the city’s aspiration, apparent since the 1990s, to enhance its position as a location for the sciences and research, and to expressly present itself as a “City of Research”.

In which form all of these efforts bear fruits and determine the present profile of Vienna was proven within the framework of recent surveys. First, the Mercer Survey, based on data of 215 municipalities worldwide, whereby Vienna was ranked second behind Zurich in 2008, and ended up in 2009 and 2010 in first place in “quality of living ranking for cities worldwide” followed by Zurich, Geneva, Vancouver and Auckland. Furthermore, a large-scale study on the quality of living in Vienna - presented in July 2009 and conducted by polling the Viennese population in the course of cooperative research done by the City of Vienna and the University of Vienna - confirmed from an internal point of view that 96% like to live here much or very much. The topmost reason for this high level of contentment lies in the appreciation of culture and the high quality of the environment.

The head of the Scientific Division of the City of Vienna recently has seized the opportunity afforded by the Mercer Survey(s) to analyse the “Secret of the Viennese Quality of Living” and he presents a list of causes/reasons for the high level of approval for Vienna: the long tradition of a compact network of social institutions, the quality of close, efficient interurban transport connections, the wonderful areas of unspoiled nature in its vicinity and the way of life, characterised by the typical Viennese “Schmäh” and anarchistic humour. Justifiably so the substantial quality, as well as the enormous quantity of cultural events, the extensive infrastructure of meeting places, ranging from traditional coffee houses to “Beisln”, a kind of small tavern, from the “Tschocherln”, small cafés of dubious quality, to trendy hangouts and last but not least the characterisation as an “intellectual town”. To sum up the possible explanations for this high level of international acceptance one must surely focus on the enduring as well as fruitful degree of tension between tradition and innovation, and this inter-
A relationship surely provides much of the insight we can gain from today’s point of view concerning our topic, the interdependence between urban culture and the cultural city based on the example of Vienna.

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Large-scale study concerning the quality of living in Vienna (July 2009), see: http://www.wien.gv.at/vtx/vtx-rk-xlink?SEITE=020090707011.

Mercer Survey “Quality of living ranking for cities worldwide”, see: http://www.mercer.com/qualityofliving.

Austrian stamp to commemorate the centenary of the birth of Oskar Kokoschka (1886–1980).
In Ireland, the crucial periods of town formation were associated with colonisation movements. This is the background to the diversity of populations in Irish towns during the medieval period and during the plantations that followed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Katherine Simms put it succinctly in an essay on divisions within the medieval Irish church, ecclesia inter Anglicos et ecclesia inter Hibernicos, when she wrote that ‘In Ireland it is not a question of reception of strangers into towns but rather the creation of towns by strangers in which the indigenous population was needed but barely suffered’.1

The colonisation of medieval Ireland was part of a general process of migration from the relatively crowded core areas of Western Europe into more peripheral regions, under the direction of feudal lords. The principal result of this colonisation movement was the foundation of a large number of towns (Fig. 1). Ireland’s major coastal towns were developed by the Vikings in the tenth and eleventh centuries. From the late twelfth to the fourteenth century, the Anglo-Normans took over those Viking trading places, turning them into boroughs; they also founded a great number of new walled towns. The next important phase of new town creation came after the re-conquest of Ireland by the English in the sixteenth century, followed by plantations of English and Scottish settlers. The plantation towns were primarily intended as centres of Anglicisation and as a precaution against future Irish rebellions. In Ireland, towns were tools in the hands of the colonisers. It is therefore not surprising that in the past, the relationship between colonial towns and the native hinterlands was, more often than not, antagonistic. This was equally true of other parts of Europe in which towns were developed by colonising peoples, such as medieval Danzig (Gdansk), a town with a predominantly German population and a Polish hinterland. Elizabeth FitzPatrick helps us to understand the phenomenon of late town formation in Gaelic areas, stating that ‘It was not until the late medieval period that Gaelic lords showed an interest in adopting the urban norms of colonial society.’2 This resulted in the development of such market towns as Cavan and Longford.

