Helsinki Quarterly

1/2017

CITY OF HELSINKI URBAN FACTS

Immigrants and employment in Helsinki

How can civic activism serve as a resource for the city?

State of the City report: KEY POINTS

City of Helsinki
Urban Facts

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Editor in Chief ► TIMO CANTELL
Editor ► TEEMU VASS
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Graphs ► LOTTA HAGLUND
General Layout ► PEKKA KAIKKONEN
Cover ► PEKKA KAIKKONEN
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P.O.BOX 5500,
FI – 00099 City of Helsinki,
Finland
telephone +358 9 310 36377

Orders by phone, Distribution
telephone +358931036293
tilaukset.tietokeskus@hel.fi

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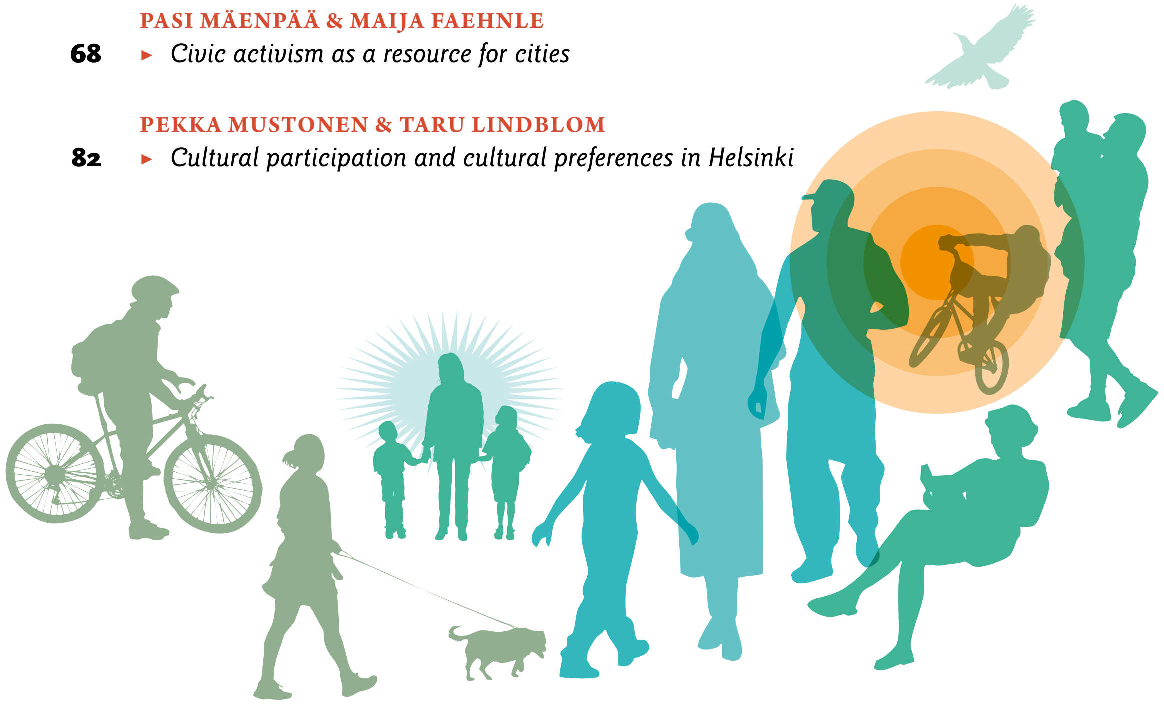

Editorial

TIMO CANTELL

Red Cross volunteers and asylum applicants construct tents to ease the overcrowding of a reception centre in Southern Finland. (Photo: Finnish Red Cross, Sirpa Lehtimäki).

The present issue of Helsinki Quarterly functions as an overview of essential research topics that City of Helsinki Urban Facts has dealt with during the past year. The thematic range reveals the multiplicity of aspects related to urban life, but also of the information required by the authorities to successfully develop a city.

Questions related to immigration are one of the themes covered in this issue. Helsinki came to face these questions relatively late compared to many European capitals, and in recent years they have required our more or less constant attention. A particular area of interest is the situation of the asylum-seekers who arrived in Finland in 2015–2016 as well as the significance of this phenomenon for Helsinki.

Those readers who wish to cast a quick and concise look at the present situation of the City of Helsinki, as well as some key recent trends, are advised to start with the contribution of Ari Jaakola and Katja Vilkama, 'Helsinki's present state and development: summary of key findings'. This article sums up a more extensive report prepared for Helsinki City Council, describing the most important developments and changes that have taken place in the past four-year council term. The report also serves as a basis for further decision-making and measures taken by the City of Helsinki.

Helsinki will undergo a major organisational reform in June 2017. This means, among other things, that City of Helsinki Urban Facts – thus far an independent department in charge of statistics, research and archives – will become part of the City Executive Office. The need for city facts, research and statistics will not disappear; in effect, we hope the upcoming structural reform will give the leadership and decision-makers even better opportunities to make use of this information. The Present State and Development of Helsinki report – as well as the issue of Helsinki Quarterly at hand – are an indication of the strong commitment of the City of Helsinki to the production and strategic use of relevant and up-to-date information for city development.


CITY OF HELSINKI / LAURI ROTKO


CITY OF HELSINKI / ANTTI PULKKINEN


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Helsinki's present state and development 2016: **Summary of key findings**

ARI JAAKOLA ★ KATJA VILKAMA

Young adults and single dwellers predominate in the population

At the end of 2016, Helsinki had 635,000 inhabitants. The population has been growing rapidly, by 8,000 annually on average in 2013–2016. This means an annual population increase of 1.3 per cent. The increase is forecast to be almost as strong in coming years. This pace is exceptional in Finland, and over 40 per cent of Finnish population growth occurred in Helsinki.

POPULATION GROWTH in Helsinki is mainly due to three factors: net migration gains from the rest of Finland, net migration gains from abroad, and natural population growth. In return, Helsinki has had a migration loss to the rest of the Helsinki Region, and this deficit started to grow again after reaching a low of –370 in 2013. Fluctuations in migration loss to the rest of the Helsinki Region have been the most variable component in Helsinki's population increase in recent years. Growing migration loss influences, in particular, the number of children, since out-migration from Helsinki mainly consists of families with children.

THE POPULATION STRUCTURE of Helsinki shows a predominance of young adults and younger middle-age inhabitants. The proportion of children and pensioners is significantly lower than in the rest of Finland. Thus, the demographic dependency ratio is more favourable in Helsinki, and it is also predicted to deteriorate slower than in the neighbouring cities and the rest of Finland.

ALMOST HALF OF DWELLINGS in Helsinki have only one inhabitant. Families with children account for just under one fifth of household-dwelling units. The proportion of single dwellers in the population started to decrease during the current City Council term, and that of families with children started to increase. Over one quarter (28%) of families with children are lone-parent families. Among all Finnish municipalities excluding the Åland Islands, Helsinki has the largest proportion of lone parents: one quarter of under-18-year-olds live in a lone-parent family. Their share, however, has decreased over the last ten years.

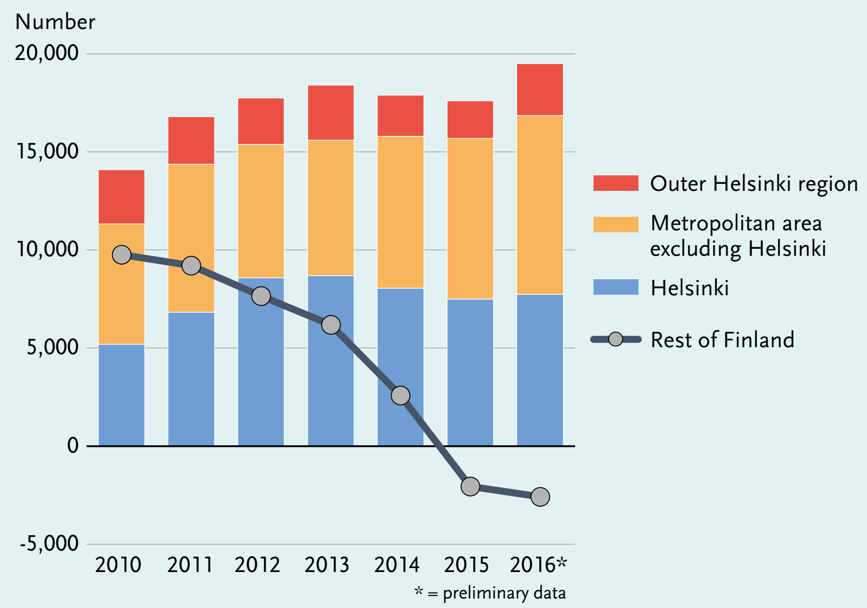


FIGURE 1. Population change in the Helsinki Region and the rest of Finland 2010–2016

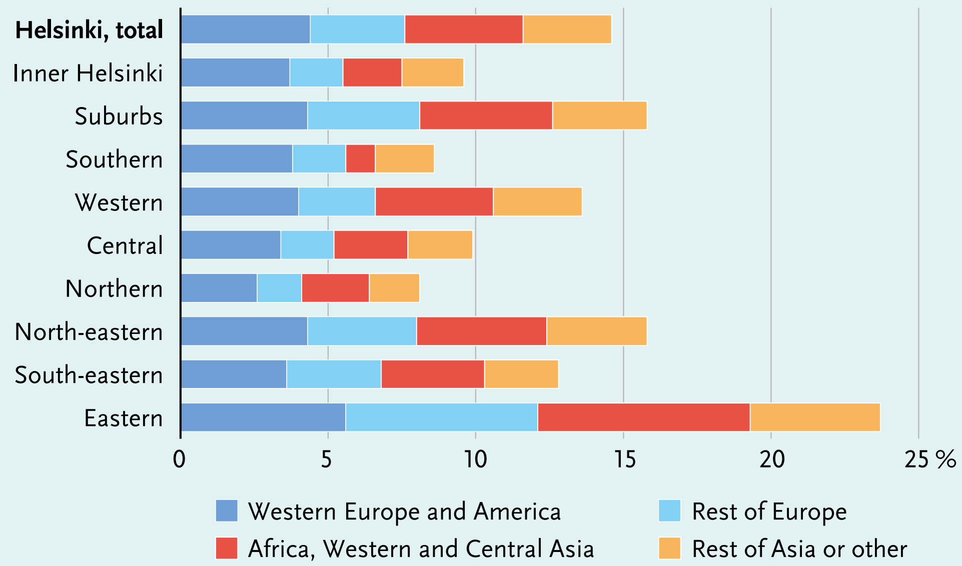


FIGURE 2. Population with foreign background by major district, proportion (%) on 1st January 2016

Signs of economy picking up, but the trend is ambiguous

The Helsinki Region provides almost one third of Finland's gross national product. During the Council term, economy in the region has picked up faster than in all of Finland. In late 2015, investments started to increase in the private sector, and 2016 saw a new upswing through construction and production investments. Yet, neither trade nor manufacturing have recovered to the same extent as, for example, construction and business services.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT is still divided. Exports have lagged, and growth has been based on domestic demand only. Sales have declined somewhat in daily consumer goods trade, but for the rest, private consumption has started growing. The consumption of durable goods, in particular, has grown strongly. At the same time, the indebtedness of households has increased.

IN 2016, the upswing started to become apparent in employment as well. Between 2012 and March 2016, the number of unemployed people grew by almost 60 per cent in Helsinki. At its worst, the increase brought to mind the economic depression in Finland in the early 1990s. But gradually in 2016, the increase in the number of unemployed slowed down, and in early 2017, unemployment is likely to have decreased. At the end of 2016, there were around 40,000 unemployed searching for work in Helsinki, the unemployment rate being 11.9 per cent. What is particularly worrying is that long-term unemployment is increasing. Between 2012 and 2016, the number of long-term unemployed tripled, and at the end of 2016, the long-term unemployed amounted to 18,000 in Helsinki. Extended unemployment concerns especially older age groups, but it has become more common also among young people and the recently graduated.

Times still rough for municipal economy

The hardships of the Finnish national economy could also be seen in the economy and financial basis of the City of Helsinki. Compared with the level in 2012, income financing deteriorated in Helsinki and the other major cities of Finland. Revenues were not sufficient to cover investments. Nor was the annual contribution margin. The falling profit of the City of Helsinki partly derives from the fact that profits from public utilities, which have been incorporated, are no longer included in the income financing of the city. On the other hand, the profit of the city's business group was better than it had been in 2012.

THE OPERATING expenditure of the City of Helsinki grew by 6.9 per cent between 2012 and 2015. The majority of operating expenditure went to service procurement. Expenditure for outsourced services grew slightly more than did wages and salaries in the city's own service production.

BETWEEN 2012 and 2015, the tax revenue of the City of Helsinki grew by over 11 per cent. The majority of this revenue was municipal income tax, which increased by 7.5 per cent. At the same time, the amount of debt owed by the city also increased over that period. The per capita debt, however, stopped growing, as the city's population grew strongly during the period.

Construction picked up again, with growing emphasis on housing

Towards the end of the City Council's term of office 2013–2016, construction increased in Helsinki. The aggregate floor space in building permits and building starts for new housing, in particular, grew significantly. Construction of business premises increased, too. The aggregate completed floor space stayed at almost the same level as during the previous Council terms. As a whole, however, construction was more geared towards housing than it had been earlier.

Between 2013 and 2016, around 15,500 dwellings were completed in Helsinki, either as new dwellings or extensions, and an additional 1,300 dwellings through change of intended use. The annual number of dwellings completed has varied between around 4,000 and 4,500. Although the number at present is smaller than the goal set for the Council term (5,500), it can be argued that housing construction in Helsinki has recovered from the late 2000s recession. In the years 2013–2015, the housing stock grew annually by 1.4 per cent on average.

Of all new dwellings completed, 61 per cent were non-subsidised owner-occupied or rented dwellings, which was more than the goal set for the Council term (45%). The "in between" tenure statuses, such as the price-level-adjusted owner-occupied and the tenant-owned flats, accounted for 23 per cent and the state-subsidised (ARA) rented flats for 15 per cent of new dwellings completed.

Housing space per person as earlier, but housing became more expensive

At year-end 2015, floor space per person in household-dwelling units in Helsinki was 33.8 square metres on average. In Helsinki, housing space per person has stabilised at the level reached in 2007 and has not grown in recent years – unlike in Finland on average.

In recent years, housing has become considerably more expensive. Rents, in particular, have been rising faster than the Index of Wage and Salary Earning everywhere in Helsinki since the end of 2012. The rent rise has been fastest in the eastern, south-eastern, north-eastern and northern parts of the city, albeit that the rent levels in these parts are below the city average. The price development of owner-occupied dwellings shows more geographic variation between different parts of Helsinki. In Inner Helsinki and the western outer districts, prices of old dwellings in blocks of flats and terraced houses have risen clearly faster than the Index of Wage and Salary Earning. In other parts of Helsinki, prices have risen more moderately. In Helsinki's northern and eastern parts (price zone 4), in particular, prices of old dwellings have not risen notably during the Council term.

The total number of homeless people is estimated to have decreased, as well as long-term homelessness. In return, the proportion of homeless people with an immigrant background has grown in recent years. The majority of homeless people living alone stayed temporarily with friends and relatives. The rest of the homeless lived outdoors or stayed temporarily in various kinds of hostels or shelters, or in housing service units such as service homes, or in hospitals or other institutions.

Positive trends in health and wellbeing, but social problems and differences between population groups still a worry

Many indicators of health and wellbeing show positive trends in Helsinki. Life expectancy has risen, albeit it is still lower among Helsinki residents than Finns in general. Yet, judging by the morbidity index published by KELA (Social Insurance Institution of Finland), the health of Helsinki residents is better than that of the average Finn. Endemic diseases, too, are less common than the national average. Of endemic diseases, only psychoses are as common in Helsinki as in Finland as a whole. In addition, many lifestyle-related factors, such as food habits, weight control, smoking and exercise are at a better level in Helsinki. A majority of Helsinki

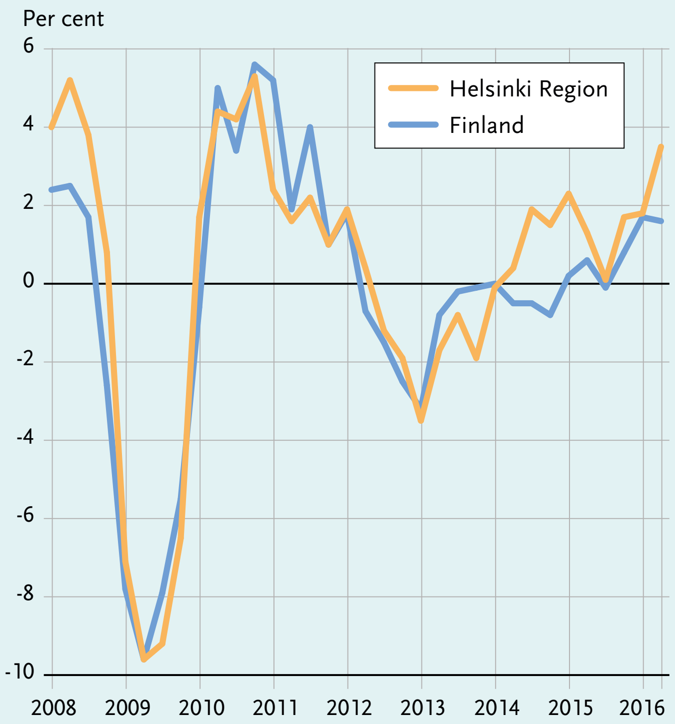
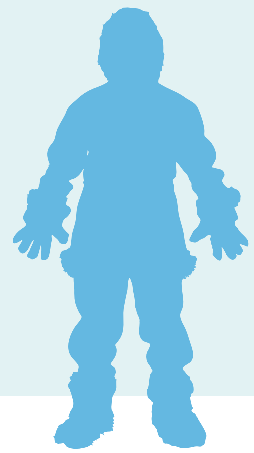


Figure 3. Indicator predicting total production, change (%) year-on-year in the Helsinki Region



residents feel their health is good, and over half think their quality of life is good on average.

Higher mortality rates among Helsinki residents than Finns at large are only visible in certain population groups. Among higher-educated people and upper-level employees, there is mostly no difference in mortality rate between Helsinki and the rest of Finland. Among lower-educated people and manual workers, however, mortality is clearly higher in Helsinki than in the rest of Finland. Similar observations can be made also in terms of other factors related to wellbeing. Those with higher education are likely to find their quality of life and their health better than those with lower education. Between age groups, differences can be seen in the perceptions of health and quality of life. Differences between genders can be seen in terms of life expectancy and alcohol consumption.

While the residents of Helsinki have generally healthy lifestyles, excessive alcohol consumption and binge drinking form an exception. Excessive alcohol consumption is considerably more common in Helsinki than in Finland in general. This applies to both men and women, and it is most visible among lower-educated people. A positive trend is that excessive alcohol consumption seems to be decreasing among men. Differences are still considerable, however, and it should be noted that alcohol-related diseases and alcohol poisoning explain more than one quarter of the difference in life expectancy between Helsinki and the rest of Finland for the over-25-year-olds.

DIFFERENCES in health and wellbeing not only occur between population groups but also between neighbourhoods. Socioeconomic segregation in Helsinki is more multi-layered than earlier, and for example, high unemployment rates and low income and education levels are often observed in the same areas. In many cases these areas have a relatively large proportion of inhabitants with a foreign mother tongue. Local differences in welfare indicators are linked to differences in socioeconomic structure: areas with a small proportion of highly educated people and a large proportion of unemployed and low-earning residents often rank lower than other areas on various health and wellbeing indicators. Although local differences in Helsinki are relatively large and changes happen slowly, there has also been some narrowing of differences for certain indicators. Area-level differences in morbidity, for instance, have become slightly smaller in recent years. Also the proportion of young people who have gone directly from compulsory school to a secondary level education seems to show less variation between districts and schools compared to previous years.

Perceptions of safety have remained on the same level as in 2012.

HELSINKI RESIDENTS on average felt that the city centre and their own neighbourhood were as safe as earlier. A key indicator of perceived everyday safety is how safe people feel in their own neighbourhood on weekend evenings. According to recent data, these perceptions have remained on the same level as in 2012. The public transport, too, was felt to be safe. In this respect, however, the situation of immigrants is not as good as that of the native population. Furthermore, fear among female residents of falling victim of sexual crime has increased after a long period of positive development. This applied especially to younger women.

Helsinki still in the lead in tertiary education, women more educated than men

The proportion of residents with a tertiary level (polytechnic or university) degree is still significantly greater in Helsinki than in Finland at large. Secondary level degrees, by contrast, are less common than in the rest of Finland. Moreover, the proportion of people with higher than basic-level education is also smaller in Helsinki compared to the Finnish average. This is partly explained by Helsinki's large immigrant population, many of whom hold degrees not registered in the Finnish system. Meanwhile, the proportion of Finnish or Swedish speaking residents of Helsinki with post-compulsory degrees is slightly higher than the national average. The educational structure of Helsinki thus shows a larger-than-average proportion of people with a tertiary education and a larger-than-average proportion of people with no post-compulsory education at all.

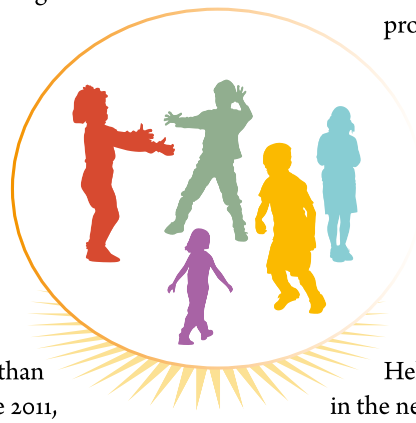
IN HELSINKI, women are higher educated than men. Among 25–64-year-olds, 84 per cent of women and 77 per cent of men had completed a post-compulsory education. Over half, 55 per cent of women, and 42 per cent of men had a tertiary degree. Among men, the level of education had not risen as fast as among women.

Weak income trend, growing social assistance benefit dependence

In Helsinki, the proportion of residents who have a good income is larger than in the rest of Finland. Reflecting the general economic situation, the overall development of incomes has been weak. For example, residents' disposable income in Helsinki started declining around 2010 and did not recover until 2015. Differences in income between population groups are very clear. Women's income still comes out at only three quarters of men's income. The average income also varies by age group.

WITH INCREASING unemployment and especially long-term unemployment, an increasing number of households in Helsinki have had to rely on the general housing allowance and the social assistance benefit. For some years now, the number and proportion of Helsinki residents receiving the social assistance benefit have been growing steadily. In 2015, almost 76,000 people in Helsinki received the benefit, equalling 12.1 per cent of the population. To more and more people, the benefit has increasingly become a permanent source of income, the primary cause being prolonged unemployment.

More children live in families receiving the social assistance benefit



Almost 13 per cent (12,600) of under-18-year-olds in Helsinki lived in a low-income family. This proportion is slightly larger than the average in Finland. Since 2011, the proportion of children living in low-income families has decreased faster in Helsinki than in the whole country, and also slightly faster than the proportion of low-income earners in the entire population of Helsinki.

HAVING A LOW income is common in lone-parent families, especially if the children are under school age. Among lone-parent families no less than 28 per cent had a low income. Low incomes are also more common among families with a foreign background, particularly in first-generation immigrant families.

LOW INCOMES often lead to the need of social assistance benefit. The last few years have seen steady growth in the number of children living in recipient families. Also their proportion of the peer age group has increased. To a growing number of people, the social assistance benefit is an increasingly permanent source of income. There are great differences between districts in the proportion of children living in recipient families. In the Southern Major District, five per cent of children were covered by the benefit, compared to 27 per cent in the Eastern Major District. Similar differences could be found in the proportions of children living in families with a prolonged need for assistance.

ALTHOUGH a great majority of families with children are doing well, many have to rely on the support of society. Thus the proportion of pupils receiving special support at school is larger in Helsinki than in Finland as a whole. Similarly, the number of visits to psychiatric special health care for children and adolescents compared with the total number of under-18-year-olds is larger in Helsinki than in all of Finland or in the neighbouring cities of Vantaa and Espoo. The period 2012–2015 saw growth in the number of non-hospital care visits. Between 2008 and 2014, the number of child protection clients grew by almost 40 per cent amounting to an annual increase of several hundred children.

Ten per cent of young people struggle to cope with their lives. Their backgrounds include learning and concentration difficulties, mental health problems and various difficult situations in life.

THE NEED FOR CHILD protection is influenced by a number of factors. The most common reasons for emergency placements or custody orders included mental health problems suffered by the child, problems with upbringing, the parents' alcohol use and the parents' mental health problems. One tenth of emergency placements were due to violence against the child. The most frequent causes of child placements as a non-institutional support measure were problems with upbringing, parents' mental health problems or problems in the child's growth environment. According to staff at the City of Helsinki Department of Social Services and Health Care, adults in child protection client families would need more support with adulthood and coping skills than can be provided by the child protection service.

IN FAMILIES with children in Helsinki, every third parent reports at least some degree of perceived inadequacy as a parent. Lone parents experience such feelings more often than parents in couples. The parents' stress tolerance is also linked to perceived depression.

Most young people in Helsinki do well – routes to independence hindered by challenges of employment, income and housing

The majority of young people in Helsinki do well. Nine in ten feel they have control of their everyday life, and for the most part, young people know whom to turn to in an emergency. When thinking about their future, they feel they have good chances of increasing their skills in matters of interest to themselves and to focus on work or study directions that they consider interesting. However, ten per cent of young people struggle to cope with their lives. Their backgrounds include learning and concentration difficulties, mental health problems and various difficult situations in life. Also, many young people may have difficulties in finding their own work or study direction and they may lack motivation. Shortage of low-threshold services, particularly in mental health services, often becomes a problem. According to people who work with young people struggling with various kinds of problems, a worrying group are those who live in supported housing for post-placement youth, considering that their family networks are often weak. Their parents are incapable of supporting them in their transition to independence.

SOME YOUNG PEOPLE are still excluded from both work and education. In Helsinki, almost 9,000 young people who have completed basic education are neither at work nor on the school bench. On the whole, the proportion of youth outside work and education has remained at the same level during the last few years. However, a certain positive trend can be observed for those under 20. More and more young Helsinki residents find a place to study at secondary level, and this positive trend applies especially to young people with an immigrant background.

ALTHOUGH VARIOUS support measures have enabled many young people to find a place to study or work, the position of young people on the labour market is challenging in many ways. Many face increasingly long periods of unemployment, and long-term unemployment, which was previously less common among young people, has become more widespread. At the same time, the number of 15–29-year-olds who receive social assistance benefit has grown. Studies show that, in many cases, dependence on social assistance benefit is passed on from generation to generation.

THE LACK OF MONEY has a variety of effects on young people's lives. It can prevent them from taking up a hobby (and force them to give it up), or not seeing their friends because it costs too much. Furthermore, one in ten young people had left their bills unpaid or used consumer credit. Young people's transition to independence in Helsinki is affected by challenges of employment and income and – particularly – high housing costs. In recent years, this has led to an increase in shared housing and a growing proportion of young people staying in their parents' homes. The same phenomenon can also be seen in the other cities in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area. Meanwhile, young people elsewhere in Finland move to a home of their own at an increasingly younger age.

Senior citizens are healthier and more active, but perceived ill-health increases with age

Elderly people in Helsinki are becoming increasingly active and healthy. The large majority stay in their homes, and most feel they can manage without too much trouble. The greatest change in the proportion of elderly living at home has occurred among those over 85 years of age. As people stay in their homes longer, there is an increasing need for accessible features in housing.