Here, the Irish urban landscape is considered ‘in a broad sense as a text, a multi-layered document, full of human intentionality, a culture code which embodies different levels of meaning’. The operative word here is ‘meaning’.3 The intention is to understand the iconography of the landscape, what it can tell us about both the politically, economically and culturally-dominant group in society, as well as those who differ from the dominant group. The study of the meaning of the Irish urban landscape reflects an increasing concern with issues of representation, contested space and identity. These questions are impor-
tant in improving our understanding of the cultural and political environment in which we live today.

I will briefly discuss the issue of multi-ethnicity in medieval Irish towns with reference to Carrickfergus, the second town published in the Irish Historic Towns Atlas series (Fig. 2). The town is located on the east coast of Northern Ireland, and in 1901 had a population of 4,208 inhabitants. In 1177 the powerful Anglo-Norman lord, John de Courcy, built the massive keep at Carrickfergus; he probably also built the Church of St Nicholas. The town was incorporated as a borough in the early thirteenth century. A Franciscan friary was built in the 1230s at the north-eastern end of what is now High Street. The defensive character of the town is a result of the constant threat of attack by the Gaelic Irish and Scots. Niall O’Neill burnt down the town in 1384 and the Scots did so in 1402, 1513, 1573 and in 1575. Between 1536–40, monastic lands were confiscated and were transferred to secular ownership as a result of Henry VIII’s separation from the Roman Catholic Church. The Old English, new adventurers and some Irish townsmen alike gained from this move, sharing in the land grants. Within a short time, the new English planters of the seventeenth century gained ascendancy over the Old English, who had come in the early thirteenth century with the Anglo-Norman invasion. The most prominent of the newcomers was Sir Arthur Chichester, the mastermind behind the plantation of Ulster and governor of...
Carrickfergus castle in the early seventeenth century. He expanded the town’s defences and doubled the urban area within the walls. The defensive walls shown on the early-nineteenth century map are therefore not medieval, but date from the seventeenth century. This is a useful lesson, serving as a reminder that town plans offer possibilities to the urban historian, but no certainties.

New public buildings were required for the new plantation order. When the charter for the town was re-granted by James I in 1609, land was set aside at the east end of High Street for the construction of a new County courthouse and jail. Following its dissolution, the Franciscan friary had been converted into a military barracks, and later Sir Arthur Chichester chose the site for his new mansion house. In 1635 the town of Carrickfergus was visited by an Englishman, Sir William Brereton. He described in his diary those features represented on the Elizabethan map (Fig. 3): ‘Almost all the houses in this town were built castle-wise, so as though the Irish made spoil of and burnt the town, yet were they preserved unburned. This is but a pretty little town within the walls of a very small extent and capacity; the only grace of this town is the Lord Chichester’s house …’. In the early seventeenth century the town was indeed English in character, but beyond the west gate a new suburb known as the Irish Quarter had been settled by Catholic Irish. On the eastern side along the coast, the Scotch Quarter developed.

Archaeologists have dated the tower-houses to the mid-sixteenth century. The Elizabethan
map portrays the dwelling houses referred to in a complaint to the Irish Lord Deputy in the seventeenth century: ‘... the native Irish in the several parts of that Realme, doe still build their dwelling in the old Irish barbarous manner, without chimney, window, or other decent English Forme...’. These dwellings were small, circular structures apparently constructed of wicker-work. They are referred to as creat houses. Horning writes that, ‘However devastated from the violent conflicts of the sixteenth century, Gaelic settlement in early seventeenth century Ulster represented a continuum of medieval traditions as is evidenced by the employment of Gaelic architecture in Plantation villages and towns.’

According to local tradition in Carrickfergus, Chichester’s walls separated the English from the suburbs to which the Scots and the Irish were banished, although there is no record of any exclusion order. In 1812, the Irish quarter (to the west of the town) contained an old mass-house near the site of the present Roman Catholic church. The Scotch quarter (to the east of the town and known as such from the mid-seventeenth century) had supposedly been founded by a colony of Scottish fishermen. There is no pre-nineteenth century evidence for a Presbyterian church in the Scotch quarter, but Presbyterianism must have dominated the religious character of this part of the town from as early as the 1630s. In the 1670s Carrickfergus became an English outpost in a hostile region of Scottish Presbyterianism and the castle was used to imprison Presbyterian clergy (dissenters within the reformed church). Anti-dissenter legislation rekindled English-Scottish antagonism in the eighteenth century. In the 1830s the population of the parish was estimated to be 16% Church of Ireland, 11% Roman Catholic and 73% Presbyterian dissenters. No doubt, the segregation of English and Scottish settlers from the indigenous Irish was made more severe in Irish towns by religious divisions. Most of the indigenous Irish remained Roman Catholic and, in the eighteenth century, were subjected to Penal Laws precluding them from property ownership, voting and practicing their religion. This situation hindered assimilation as expressed in the town’s topography.