THERE IS no great difference in average taxable income between the elderly, that is, the over-65- year-olds, and people of working age. Yet 38 per cent of the over-65-year-olds earn less than 20,000 euros a year, and this is also the most common income bracket at that age. The higher the age group, the lower the income. Livelihood problems are most common among the oldest women. Perceived poor health and loneliness also become more common with age.

LIFE EXPECTANCY among the elderly has grown significantly, whereas mortality from alcohol-related diseases, accidents, dementia and – with women – lung cancer, has risen among the elderly as well.

Share of people with foreign background on the rise; monitoring their progress in society increasingly important

Helsinki has over 90,000 residents with a foreign background – 15 per cent of the city's population. Both their number and proportion of the population are growing. Around 74,300 have been born abroad and around 15,600 in Finland. Those born in Finland but with parents born elsewhere are second generation immigrants – or first generation Finns. For the most part, immigrants are of working age. Of those born in Finland, almost 90 per cent are still less than 20 years old.

THE MAJORITY of immigrants in Helsinki are in their best working age. Yet their unemployment rate is considerably higher and their employment rate clearly lower than in the native population. At the same time, there are great differences between countries of origin, and they are due to dissimilarities of education, language skills and earlier work experience. Among the large immigrant groups, those coming from Estonia, for example – who are often work-based immigrants – have a labour market position very similar to that of the native population. Difficulties to find a job are most common among those coming from countries from which many asylum seekers and refugees have come to Finland, such as Somalia, Iraq and Afghanistan.

IMMIGRANTS' POSITION on the labour market follows the general economic trends, and changes for the better or worse are more abrupt than for the native population. Many of those with a foreign background have fixed-term work contracts, often in sectors vulnerable to economic ups and downs. The employment situation also has an effect on a person's income level, which is often lower among immigrants than the native population in Helsinki. Employment and livelihood also influence immigrants' position on the housing market. Around 40 per cent of immigrants are social housing tenants.

THE EMPLOYMENT and income situation of immigrants improves the longer they stay in Finland. Those who have lived longer in Finland find a job more easily, and this positive development also translates into rising incomes and increasing owner-occupied housing. Foreign-background residents born in Finland form a rapidly growing part of Helsinki's population. A close monitoring of their progress in society is of great importance.

Helsinki has a diversified economy – city highly valued as a business location

Helsinki's industrial structure is service-dominated, and yet very diversified. No single industry overshadows the others, which gives Helsinki better opportunities to overcome problems pertaining to single industries. Strong industries in Helsinki are still trade, information and communication, administrative and support service activities, and professional, scientific and technical activities. Well over half of all jobs in Helsinki are in these industries. On the whole, the number of jobs in Helsinki remained almost unchanged during the Council term, but compared with the situation in 2008, jobs have decreased.

AMONG INDUSTRIES, trade especially is undergoing a period of change caused by digitalisation and globalisation, among other things. Many smaller local shopping centres are struggling as consumers head for the large shopping malls. Competition with foreign actors has toughened, too. In 2010–2015, the share of online sales in retail trade in Finland grew by 34 per cent, and this also influences the development of enterprises engaged in trade as well as their staff numbers and turnovers. However, this trend is compensated by population growth and a more positive economic prospects; thus trade is likely to experience growth in future.

THE PROPORTIONS of small, medium-sized or large enterprises have remained unchanged in Helsinki. Almost all (98%) companies in Helsinki fall in the category of small enterprises, with less than 50 people on the payroll. Of total company staff in Helsinki, however, around 40 per cent work in large companies, whose importance for economy and employment is considerable.

BUSINESS ACTIVITIES in Helsinki are concentrated in the city centre and the surrounding zone, as well as the Pitäjänmäki–Pohjois-Haaga area. Studies have shown that clustering into certain areas improves the

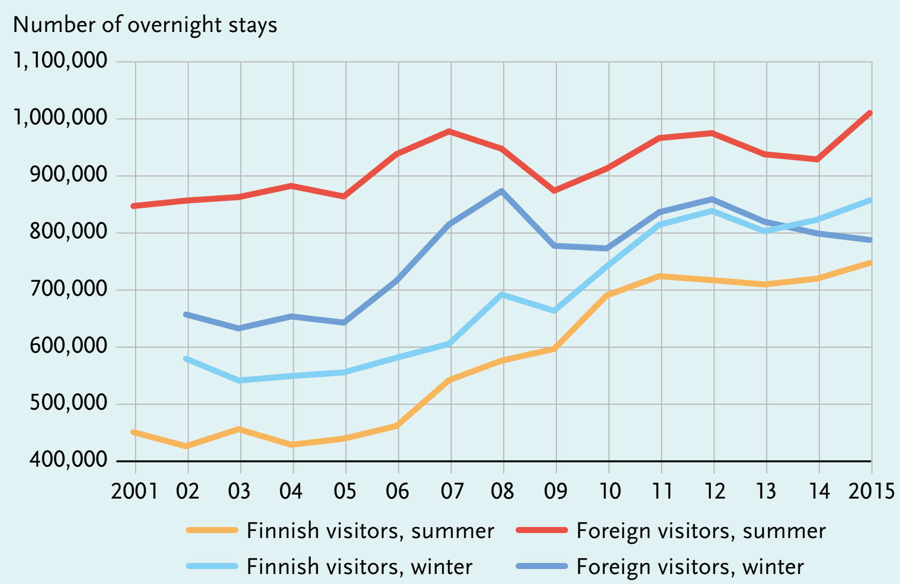


FIGURE 4. **Overnight stays by Finnish and foreign visitors in Helsinki 2001–2015**

conditions for knowledge-intensive businesses. Besides the clusters within Helsinki, the employment structure is diversified in other parts of the metropolitan area, too. Trade is a predominant industry in Espoo and Vantaa, with Vantaa having an important cluster of logistics companies. Helsinki and Espoo have the largest numbers of jobs in ICT and in professional, scientific and technical activities. With all its numerous jobs in financing and public administration, Helsinki stands out in all of Finland.

ACCORDING TO a survey published in autumn 2016, companies value the location of Helsinki. The main factors influencing their location decisions include proximity to where staff, owners and executives live, the provision of adequate labour in the commuting area and the proximity to present and potential customers. Helsinki's accessibility, too, played a certain role, and respondents were very glad there were enough alternative locations in Helsinki – albeit some respondents found Helsinki's price level high and the provision of business properties a challenge. Respondents were pleased with the public transport, but at the same time they also called for more investments in other traffic connections in the city and improved parking. Mostly, they felt that the city's attitude towards entrepreneurship and business enterprise was positive.

Numbers of visitors to Helsinki on the rise

After a trough in 2012 and 2013, the tourism industry in Helsinki has started to grow again. Just over half of overnight stays in Helsinki are made by foreign visitors. Russian overnight stays have fallen by half during the last few years, but at the same time the total number of stays by Chinese or Japanese tourists almost doubled in five years. The significance of Asian tourism is shown by the fact that the revenue generated by

Chinese tourists was, for the first time, higher than that brought by Russians, although there were fewer Chinese than Russians coming to Helsinki.

Although the numbers of visitors are currently growing, Helsinki is still a step behind its competitors such as Stockholm or Copenhagen. Helsinki still partly seems to live in a world of traditional attraction factors which are often derived from mental images attached to Finland such as "cold" or "snow". At the same time, young people, in particular, value a good atmosphere and an unusual or exotic destination over such stereotypical images. In this respect, Helsinki has made huge strides forward in recent years. Among other things, the saunas Löyly and Allas recently opened in the waterfront locations in central Helsinki have attracted positive international attention.

Many indicators show environmental progress in Helsinki

Emissions of greenhouse gases and energy consumption per capita have both decreased during the Council term. Yet, in both respects there is work to be done to reach the goals set for 2020. Emissions in Helsinki have been reduced through cuts to national emissions from energy production, as well as reduced emissions from the city-owned Helen Ltd's own energy production and by upgraded energy efficiency in the urban area. Important reasons for reduced energy consumption include improved energy efficiency in buildings and electric appliances such as street lights, as well as improved energy efficiency of motor vehicles.

Air quality has improved somewhat during the Council term in terms of hydrogen dioxide contents, but nonetheless, the EU's Air Quality Directive's annual limit value for hydrogen dioxide emissions in the air is still occasionally exceeded due to exhaust gas in the busy street canyons in central Helsinki. The situation has improved markedly especially as regards small particles (PM10) in the air, thanks to efficient measures against street dust after winter sanding. Since 2012, the EU limit value has not been exceeded a single time at the measuring stations, but in busy areas, the risk still exists.

A good international level has been reached in nitrogen and phosphorus loads on the sea water outside Helsinki after 2004, when denitrification processes at the central waste water treatment plant in Viikki were upgraded. Nonetheless, the amount of nitrogen conducted into the sea from the plant has increased slightly during the Council term.

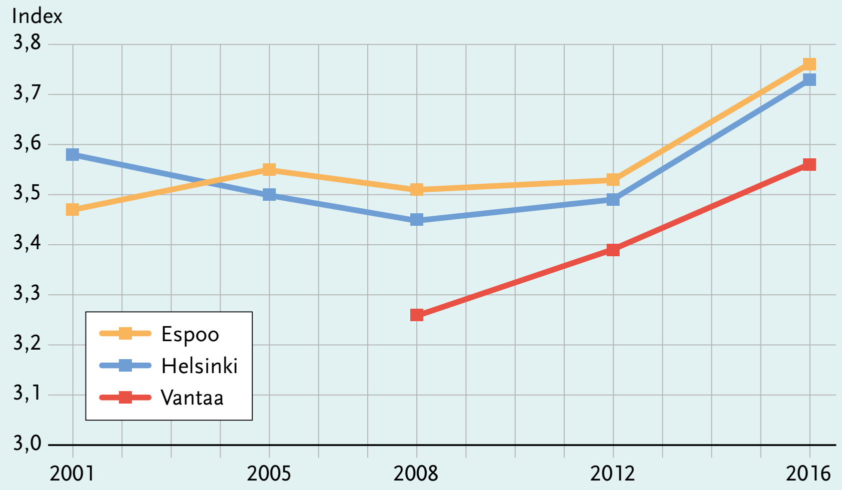
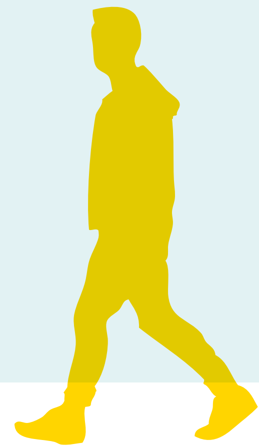


FIGURE 5. Level of satisfaction with public services in three Helsinki Metropolitan Area cities 2001–2016, index of 54 questions



The amount of disposed waste in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area was significantly reduced when the Waste-to-Energy power station in Vantaa started operation. Meanwhile, however, surveys conducted by the Helsinki Region Environmental Service Authority HSY suggest rubbish sorting in households has slackened somewhat.

Helsinki residents now more satisfied with public services

The satisfaction of residents with the public services and housing in their cities has been measured nine times between 1983 and 2016 by a national survey using basically identical questionnaires. The survey is conducted once per municipal council term. In May 2016 it was answered by 1,081 people in Helsinki. The respondents were generally more satisfied now than in 2012. The results for Helsinki in 2016 were the best ever in the history of the survey. People in Helsinki were most pleased with the quality of drinking water, public transport, waste management and recycling, public order, libraries and arts and culture services. Dissatisfaction mostly concerned the provision of rented housing, dental services and home care for the elderly.

Considerable differences in voting rates between population groups and districts Helsinki residents are more active voters than Finns at large. Of those entitled to vote in Helsinki, 75.1 per cent voted at the parliamentary elections in 2015. Between 1983 and 2015, voting rates fell by only a few percentage points in Helsinki, comparing with almost 11 percentage points in the country as a whole. However, there are clear differences in voting rates between population groups. Young people and those living in socioeconomically challenged neighbourhoods, lower-educated people and immigrants were less likely to vote than other population groups. At the parliamentary elections in 2015, the difference in turnout between the most active and the most passive district was 26 percentage points, while at the municipal elections in 2012 it was no less than 40 percentage points.