Let us now fast-forward to early nineteenth-century Ireland, and look at the example of Longford, a midland town with 3,783 inhabitants in 1821, and 7,622 in 2006 (Fig. 4). Longford originated in the medieval period as a Gaelic market town on the frontier between Gaelic and English territories, but after the English re-conquest in the seventeenth century, it was transformed into a plantation town. Francis Aungier,
who served as master of the rolls in Ireland, was granted Longford town in 1620 and was made Baron Longford in the following year. He improved the castle and laid out the planned town around the main street. In 1737 the courthouse was built. The construction of the cavalry barracks began in 1774 and the new gaol, built in c. 1825, helped to control the local populace. The situation improved for the native Irish in the late eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries with the emergence of a substantial Catholic urban middle class of shopkeepers, merchants and professionals. As related in the Longford atlas, this class promoted full civil rights for Catholics. They allied with tenant farmers and Catholic clergy throughout the county during first half of the
nineteenth century in a number of campaigns for political reform that included the Catholic emancipation (1820s), the Tithe War (1830s) and the Repeal of the Union (1840s). The famine of the 1840s led to a 35% population decline among the poorer Catholics in Longford. However, by the mid-nineteenth century Longford had developed into a prosperous market town and a new Catholic sector emerged, concentrated around St Mel’s Cathedral.

While the feudal castle was the dominating feature in Carrickfergus, the dominating features on the early-nineteenth-century Longford map are the cavalry barracks and new gaol. These heralded the arrival of a new population and indicated the power of the colonial central government. These government institutions are located within the old establishment quarter, which also contained the Church of Ireland, a Presbyterian meeting house and a Methodist chapel. At the very opposite end of the town we find St Mel’s Roman Catholic Cathedral, which was opened in 1856, replacing an older Roman Catholic chapel. With seats for 1,000 people and the portico added in 1889–93, this building represented a triumphant Roman Catholic Church. However, it was destroyed by an accidental fire in 2009, which ominously coincided with a very deep crisis in the Irish Catholic church over the handling of child abuse cases.

With regard to education, let us now examine how, after independence in 1920, the new Irish government (dominated by Catholic politicians) decided that the Roman Catholic Church
should take over education, and how central government played only a supporting role and municipal authorities practically none (unlike on the Continent). After the repeal of the Penal Laws in 1771 and Catholic Emancipation in 1829, schools were established by religious orders. With a vengeance the Roman Catholic Church changed its position from passive victim to active agent. The initial idea of facilitating social integration between Protestants and Roman Catholics by establishing non-denominational schools failed, resulting in separate Roman Catholic and Protestant national primary schools and privately-run denominational secondary schools; the same was also true of the tertiary sector for a time.

This educational segregation of townspeople is particularly striking in smaller towns, where it has a strong topographical impact. Kildare is one example (Fig. 5 and Fig. 6). The town originated in an important early Christian monastery; in the medieval period the Anglo-Normans built a cathedral, which was taken over by the Church of Ireland in the sixteenth century. In the eighteenth century, the local landlord carried out important improvements. The Church of Ireland (Protestant) school is on Dublin Street. In the early nineteenth century, a Catholic institutional sector developed on the south side of the town, including the Roman Catholic Church and school (1829) run by the Presentation Order of nuns. The revival of the Carmelite Order in the north-west of the town is a conscious gesture of
topographic revivalism, as described by John Andrews in the Kildare atlas. The site of the old White Abbey was acquired by the Carmelites and in 1889 their small chapel was replaced by a magnificent gothic church whose competitive spire has dominated the Kildare townscape ever since.