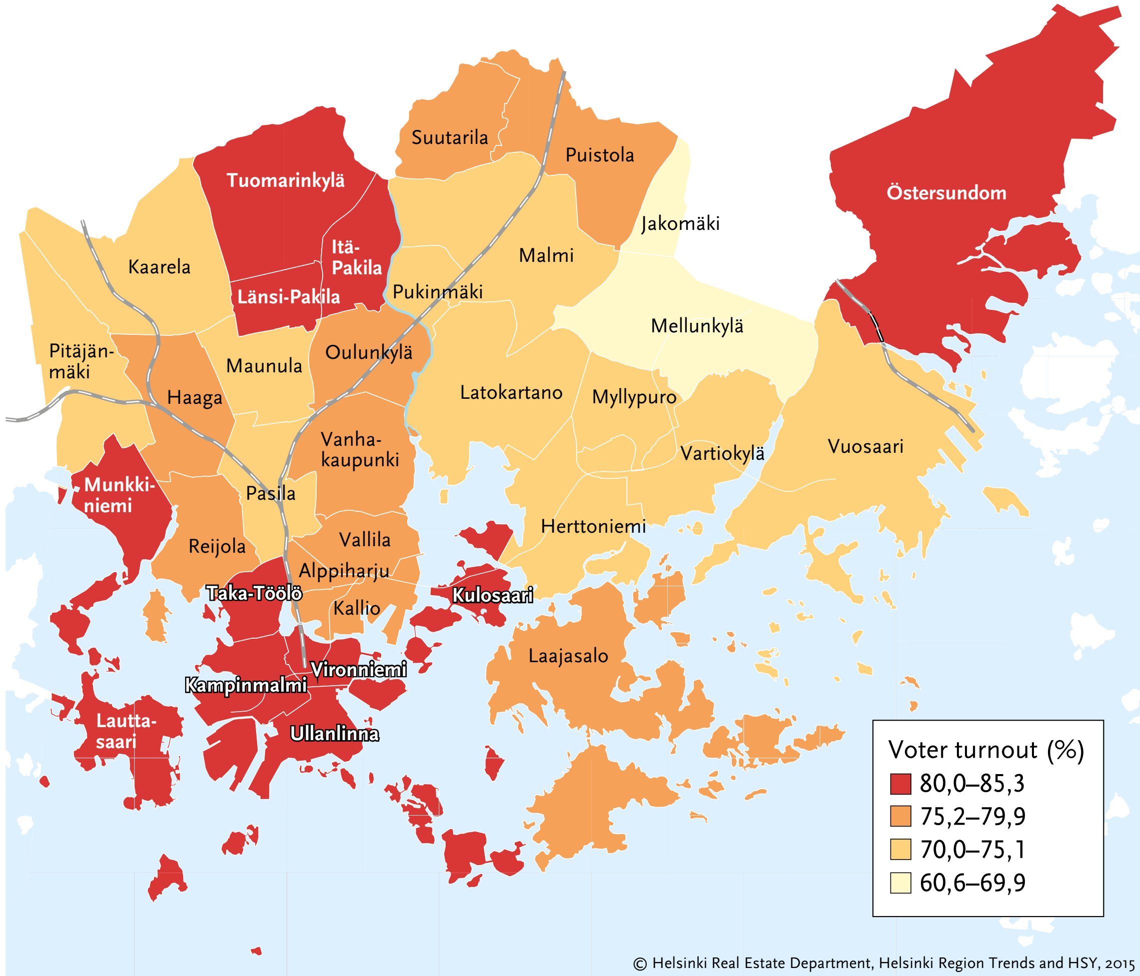


FIGURE 6. Voter turnout (%) by district in Helsinki in 2015 parliamentary election

YOUNG PEOPLE do not take a particularly keen interest in the activities of political parties. This does not mean they are passive, but it rather shows that participation has moved to other platforms. Young people aim to exercise influence by buying ecologically friendly products, taking common action for or against various causes, and in social media and web communities. The City of Helsinki has promoted democratic participation by setting up the participation system Ruuti. The Ruuti activities are coordinated by an annually elected core group of twenty young people whose task is to function as a link between young people and the decision-makers.

Helsinki residents mostly prefer low-threshold culture, and resident-driven urban activism has increased

In terms of arts and culture consumption, Helsinki residents prefer low-threshold amenities such as libraries, cinema, theatre and popular music concerts. Also, various kinds of urban events have been very popular. Thus in the last few years, a multitude of resident-driven events have been organised in Helsinki, some of which have also aimed to influence the activities and planning of the city departments. Individuals and groups have become motors of development. Various issues closely related to Helsinki have been debated on Facebook in groups such as Lisää kaupunkia Helsinkiin and Helsinkiläisten Helsinki. Good examples of bottom-up developments include the immensely popular Restaurant Day, the Flow festival and the Slush event, all of which have reached great popularity and renown even outside Finland.

TRENDS IN THE URBAN culture of Helsinki also become apparent in the local food culture. In the 2000s, food and restaurant culture has taken huge strides forward. Characteristic of this development in recent years is, for example, that the number of new businesses in the restaurant sector has been growing and that the number of companies opening in the sector has constantly been higher than that of companies closing. Some very welcome local changes can be seen in the restaurant sector, too: in Inner Helsinki, at present vibrantly expanding, new shops, cafés and restaurants are opening at street level, and recent signals suggest such activities are also increasing outside Inner Helsinki.

IT IS IMPORTANT for the city administration to identify and understand the field of urban activisms and to acknowledge that a process of functional and structural change is going on in the civic society. This provides the opportunity to use the energy and skills of

residents as a resource. One way in which the City of Helsinki has encouraged active participation in the city's planning and development has been the opening of city data to the public. In 2013–2016, the use of data available on the open data portal Helsinki Region Infoshare increased remarkably. The use of open data has also been promoted in the Helsinki Loves Developers meetings, which regularly bring together the producers and users of open data and have attracted growing audiences.

Positive trends in leadership, differences between work communities

Kunta 10, a follow-up study on working life and wellbeing through work, conducted every second year, shows a weak positive trend for Helsinki. The overall ranking of the City of Helsinki rose somewhat between 2014 and 2016, and there was progress primarily in the indicators describing work communities and leadership. In return, Helsinki's total ranking fell somewhat in terms of indicators measuring the content of work and continued work for older employees.

CITY OF HELSINKI / LAURI ROTKO

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THE RESULTS show that although the amount of work and stress at work is perceived to have increased, people have not increasingly felt that work is a burden. Also, perceived support from superiors has increased slightly. Staff feel that leadership is inclusive to some extent, although a slight decline has occurred in this respect in last two years. Another aspect that could be improved – according to these findings – is the fairness of decision-making. Dispersion is large in all answers relating to leadership, covering the whole scale, and there are notable differences between and within sectors, offices and departments.

DURING THE Council term, an extensive leadership reform was launched in Helsinki's city administration, also including a comprehensive organisation reform. The attitude of staff towards the reform is followed using the Muutospulssi follow-up survey, and although no general conclusions can be drawn from the responses of the first round, they show that staff mainly seem to be positive towards the reform. Only a small proportion of respondents felt negatively about it. However, a considerable proportion of staff could not form a clear opinion, and neutral responses were common. A correlation could be seen between active communication by superiors and a positive attitude towards the reform among staff.

Ari Jaakola is Statistics and Information Service Manager and **Katja Vilkama** is Research Director at City of Helsinki Urban Facts.

ASYLUM SEEKERS

expected to have little impact on the growth of Helsinki's foreign-language population

PEKKA KAIKKONEN

BACKGROUND The number of residents speaking a foreign mother tongue – other than Finnish, Swedish or Sami – has increased rapidly in Helsinki over the past few years. At the beginning of 2016, this number stood at 88,000, out of a total population of 628,208. Their share of the total population has increased correspondingly. While in 1990 only 1.3 per cent of Helsinki residents were foreign-language speakers, the proportion increased to 5.4 percent in 2000 and 14 per cent at the beginning of 2016. The rise in the number and population share of foreign-language speakers is predicted to continue.

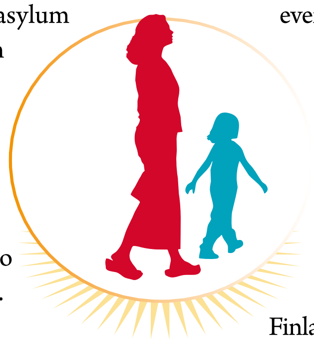
★ NETTA MÄKI

THE LATEST PROJECTION regarding the foreign-language speaking population in Helsinki and the Helsinki region was published in the autumn of 2015. An added challenge for preparing the projection was imposed by the rapid increase in asylum seekers, which began late in the summer and continued for the rest of the year. For this reason, two alternative growth scenarios were projected based on differing estimates regarding the development in the amount of asylum seekers. In addition, a 'zero' (0) scenario was calculated. It did not take into account the rapid growth that began in the summer of 2015 but expected the number of asylum seekers to develop in accordance with the trends witnessed in 2010–2014. During this five-year period, the annual average number of asylum seekers stood at approximately 3,500.

THE BASIC GROWTH and fast growth scenarios of the population projection were based on the assessments of the Ministry of the Interior and the Finnish Immigration Service on future numbers of asylum seekers, residence permits granted and family reunification applications. The basic growth scenario assumed that 35,000 asylum seekers would arrive in Finland in 2015; 30,000 in 2016; and another 10,000 in 2017. After this, the number would settle at the 2014 level – in other words, approximately 3,600 asylum seekers per year. The rapid growth scenario assumed that the numbers of asylum seekers between 2015 and 2017 would be the same as with the basic scenario but would continue at an annual rate of 10,000 asylum seekers also after 2018.

Furthermore, the projection assumed that every third applicant would receive a residence permit and that approximately 50 per cent of the permit-holders would end up in the Helsinki Region. Among the latter group, half would settle in the city of Helsinki. The family reunification applications are also expected to bring in family members of the asylum seekers with a few years' delay. The model, concept and definitions of the projection are described more specifically in the publication "Projection of the foreign-language population in the Helsinki Region for 2015–2030" (Helsingin seudun vieraskielisen väestön ennuste 2015–2030), published by City of Helsinki Urban Facts.

By March 2016, the number of asylum seekers had decreased to the level of March 2015, and in June and July there were fewer asylum seekers than at the same time in the previous year. Since it now seems that the increase in the number of asylum seekers may have been largely a temporary phenomenon, the projection's 'zero scenario' has been found to be more realistic than expected.



Foreign-language population will continue strong growth in Helsinki

The basic scenario of the projection suggests that, by 2030, the number of foreign-language speakers will increase from the current 88,000 to nearly 164,000, and their share of the total population will climb to 23 per cent. The entire population of Helsinki is predicted to increase by 81,000 people by 2030, and foreign- language speakers would constitute 76,000 of this number, equalling 90 per cent of the growth.

These figures can be compared to the zero-alternative scenario, which was calculated based on asylum seeker numbers in 2010–2014, without the rapid increase in asylum seekers that began in the summer of 2015. As per this scenario, the number of foreign language speakers in Helsinki and the share of the population in 2030 would stand at approximately 156,000 and 22 per cent. This proportion – 22 per cent – is only one percentage point lower than under the basic growth alternative.

In other words, the number of asylum seekers would seem to have little effect on the total number of incoming foreign-language speakers. There are many reasons for this. First, a relatively small proportion of asylum seekers ultimately gain asylum or receive a residence permit for Finland. As mentioned above, it is estimated that about one fourth of those who receive a residence permit in all of Finland eventually settle in Helsinki. In relation to the number of foreign-language speakers already living in Helsinki, this number is fairly low. Even for those arriving from outside the European Union, the reasons for immigration are mostly connected to family (for example, marriage with a Finn or a permanent resident of Finland), studies and work. The grounds for granting a resident permit have to do with family-related reasons in one third of the cases, studies for one third, and work in every fourth case. The division is likely to be similar in Helsinki. Moreover, immigration is expected to increase from geographical areas that people typically leave for the above reasons. This means that the increase in asylum seekers that we have witnessed so far would not be very significant. The third reason is related to the structure of the foreign-language population. In the future, an increasing number of foreign language speakers will be Finnish-born and not first generation immigrants. The number of foreign-language speakers is then, in part, increased by young people who have been born in Finland and who have, for instance, gone through Finnish education system.

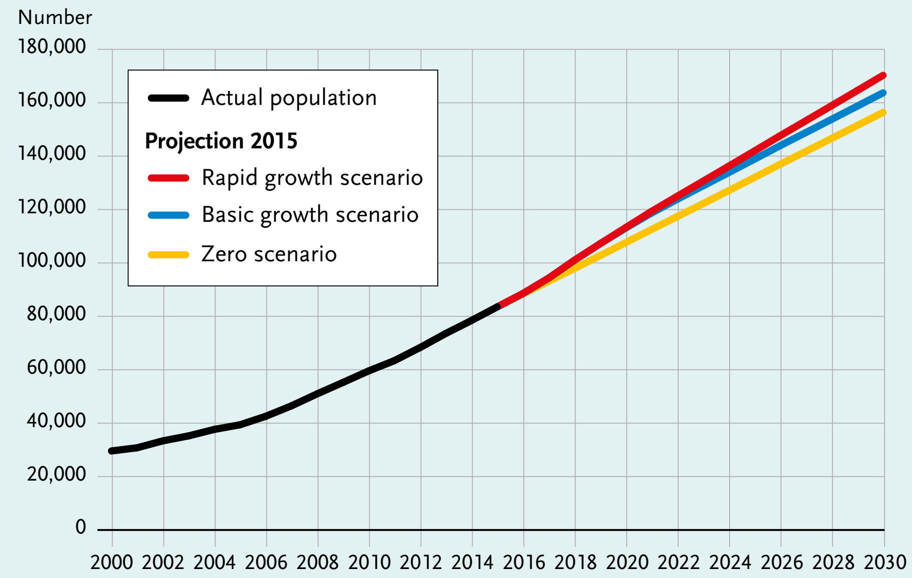


Figure 1. **Number of residents speaking a foreign mother tongue (other than Finnish, Swedish or Sami) in Helsinki 1 Jan 2000–2015, and the projection alternatives for 2030**

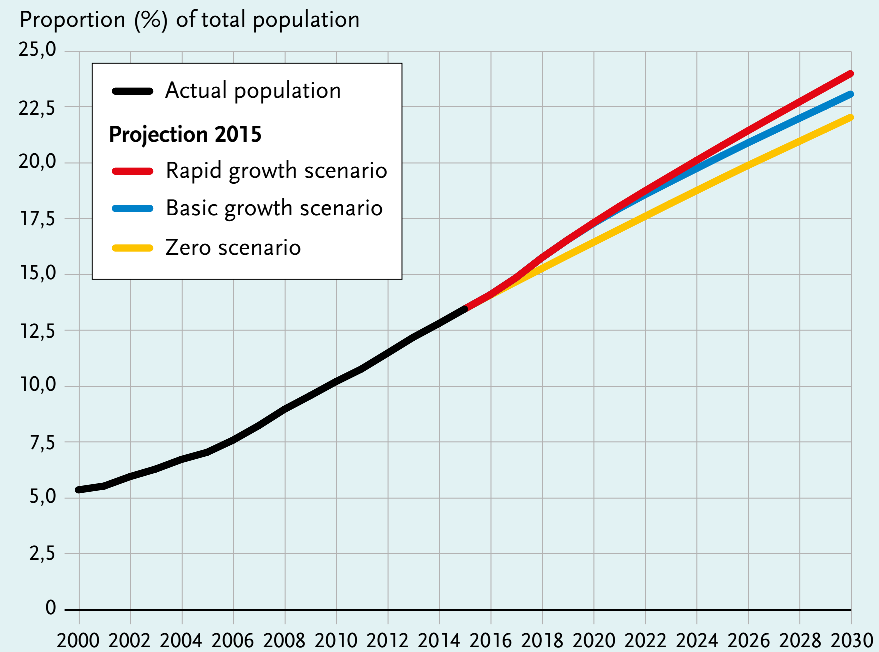


Figure 2. **Proportion of residents speaking a foreign mother tongue in Helsinki, 1 Jan 2000–2015, and projection scenarios for 2030, share (%) of the entire population (according to the basic growth scenario for total population in Helsinki)**

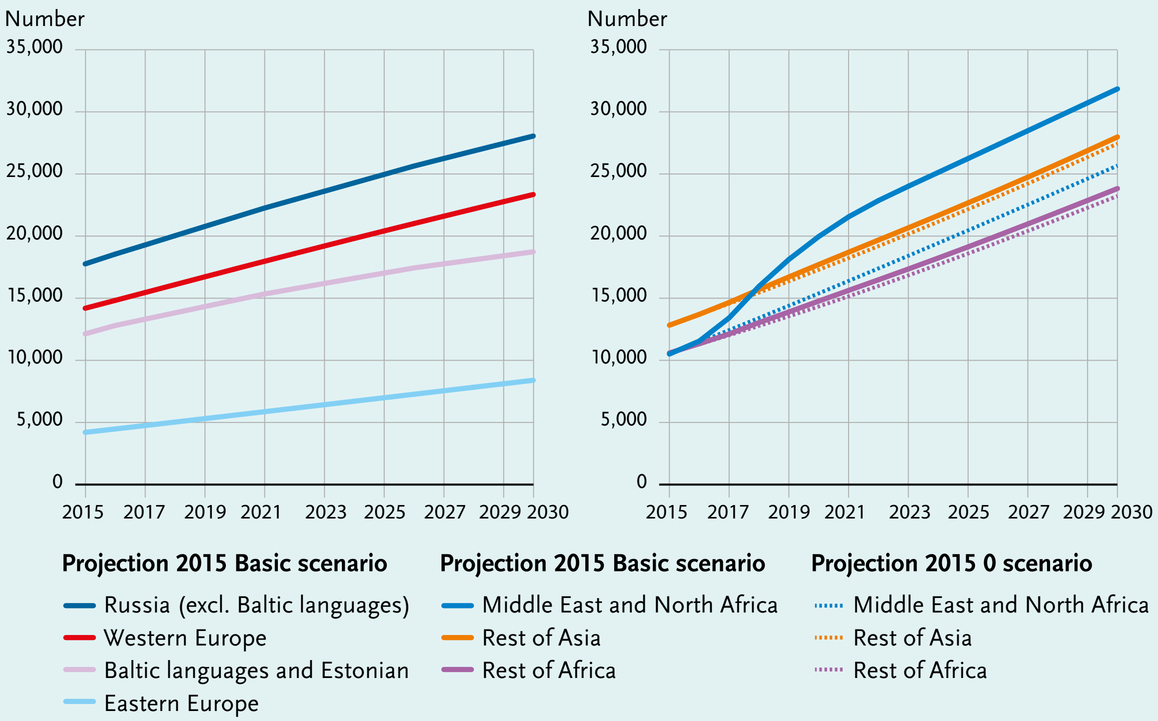
Asylum seekers will have significant impact only on one language group

Based on the above, it can be concluded that the impact of asylum seekers on the future total size of Helsinki's foreign-language population is likely to remain low. When looking at the projected proportions of different language groups, we may observe that the effect mainly concerns people speaking Middle Eastern and North African languages.

By 2030, the numbers of people speaking all the languages listed in Figure 3 will be greater than now. For example, the number of Russian-speakers, who constitute the largest group of people with a foreign mother tongue, will increase by more than 10,000, and the increase in speakers of Western European languages will be more than 9,000. As regards the countries in the left-hand panel of Figure 3 (Western Europe, Russia and the Baltic States), the zero alternative is virtually identical with the basic growth scenario – very few asylum seekers come from these countries.

The differences between the basic growth and the zero alternative of the projection are the most pronounced regarding those who speak Middle Eastern and North African languages. The basic growth scenario postulates that the speakers of these languages (a total of 10,000 people in 2015) would increase by over 21,000; as per the zero alternative, the growth would be over 6,000 people smaller. The number of people speaking Asian and African languages will increase by approximately 15,000 and 13,000 people, respectively, but the difference between the basic growth and the zero alternative of the projection is no more than slightly over 500 people.

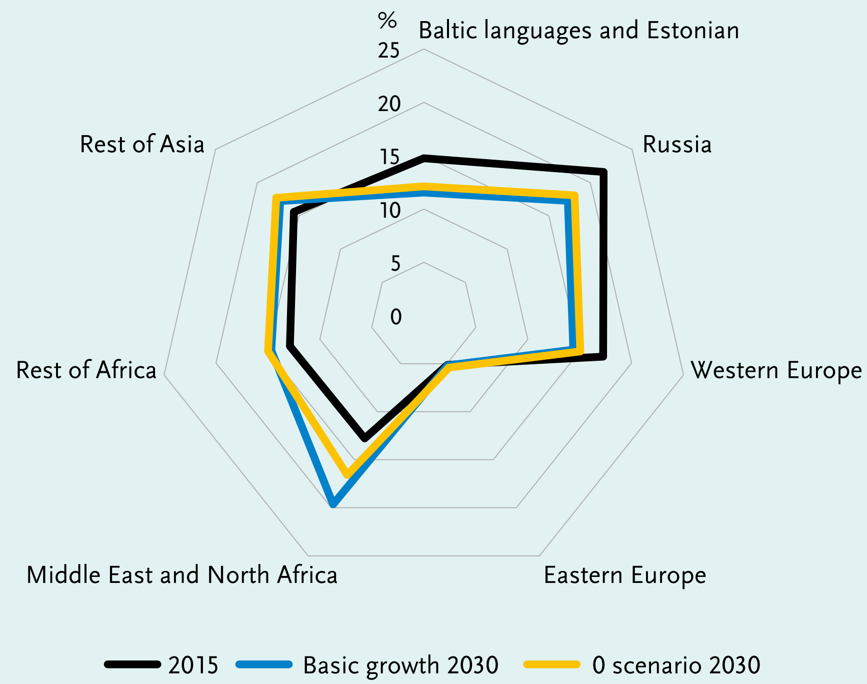
Figure 3. Number of residents speaking a foreign mother tongue in Helsinki, by language group, 1 Jan 2015; basic growth and 0 scenarios for 2030.



The relative proportions of the language groups will change, but this is the outcome in both the basic growth and the zero scenario in the projection (Figure 4). The share of Russian, Baltic languages and Western European languages among all foreign languages will be lower than it currently is. For example, the proportion of Russian-speakers will drop from slightly less than 22 per cent to approximately 17 per cent, while the number of people speaking Baltic languages will decrease from 15 per cent to 11.6. In the zero scenario (that is, where immigrants would have arrived in accordance with the 2010–2014 trend), the proportions of all these language groups would be about half a percentage point higher.

According to the basic scenario, the proportion of people who speak other Asian languages than Middle Eastern will increase slightly less than two per cent from the current level of approximately 15 per cent. Meanwhile, the zero alternative puts this growth at half a percentage point higher. Regarding the languages of Sub-Saharan Africa, the basic alternative postulates that the proportion of people speaking these languages would climb from 13 to 14.7 per cent, while the zero alternative assumes that it will end up at 15 per cent. The largest change is predicted to occur in the proportion of people speaking Middle Eastern and North African languages. The basic scenario projects that the proportion will increase from approximately 13 per cent to 19.6 per cent. Even in the zero alternative, the share would increase to 16.6 per cent.

Figure 4. Proportion of residents speaking a foreign mother tongue in Helsinki, by language group, 1 Jan 2015; basic growth and zero scenarios for 2030.



Concluding remarks

The number of foreign language speakers will increase rapidly in Helsinki. This will occur even if the rapid growth of asylum seekers that began late in the summer of 2015 is only temporary. The reasons for immigration are largely related to other than humanitarian factors. In addition, an increasing number of foreign-language speakers will be persons who were born in Finland and who have, for instance, completed an education in Finland. As a result, the population speaking a foreign mother tongue will be at least somewhat different in 2030 compared to the present.

It is also worth bearing in mind that immigrants are primarily working-age people. The number of working-age citizens has turned to a decline in Finland in the 2010s, and the drop would be even steeper without the migration gain from abroad. In Helsinki and the Helsinki Region labour market area, the development has been similar, although domestic migration has slowed down the decrease of working-age people among the native population. In 2015, the demographic dependency ratio (the ratio of 0–14-year-old dependants and over 65-year-olds to working-age people 15–64 years of age) stood at 0.46 dependants for each working-age person among the native population. The same ratio was 0.26 among foreign-language speakers. In 2030, the dependency ratio is expected to be 0.53 for the entire population and 0.60 for speakers of domestic languages. The demographic dependency ratio calculated for foreign-language speakers is predicted to be as low as 0.32 in 2030. In other words, the younger age structure of the foreign-language population will counteract the negative development in the overall dependency ratio. From the perspective of future labour markets, it is therefore absolutely essential to secure sufficient resources for integrating the foreign-born population.

Netta Mäki, DSocSc, is Researcher at City of Helsinki Urban Facts.

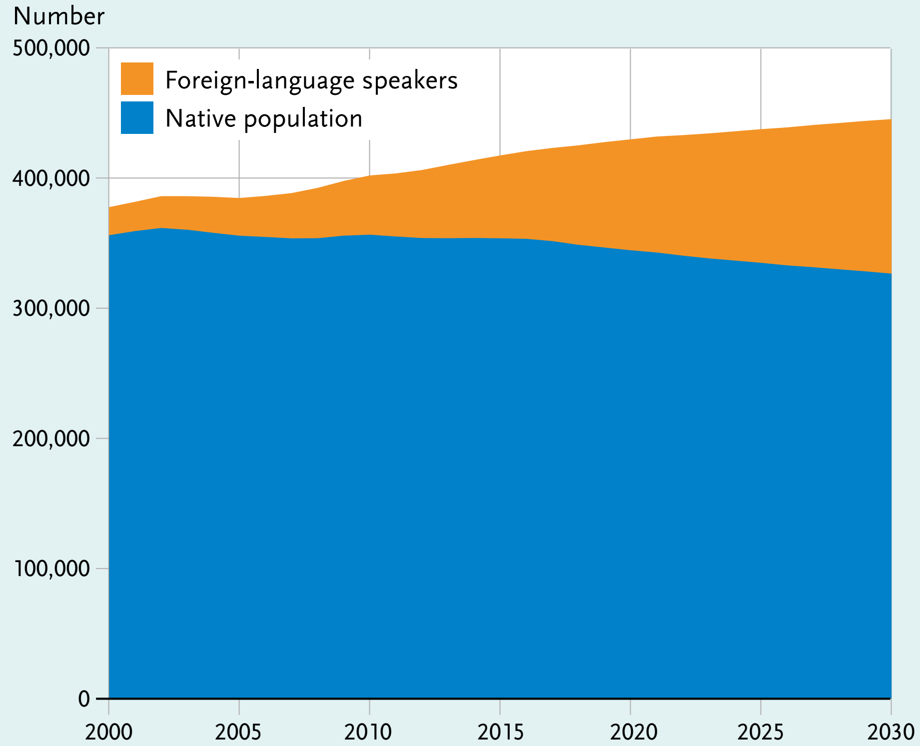


FIGURE 5. Number of 18–64-year-olds by mother tongue in Helsinki, 1 Jan 2000–2015, and projection for 2030

The reasons for immigration are largely related to other than humanitarian factors

Long-term unemployment

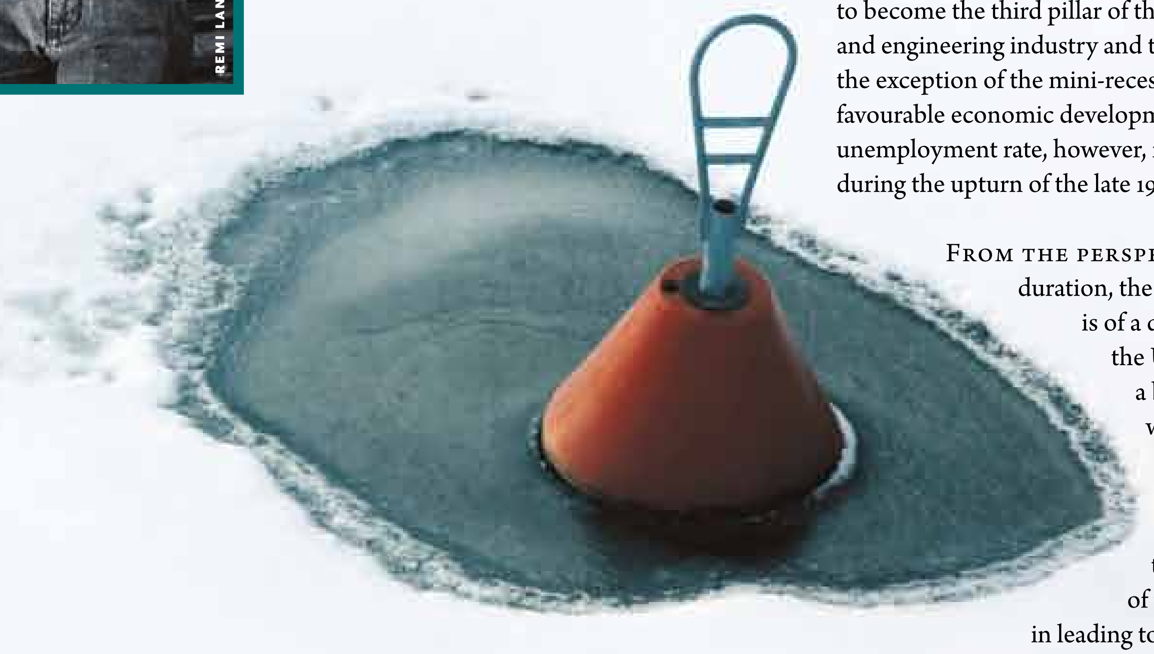
at a record high, but light at the end of the tunnel

REMI LANVIN

HENRIK LÖNNQVIST ★ MINNA SALORINNE

Unemployment in Helsinki 1987–2016

The rates of employment and unemployment in Helsinki have seen considerable variation between 1987 and 2016, the period examined in this article. Between two recessions, the city has witnessed a long period of upturn, during which the unemployment rate fell. The prolonged economic slump which began in 2008 has once again led to a difficult situation. It has had some worrying implications such as an increase in long-term unemployment, the consequences of youth unemployment and the employment opportunities of individuals with foreign backgrounds. At the end of 2016, the trend in unemployment has finally taken a turn for the better. However, long-term unemployment remains at a record high.