The final example is the western country town of Tuam in County Galway, which had a population of 2,896 in 1901 (Fig. 7). This town is an excellent example of the formation of a Catholic institutional sector. The nineteenth-century Archbishop of Tuam, McHale, considered the national school system detrimental to the interests of Catholic and Gaelic education and therefore introduced Catholic teaching orders to the town. The Catholic institutional sector consisted of a number of schools, both primary and secondary, run by different Catholic religious orders as well as the Tuam diocese. These orders included the Presentation nuns, the Sisters of Mercy and the Christian Brothers. In 1800 the diocese established a secondary school, St. Jarlath’s, which prepared young men to become diocesan priests. As well as their schools, the religious orders order also maintained their own living quarters, and these convents and the single monastery (the Presentation Convent opened in 1835, the Sisters of Mercy in 1846 and the Christian Brothers opened in 1826) also formed part of this institutional sector.

For comparative purposes, let us refer to the town of Linz on the Rhine, an atlas of which was

Figure 7: Tuam 1839, 1:2500. Irish Historic Town Atlas no. 20 by J.A. Claffey, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 2009.
Figure 8: Linz am Rhein, 1828/29, 1:2500. Rheinischer Städteatlas by Ulrich Ritzerfeld, XII, 64 (ed. Margret Wensky) Bonn, 1996.
published in the Rheinische Städteatlas series – one of only three European atlas series to contain a topographical information section (together with the Irish and Hungarian series) (Fig. 8 and Fig. 9).¹² In 1828 this town had one boys’ school, one girls’ school, and one secondary school, all run by the city with the support of the church.

To conclude, some important questions are raised in considering colonialism and multiculturalism in Irish towns. Did the Irish have a right of citizenship in medieval towns? Were they accepted as equals? Was there social and political inclusion or exclusion? According to Elizabeth FitzPatrick it was not until the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that the Gaelic Irish appeared as ‘citizens’ in towns of colonial foundation. She quotes one example of eleven Gaelic Irish artisans featuring in a jury of 1609 in the town of Galway. There are also examples of Gaelic Irish in receipt of land grants arising from the dissolution of the Franciscan monastery in Carrickfergus.

From the medieval period and from the plantations into the eighteenth century with its Penal Laws, ethnic diversity in Irish towns was not a creative mix with any cohesion, but a contested situation that finally culminated in Catholic Emancipation in 1829. From then on the tables turned. The Catholic institutional quarters recorded on early-nineteenth-century maps symbolise the growing power of the Roman Catholic Church in Irish life. At present we witness the dismantling of this power as a reaction against the church’s handling of institutional child abuse. No doubt, the Irish educational system contributed to the formation of different ethnic identities within Irish towns – and indeed in the country as a whole. Since the economic boom-years of the ‘Celtic tiger’, Irish towns have experienced an influx of large numbers of economic migrants and asylum seekers. Dublin now has an Asian quarter, along with Russian shops, Russian and Polish newspapers, Orthodox churches and mosques.


4 Philip Robinson, Irish Historic Towns Atlas no. 2, Carrickfergus (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 1986).


7 Ibid., p. 377.

8 Ibid., p. 396.

9 Sarah Gearty, Martin Morris and Fergus O’Ferrall, Irish Historic Towns Atlas no. 22 Longford (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 2010).


11 J.A. Claffey, Irish Historic Town Atlas no. 20 Tuam (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 2009).

12 Ulrich Ritzerfeld, Linz am Rhein, Rheinischer Städteatlas, XII, 64 (ed. Margret Wensky) (1996). See Knabenschule (boys) and Mädchenschule (girls).

13 Personal communication, April 2010.

14 This jury was to determine the benefits due by ancient custom to St Nicholas’s church in the town of Galway. Roderic O’Flaherty, A Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connacht, written A.D. 1684, ed. James Hardiman (Dublin: Irish Archaeological Society, 1846), p. 237.
Rapid Indicators on the Helsinki Region

www.helsinginseudunisuunnat.fi – New webservice launched on 19 October 2011

The quarterly rapid indicators Helsingin Seudun Suunnat (English version: Helsinki Region Trends) turned 15 years old this year. To mark the occasion, the contents of the familiar printed version was made available online from 19 October. The topics are now listed in a new user-friendly way:

- Regional Economy – production, enterprises, consumers
- Housing and Premises
- Welfare – request and use of welfare services and various indicators on well-being
- Traffic and Environment
- Labour market – employment, unemployment
- Population – demographic indicators

Each section includes a brief overview of the latest developments in the field in question in the Helsinki Region, based on various quarterly data. The developments are also illustrated by graphs.