Over the past three decades, Finland has faced two severe economic recessions. The first of these, the recession of the early 1990s, was considered exceptionally severe for its time. The problem was viewed as the consequence of a combination of "bad policy and bad luck" (Honkapohja & Koskela 1999). After the boom period and full employment of the late 1980s, the economy experienced difficulties at the start of the 1990s. The main factors behind the ensuing depression were the fixed-rate policy of the Finnish markka combined with the collapse of the Soviet Union markets and more general economic downturn in other countries. The depression hit quickly and led to mass unemployment. The national unemployment rate rose to a level of over 20 per cent.

If the depression came on quickly, the subsequent upturn was equally sudden. Starting in 1994, economic activity and employment rates began to recover. The upswing was characterised primarily by the rise of the mobile phone industry, led by Nokia and its subcontractors, to become the third pillar of the Finnish economy alongside the metal and engineering industry and the forestry and paper industry. With the exception of the mini-recession at the start of the new millennium, favourable economic development continued all the way to 2008. The unemployment rate, however, never returned to the low level seen during the upturn of the late 1980s.

From the perspective of its background factors and duration, the current recession, which began in 2008, is of a different nature. The subprime crisis of the United States and the euro crisis provide a broader framework, which was combined with explanatory factors stemming from the internal structure of the Finnish economy. The problems and downfall of the Nokia cluster, difficulties faced by the paper industry and, lastly, the decline of trade with Russia, have all played a part in leading to the current recession. In terms of the unemployment rate, the level of 1993 has not been surpassed, but the situation has been very disconcerting in the past few years.

This article examines the long-term development of unemployment in Helsinki between 1987 and 2016. We analyse the structure of unemployment according to age groups and the duration of unemployment. Where relevant, the situation of Helsinki and the Helsinki Metropolitan Area is compared to the overall situation

The downturn appeared to be short-lived, with unemployment rates falling once again in 2010–2011. However, **the euro crisis and structural problems in the national economy** led to a new downturn.

in Finland. We also highlight certain particular causes for concern related to the current situation. All figures presented in the article are based on information from the register-based employment statistics compiled by the Ministry of Employment and the Economy; the unemployment rate is also calculated based on the Ministry's employment statistics (unemployed) and the register-based employment statistics compiled by Statistics Finland (labour force). In Finland, the official unemployment rate is calculated using data from sample-based workforce surveys conducted by Statistics Finland; this data does not, however, enable the examination of the structure of unemployment at the municipal level.

Economic climate and the development of unemployment in Helsinki in 1987–2016

The latter half of the 1980s was characterised by economic growth. The unemployment rate in Helsinki between 1987 and 1988 was at a rate of around two per cent (Figure 1). In the strongest year of the upswing, 1989, the proportion of unemployed people in the labour force in Helsinki was only 1.4 per cent, while the national unemployment rate was only 4.4 per cent. This means that in Helsinki, there were 3,800 unemployed jobseekers. However, the situation changed rapidly. Over the course of 1991, the number of unemployed persons grew to over 3.5 times greater than in the previous year, and the unemployment rate in Helsinki rose to 9.1 per cent. At that time, there were nearly 24,800 unemployed persons in Helsinki. In the following year alone, the number of unemployed rose to 39,300, with the unemployment rate reaching 14.6 per cent at the end of 1992. When the recession hit its deepest slump in 1993, the unemployment rate in Helsinki was 18.7 per cent, which translates to 49,400 unemployed jobseekers.

The number of unemployed persons fell briskly between 1994 and 2000. In late 2000, 8.3 per cent of the labour force was unemployed. In 2001, the economy was hit by a "mini-recession", which is often connected to the bursting of the so-called IT bubble. However, this led to only a minor increase in unemployment. After the mini-recession, economic growth continued to be strong and the unemployment rate in Helsinki fell to the lowest level seen in the 2000s, 6.1 per cent, in 2008. The number of unemployed in Helsinki dropped at this time, on the eve of the global recession, to 19,200 individuals.

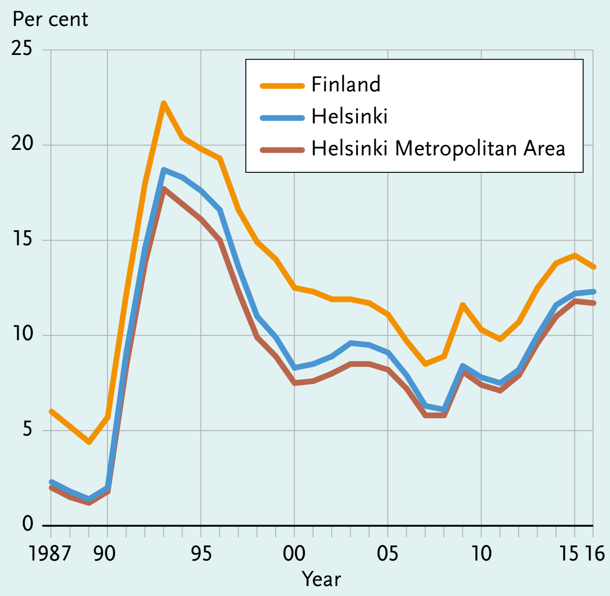


FIGURE 1. Unemployment rate in Helsinki, the Helsinki metropolitan area and all of Finland between 1987 and 2016

The subprime mortgage loan crisis that began in 2007 in the United States led to a broader financial crisis. The filing for bankruptcy of the investment bank Lehman Brothers in autumn 2008 can be seen as a symbol of this crisis. The US financial crisis also had an impact on the international economy. It led to the start of a recession, which also hit Finland. In 2009, the number of unemployed persons in Helsinki grew by 37 per cent compared to the previous year. Finland reacted to the economic downturn through financial stimulus policy (Kuismanen & Spolander 2011).

The downturn appeared to be short-lived, with unemployment rates falling once again in 2010–2011. However, the euro crisis and structural problems in the Finnish national economy led to a new downturn. Since 2012, unemployment has been rising. In 2013, the unemployment rate in Helsinki rose to 10 per cent. This translates to a figure of 32,800 unemployed persons at the end of 2013. At the end of 2015, the number of unemployed reached 41,700. However, at the end of 2016, the growth in the unemployment rate appears to have finally ceased, and the number of unemployed was in fact one per cent lower than a year before.

Increasing persistence of unemployment

The increase of prolonged unemployment periods has begun to cause more and more concern in recent years. People who have been unemployed for at least one consecutive year are considered long-term unemployed. In a weakening climate, the rate of long-term unemployment does not begin to rise until one year later than the rate of unemployment. This was the case in both 1992 and 2010. By the end of 1992, the number of long-term unemployed had risen from just over 400 persons in the previous year to over 6,200. In 2010, the number of long-term unemployed increased by 36 per cent compared to the previous year. The growth picked up speed in the subsequent years: in 2014, the number of persons who had been unemployed for over a year was 48 per cent higher than a year earlier. After that, however, the growth in the number of long-term unemployed has slowed down. In 2015, there were 30 per cent more long-term unemployed than in the previous year, while at the end of 2016, there were only 9 per cent more than a year prior.

The risk for long-term unemployment is higher among older unemployed individuals. They often have a very hard time finding employment, especially as the recession persists. Many people who lost their jobs in the 1990s did not manage to find new employment at all, with their unemployment not ending until they retired. This group included many people from the baby-boom generation, especially those born between 1945 and 1950, which can be seen in the large proportion of long-term unemployed in the overall unemployment rate even in the economically good years in the 2000s. As of the end of 2016, persons over 50 years of age made up around one third of all unemployed and nearly half of all long-term unemployed.

The number of long-term unemployed is even higher than it was in the mid-1990s. In December 2016, the number of long-term unemployed in Helsinki was 17,840, or as much as 43 per cent of all unemployed. In the year with the highest long-term unemployment rate in the 1990s, 1994, the number of long-term unemployed in Helsinki was 17,800.

The number of persons who have been unemployed for more than two years is growing faster than the overall number of long-term unemployed. Of all unemployed persons in Helsinki, nearly one fifth have been unemployed for over two years. In December 2016, the average duration of unemployment in Helsinki was 67 weeks. In autumn 2009, the corresponding figure was 31 weeks.

THE DEFINITION OF STRUCTURAL UNEMPLOYMENT

Total structural unemployed = end-of-month total number of long-term unemployed, repeatedly unemployed, those who have become unemployed after a labour market measure and those transferring from labour market services to another corresponding service.

- **Long-term unemployed** are those continuously registered as unemployed jobseekers for at least one year.
- The **repeatedly unemployed** have been registered as unemployed jobseekers for more than 12 months in the last 16 months. This excludes the aforementioned group of continuously long-term unemployed.
- Persons who have remained unemployed after a labour market measure include those people who, over the past 12 months, have been employed, in a work practice/working life training programme, on a probationary period, in labour market training or coaching, working as a temporary replacement for an employee on leave, in an elective study programme or in work rehabilitation activities, whose placement has ended 3 months before the calculation date and who were registered as unemployed jobseekers on the calculation date. These persons are not included in the variables for the long-term or repeated unemployed.
- Persons transferring from one service to another include those who have been employed, in a work practice/working life training programme, on a probationary period, in labour market training or coaching, working as a temporary replacement for an employee on leave, in an elective study programme or in work rehabilitation activities, who have been using the above-mentioned services over the past 16 months but whose placement has ended 3 months before the start of the service in effect on the calculation date. In addition, the person must have been registered as an unemployed jobseeker for more than 12 months or have been using the above-mentioned active services in the last 16 months.

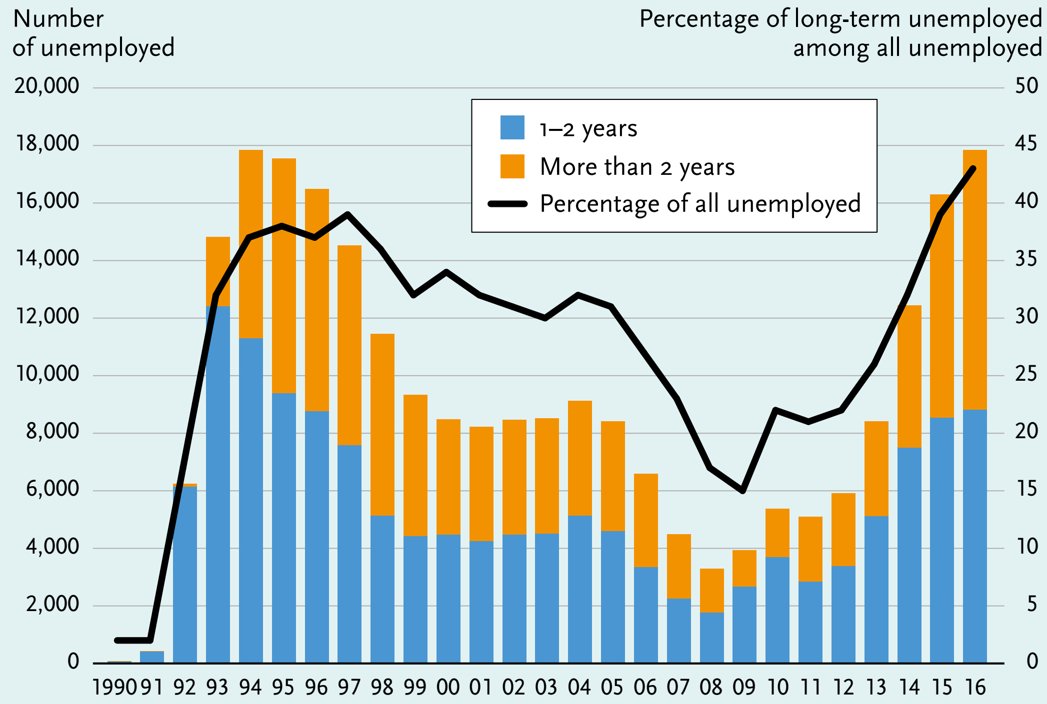


Figure 2. Long-term unemployed in Helsinki by duration of unemployment at year end between 1990 and 2016 (left axis), as well as percentage of long-term unemployed among all unemployed (right axis)

The difficult-to-employ jobseekers

The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment uses the concept of structural employment to describe those who are difficult to employ. In addition to the long-term unemployed, this category includes the repeatedly unemployed, people who have remained unemployed after a labour market measure and people who have transferred from one labour market service to another. The category of long-term unemployed includes those people who have been continuously unemployed for over one year. The repeatedly unemployed are those people who have been unemployed for at least one year over the past 16 months, meaning their unemployment has been temporarily interrupted due to a period of employment, studies or another reason, but has continued soon after.

This analysis provides a deeper picture of the persistence of unemployment. Comparable statistical data on those who are difficult to employ is available starting from 2006 (Figure 3). In November of 2016, there were a total of 25,900 persons in Helsinki who are considered difficult to employ. The corresponding figure for autumn 2006 was nearly 10,000 fewer. Of all

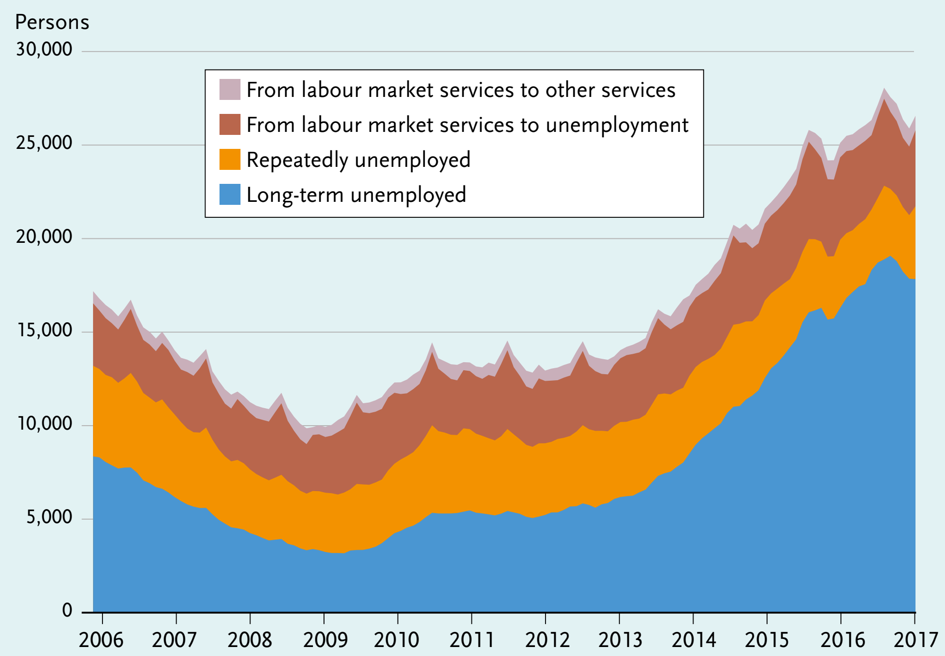


FIGURE 3. Structurally unemployed who are difficult to employ in Helsinki 2006–2016

> Many people who lost their jobs in the 1990s did not manage to find new employment at all, with their unemployment not ending until they retired. This group included many people from the baby-boom generation of 1945–1950.

unemployed in Helsinki, the proportion of those difficult to employ in 2016 is as high as 64 per cent. 46 per cent of long-term unemployed are aged 50 years or more, whilst among the structurally unemployed their share is only 39 per cent. The difference can be explained by the fact that older unemployed persons have access to a narrower range of employment services or atypical employment relationships than young people have. When the subcategories of structural unemployment are examined by age group, it can be seen that over 80 per cent of long-term unemployed are over 50 years of age (Figure 4).

THANKS TO the possibility of temporary employment, persons under 25 years of age are employed from time to time, and they are also more likely to participate in employment services; this can be seen in the high proportion of young people in the categories of repeatedly unemployed and unemployed after labour market services.

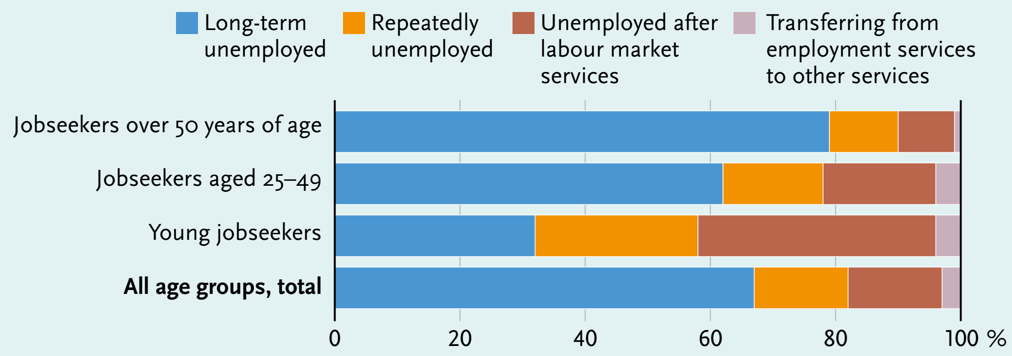


FIGURE 4. Distribution (%) of types of structural unemployment by age group at the end of 2016.

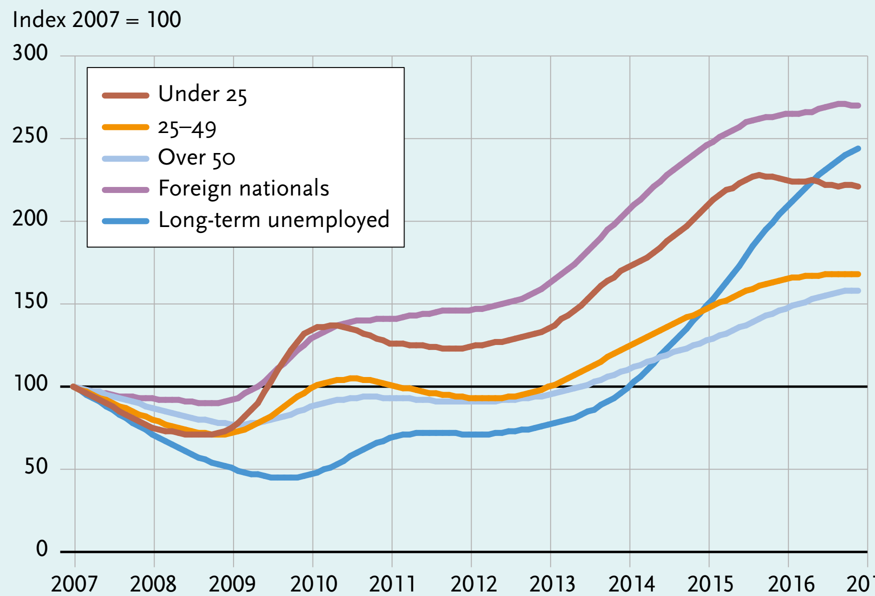


FIGURE 5. Structural changes in unemployment in Helsinki 2007–2016 (moving average of figures, index 2007 = 100).

THE NUMBER OF persons in Helsinki receiving income support and/or general housing allowance has been growing for several years (City of Helsinki Urban Facts 2015). It is to be expected that with time, persistent unemployment will be reflected in increased experiences of poverty. When unemployment persists, there is also a risk of path dependency, in which persistent unemployment leads to a decrease in professional competence. This leads to even greater difficulty in finding employment and removes the incentive to apply for jobs. Because some persistent unemployment apparently also indicates permanent changes in occupational structure and changing demand for skills, labour market policy must be able to react to these changes. There may not be demand for skills that were previously sought after, even in an improved economic climate.

An increase in youth unemployment can have consequences spanning a person's entire career. In this respect, the consequences of youth unemployment are an even more serious problem than that of unemployment among older people. Employment of those who have entered Finland as asylum seekers is also a significant challenge. Even before the events of autumn 2015, the unemployment rate among foreign nationals had grown faster than that of the other groups in the comparison (Figure 5).

The structural features of unemployment in Helsinki have been described above. Particularly noteworthy is the growth in long-term unemployment. The depression of the 1990s already demonstrated that even a strong upswing will not necessarily solve all unemployment-related problems. Along with the decrease in quality of life experienced by the unemployed, the increase in structural unemployment poses a significant problem for financing the operations of the public sector. Maintaining the Nordic welfare state requires a high employment rate (Kiander & Lönnqvist 2002). In addition, it must be recognised that the impact of economic growth on increased employment and decreased unemployment may be less significant than before due to factors such as changes in the structure of the labour market and technological development (Bank of Finland 2012).

Sources of statistical data:

The unemployment data are based on the employment statistics of Ministry of Employment and the Economy. The data have been obtained from the StatFin database of Statistics Finland and the Toimiala Online information service of the MEE, as well as from a special order from the City of Helsinki Urban Facts.

Henrik Lönnqvist is Research Director at the City of Vantaa. **Minna Salorinne** is Researcher at City of Helsinki Urban Facts.

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PEKKA KAIKKONEN

Employment of those who have entered Finland as asylum seekers is also a significant challenge.

CITY OF HELSINKI / JUSSI HELLSTEN

PASI SAUKKONEN

Immigrants and employment in Helsinki

Employment is often considered an important indicator for immigrant integration. Entering the labour market has great significance for people moving to Finland, but also for the Finnish society and, at local level, for the municipality.

Acquiring and retaining work enables immigrants to earn an income and stabilise their economic situation. It also helps them take their place in the community and the new home country: to learn the language and cultural practices, to understand how the municipality and Finnish society work, as well as how to build social relationships and networks.

Labour market outcomes have a direct effect on how much the migrants to Finland and Helsinki pay in taxes and how much social welfare they need. Their integration into the labour market is thus an essential element in the impact of international migration on the public economy, both nationally and locally. (See, for example, VATT working group 2014; Busk et al. 2016).

This article examines the labour market entry of immigrants in Helsinki – in other words, foreign-born people who have moved to Finland – using register-based employment statistics. As applicable, the situation in Helsinki will be compared to the employment situation of immigrants in Espoo and Vantaa.[1]

Immigrants in the labour market

An extensive OECD and European Union report on immigrant integration based on a range of statistics was published in 2015. The report also examined the status of foreign-born people in the labour markets from a variety of perspectives. (OECD/European Union 2015, 79–128.)

1) The author would like to express his warmest thanks to Niklas Mäki, who provided assistance in the processing of the statistical material.

According to the report, the employment gap between the immigrants and the native-born was not significant. That said, immigrant men were much more likely to be in employment than women, and employment in the EU Member States was lower than in other OECD countries. Foreign-born people often work under short-term contracts and less favourable working conditions than the native population.

The education level of immigrants also had importance. In many countries, immigrants with low qualifications found employment more often than native-born people with a similar level of education. Nevertheless, education obtained in the country of origin seems to facilitate finding employment, albeit that educated immigrants are often forced to settle with low-skilled jobs.

Migrants to Finland are more likely than native-born Finns to work in jobs that do not match their education or skills.

A person's reasons for migration also affect their chances of finding a job. Labour migrants often have a position waiting for them in the new country. It goes without saying that their situation in the labour market is different from humanitarian migrants. The majority of immigrants arrive for family reasons, and their capabilities and opportunities to gain employment are influenced by many background factors.

Since people move to different countries partially for different reasons, these disparities are mirrored by the employment of immigrants in each respective country. The United States and Canada operate careful selection systems for potential immigrants, whereas Sweden has had a large share of humanitarian migrants in its inflows. The economic situation and development in each host country, along with the labour market structure, is also clearly reflected by the employment or unemployment of immigrants. (See e.g. Samers 2015, Forsander 2013 for an overview on the status of immigrants on the labour market.)

A range of studies and analyses of the national situation and developments have been conducted in different countries. For example, it has been observed in Sweden that foreign-born persons are in salaried employment far less often than their Swedish-born peers. The situation is worst for immigrants who have resided in Sweden for a short period of time, but also the long-term residents have lower employment rates than the Swedish-born peers. For people born in Africa and Asia, the employment situation is worse than for those born elsewhere. (Statistiska centralbyrån 2013, 47–62.)

Recent years have also seen some efforts to study the participation of immigrants in the Finnish labour market by means of various data sources and research methods. Immigrants' employment rates have often been found to be lower and unemployment rates higher. In addition, migrants to Finland are more likely than native-born Finns to work in jobs that do not match their education or skills (see, for example, Myrskylä & Pyykkönen 2014, 19–26). Between 2000 and 2011, the average employment rate of foreign language speakers (those registered as speaking a language other than Finnish, Swedish or Sami) was 15–17 percentage points lower than for speakers of domestic languages (ibid., 20).

Nonetheless, there were significant differences within the immigrant population. According to a study conducted for the Ministry of Employment and the Economy by Pellervo Economic Research and Ramboll, the employment situation has been best among Finnish residents of Estonian origin, whereas for those who have migrated from Asia or Africa, and especially for humanitarian reasons, the initial situation is more difficult (Eronen et al. 2014, 35–36). Furthermore, immigrants who arrived during the depression of the early 1990s have fared worse on the labour market than later arrivals (see, for example, VATT working group 2014, 20).

The number of years in the host country has a positive effect on immigrants' employment situation.

The number of years spent in the host country has had a positive effect on the immigrants' employment situation, particularly so for women's employment rates. During the first year in the host country, the employment rate for men has been significantly higher than for women, but when migrants stay longer in Finland, the improvement is greater for women. Age also matters: employment has been found to improve approximately until the age of 37, after which it turns to a steady decline. (Eronen et al. 2014, 37–40; on the status of men and women see also STM 2016.)

The integration of immigrants has also been examined in the so-called UTH Survey carried out by Statistics Finland, National Institute for Welfare and Health, and the Finnish Institute for Occupational Health, in which face-to-face interviews were conducted to determine immigrants' reasons for moving to Finland, education, language skills, labour market position, well-being, health and perceived safety (Nieminen, Sutela & Hannula 2015).

A related sub-study focussing on employment found out that the employment rate of the immigrant population was approximately ten percentage points lower than that of native peers in 2014 (63.7 and 73.7 per cent among 20–64 year-olds) (Larja & Sutela 2014, 72). The difference between immigrants and the native population is largely explained by the fact that women with foreign background remain outside the labour market as stay-at-home mothers or are unable to find employment. (Ibid., 73–74.)[2]

The UTH Survey also provided more detailed information on the educational background of immigrants. Register-based education data is available in Finland only insofar as the qualification following comprehensive school has been completed in Finland or a formal recognition for a qualification acquired abroad has been granted. Although immigrants were found to be more educated than the register data would suggest, the proportion of those with only basic education is much higher than in the native population. In Finland, those with low or no education are generally in a poorer employment situation, and thus the low level of education among immigrants affects their employment situation in an adverse way. (Ibid., 81.)