The data are also available in table format, as Excel tables or in html-format, by clicking the Excel or HTML button. The graphs can be enlarged for copying.

The latest edition of the publication is available in pdf-format by clicking on the publication cover icon on the right column of the home page. The menu includes links to the latest press release, express bulletin, the In European Scale-comparison, terms and concepts and key figures. A feedback link as well as publication and contact information are made available.

The helsinginseudunisuunnat.fi webservice is implemented by a net statistics system called Verti, produced by Tieto Finland Oyj (www.tieto.com). The webservice presents a group of indicators reflecting the development of the Helsinki Region by graphs, texts and figures. The webservice will also soon be available in Swedish and English.

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TooLS is a trial to develop tools for comparative surveys at the local level. It might be the first step towards a European research infrastructure which would comprise survey tools (questionnaires, methodologies) and databases for monitoring social conditions at the local level between EU cities. Thus, unlike national surveys, TooLS reflects the diversity of citizens, problems, policies and outcomes from cities and thus complements the Urban Audit project. Still in its initial phase the project started in 2010, TooLS focuses on the demographic change and the challenges of ageing population.

In the EU as a whole, when the total population will be increased until year 2060 only by 10 million people, the number of elderly persons aged 65+ will be increased by 65 million (2009 Ageing report, European Commission). The demographic change confronts the cities with special tasks for many decades. The aim of TooLS is to help cities to cope with these challenges by providing them with better comparable information from outside the region.

The demographic change has two main consequences. Increasing proportion and number of people in the age groups 50+ are fit, healthy and active, and on the other hand, increasing proportion and number of people are in need of care. We do not know yet to whom this means extended labour participation, increasing interest in professional qualification and continuing education, and increasing readiness for volunteering. Growing needs for care and nursing must have some changes in social networks and the demand for supportive infrastructures. These types of indicators were included in the first standardized comparative TooLS questionnaire of the age group 50+ conducted in 2011 in five German, two Dutch and three Finnish cities (see table).

### Cities and citizens at the age of 50+ in the first comparative TooLS survey 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
<th>Response number</th>
<th>Response rates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nürnberg</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freiburg</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Düsseldorf</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koblenz</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Much</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moers</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany total</td>
<td>10,380</td>
<td>3,788</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>*—</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>*—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almere</td>
<td>*—</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>*—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands total</td>
<td>1,473</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Espoo</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helsinki</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vantaa</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland total</td>
<td>2,250</td>
<td>1,306</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Data gathered by complimentary methods (postal surveys, interviews etc.)

TooLS is lead by the University of Freiburg and supported by the European Union. The first phase of TooLS will be completed in 2012 and a lot of expectations have been placed on it. TooLS could contribute to a European infrastructure for local surveys and for the provision of comparable information in well connected city networks. TooLS itself might lead to continuous cooperation, exchange of experience and to comparable information as the basis for cooperative learning.

### Further information:


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Published by City of Helsinki Urban Facts, KVARTTI is a quarterly journal providing topical research and statistical information about Helsinki and the Helsinki Region. The journal is intended not only to support Helsinki decision-makers and planners, but also how to serve anyone interested in urban phenomena. Kvartti was originally a bilingual (Finnish/Swedish) publication, but nowadays one issue a year is in English. Helsinki Quarterly also aims to reach an international readership.

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On behalf of the centennial celebration the City of Helsinki Urban Facts organised an international conference on 26 and 27 May 2011. The conference was well attended and brought together guests and colleagues from cities, universities, research institutes and other knowledge organisations from home and abroad. The themes of the conference were Information, Knowledge, Improving Life and Open Data, Open Access. The conference consisted of several sessions and a panel discussion. We thank all of the speakers for excellent presentations and contributions. Summaries of the speeches and presentations are published in this Helsinki Quarterly.

In addition, there are three more articles comprehensively contributing to issues surrounding the conference theme of Information, Knowledge, Improving Life published in this Helsinki Quarterly. Finally, Urban History presented by Town Atlases is one topic of this special issue of Helsinki Quarterly.