Immigrants in Helsinki

Against this background, we can move on to examine the employment situation of

2) According to the authors, the difference between the results of register-based studies and interview studies is due to the fact that the employment statistics apply stricter criteria for defining employment, thus excluding many immigrants from the employed population.

Unemployment rates vary significantly between different countries and regions of origin. People with Chinese, Estonian or Indian background are able to find work with relative ease.

CITY OF HELSINKI

TABLE 1. Information on the immigrant population in Helsinki in 2014. Source: Statistics Finland[1]

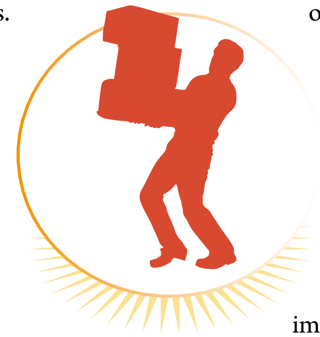
1) The category 'Other EU2004 countries' refers to the states that joined the European Union in 2004, excluding Estonia, which was examined separately. The category 'North America, South America or other' also includes Australia and New Zealand.

Country or region of origin	Persons with a foreign background in Helsinki in 2014	Proportion of men	Proportion of 20–64-year-olds	Persons who have lived in Finland for five years or less
Western Europe	7 173	67 %	88 %	42 %
Russia or former Soviet Union	15 364	38 %	80 %	24 %
Estonia	11 152	46 %	84 %	52 %
Other EU2004 countries	2 720	47 %	88 %	43 %
Other Eastern European countries	1 440	56 %	90 %	24 %
North Africa	1 679	76 %	93 %	31 %
Rest of Africa	8 806	58 %	84 %	33 %
Western Asia	6 041	65 %	87 %	40 %
South Asia	5 313	63 %	85 %	47 %
Far East	6 926	38 %	90 %	43 %
North America, South America or other	4 584	60 %	87 %	51 %
Total	**71 198**	**52 %**	**85 %**	**39 %**

immigrants in Helsinki. The term immigrant will be used to refer to persons who were born abroad and have a foreign background. According to Statistics Finland's 'origin classification', the term foreign background refers to persons whose both parents or the only known parent were born abroad, as well as those born abroad but with no information on parents available. Persons with Finnish background are those with at least one parent born in Finland.

Thus defined, the number of immigrants stood at 71,198 in 2014. Their number and relative share of the population has increased considerably in the 2000s. In 2000, the number of immigrants was less than 3,000 while their proportion of the population stood at approximately five per cent. In 2014, immigrants constituted approximately 12 per cent of the population. (Statistics Finland)

The most prominent countries of origin[3] were Russia or the former Soviet Union[4] (15,364), Estonia (11,152) and Somalia[5] (4,564). The overwhelming majority consisted of people in working age: 84.2 per cent were aged between 20 and 64. Thirty-nine per cent of the immigrants had lived in Finland for five years or less, and fewer than one-third (29 per cent) were over 15 years of age. The numbers of men and women were roughly equal, but the gender structure varies substantially between countries and regions of origin. The average time that people have resided in Finland also varies within immigrant groups. (Table 1.)



Employment of immigrants in Helsinki

The information on the main type of activity of the population is based on data from a variety of registers. The population is divided into the economically active (salaried employees, self-employed and the unemployed) and economically inactive (people between 0 and 14 years of age, students and schoolchildren, pensioners, and persons who are economically inactive for another reason, such as conscripts and stay-at-home mothers). The reference point in time is the last week of the year.

Based on information from the Population Register, there were 62,901 immigrants aged between 15 and 64 in Helsinki in 2014. Slightly less than half (48.6 per cent) were employed and some 17 per cent were unemployed. In the native population of Helsinki, the corresponding percentages were 70.8 and 7.6. Viewed in this way, the employment situation among immigrants was significantly poorer than that of the native-born population, and the difference was most pronounced for those in employment.

Nevertheless, there is a marked difference between immigrants and the native population in terms of economic activity and inactivity. In 2014, there were more pensioners in Helsinki among the native population (5.9 per cent) than immigrants (2.1 per cent), but more than one fifth (22.7 per cent) of foreign-born persons aged between 15 and 64 fell within the group 'economically inactive for other reasons'. Of Finnish-born residents, less than five per cent were classified in that group.

Some of the economically inactive immigrants are stay-at-home mothers and a small proportion are persons in military or non-military service. In addition to this, the group most probably includes people who no longer live in Finland. The residential population of Helsinki, which encompasses people residing permanently in actual housing units, includes far fewer immigrants than the number recorded in the Population Register. As mentioned above, the statistical definitions may also sometimes fail to identify the main type of activity of many immigrants.

The different employment situations of the native and immigrant populations remain, however, evident also if we limit our analysis to the workforce (Figure 1). In 2014, 83.9 per cent of the native members of the workforce in Helsinki were salaried employees while 6.3 per cent were self-employed. The unemployment rate stood at 9.7 per cent. Among immigrants, 67.1 per cent were salaried employees, 7.4 self-employed and 25.5 per cent were unemployed.

3) Country of origin primarily refers to the biological mother's country of birth. If there is no knowledge of the country of birth of either parent, the country of origin for foreign-born persons is the country where these persons were born.
4) In this context, the former Soviet Union does not include the Baltic countries.
5) Somalia is categorised under 'Rest of Africa' in the table.

Figure 1. Main type of activity of economically active immigrants aged 15–64 years in Helsinki in 2014, by country of origin. Source: Statistics Finland

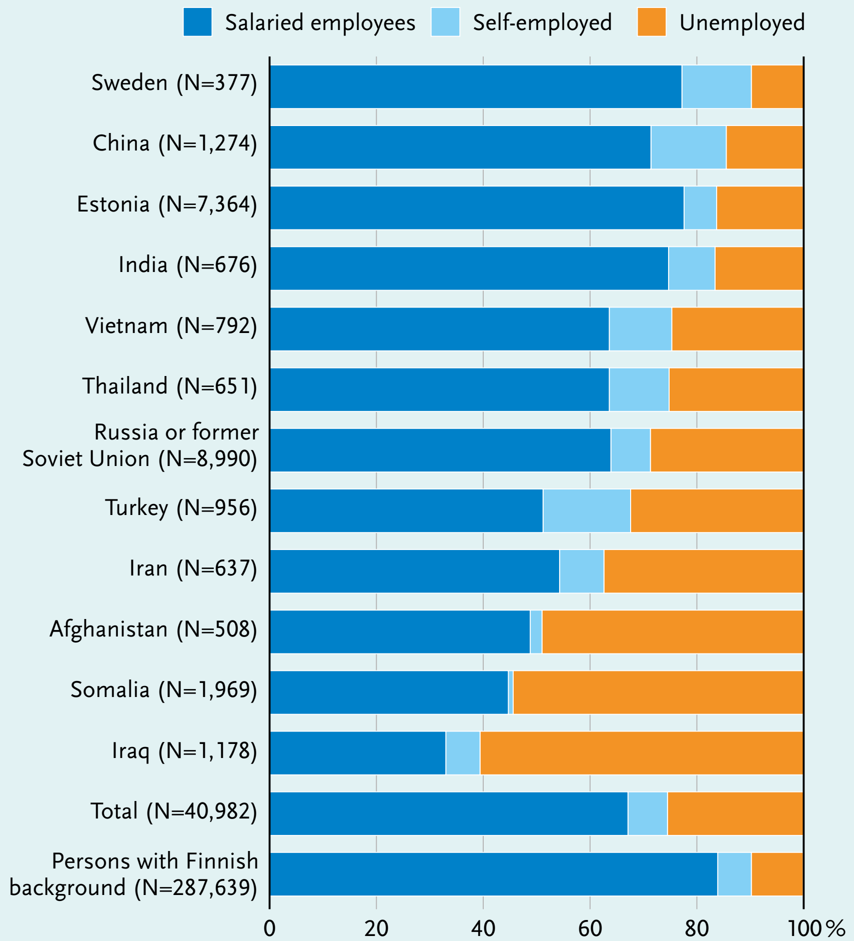


Figure 2. Main type of activity of immigrants aged 15–64 residing in Helsinki (%), by number of years spent in Finland. Source: Statistics Finland.

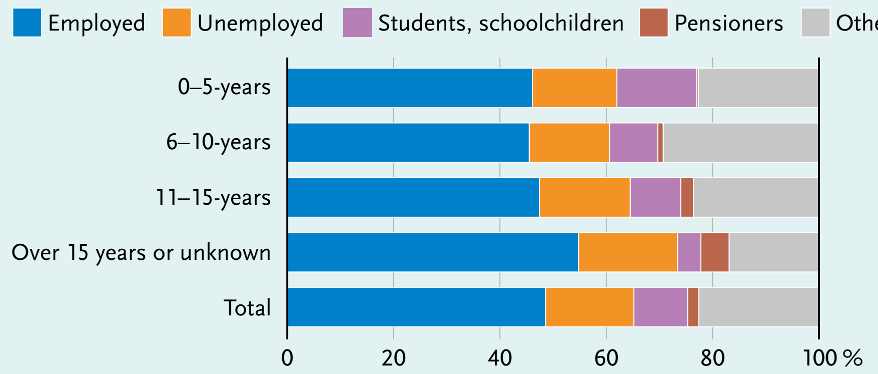
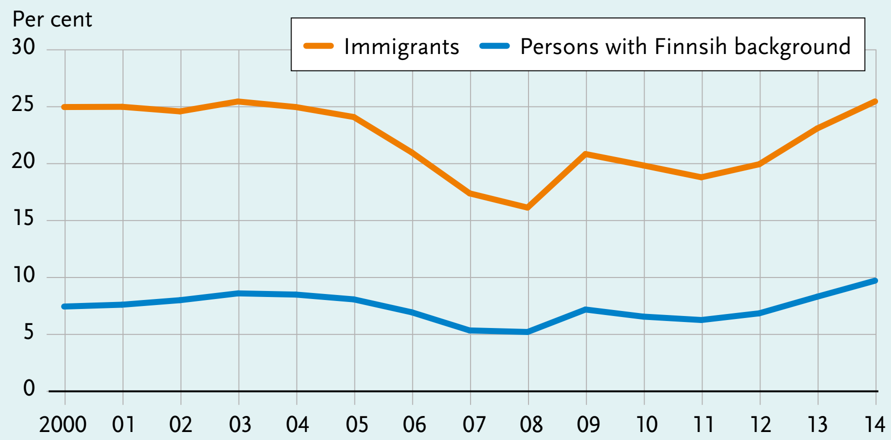


Figure 3. Unemployment rate of 15–64-year-old immigrants and native residents in Helsinki in 2000–2014 (%). Source: Statistics Finland

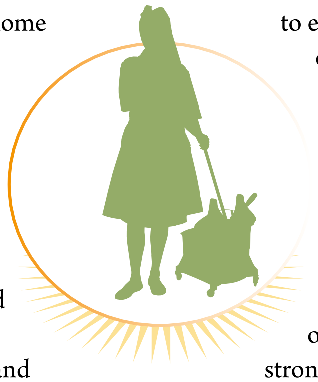


The unemployment rates vary significantly between groups from different countries and regions of origin. The employment situation of people with a Swedish background is roughly equal to that of the native population, and people with a Chinese, Estonian and Indian background also are able to find work with relative ease. Among these three groups, the proportion of unemployed people in the workforce is higher than in the native population, but the difference is not substantial.

By contrast, approximately half or more of the 15–64-year-old Afghan, Somali and Iraqi immigrants in Helsinki were unemployed in the last week of 2014. The situation was worst for those with an Iraqi background, as only slightly more than one-third (39.4 per cent) was either a salaried employee or entrepreneur at the time. It should be noted, however, that in 2014 there were only 1,178 people with an Iraqi background in the workforce in Helsinki.

The time spent in Finland has a favourable effect on a person's employment situation (Figure 2). Of the 15–64-year-old immigrants who had lived in Finland for more than 15 years, 54.8 per cent were employed in Helsinki in 2014. By contrast, for those who had stayed in Finland for five years or less, the figure stood at 46.1 per cent. The employment situation has improved more for women than men. In fact, the unemployment rate of women who have lived in Finland for over 15 years is lower than for men after a similarly long stay.

Among the largest groups based on country or region of origin, Somali immigrants, in particular, show signs of positive development. Of the 15–64-year-olds of Somali origin who have spent more than 15 years in Finland, approximately 31 per cent were employed in 2014. For those who had lived in Finland for five years or less, the employment rate stood at 11 per cent. The group that had stayed in Finland longer included fewer students and schoolchildren and people who were economically inactive for other reasons. Of the Somali immigrants who had lived in Finland for no more than five years, over one third (38.3 per cent) were economically inactive for other reasons. This indicates that stay-at-home mothers make the transition from home to employment over time.



Development of immigrant employment

The development of the employment situation has followed the general economic trends in Finland (Figure 3). Between 2003 and 2008, the unemployment rate of foreign-born 15–64-year-olds dropped in Helsinki, but since then the development has been less favourable, especially in recent years. The ups and downs of the economy affect the position of immigrants in the labour market much more than that of the native population. During an upward trend, the employment situation of immigrants improved more than the labour market position of Finnish-born residents. Correspondingly, the unemployment rate of immigrants has increased more in recent years than for the native population.

At the same time, we should bear in mind that these statistical analyses have been made using annual cross-sectional statistical data. International migration affects the size and composition of the immigrant group and thus also its development in the labour market (cf., for example, VATT working group 2014, 19). Recent years have seen particularly strong increase in migration of people with Estonian origin (cf. Vuori 2016). Since many of these immigrants had a job waiting for them in the Helsinki region, their presence has been a factor in the increased employment figures. Even though unemployment among immigrants has remained high, it is good to remember that the number of employed immigrants in the Helsinki labour market in 2014 was three times higher than in 2000.

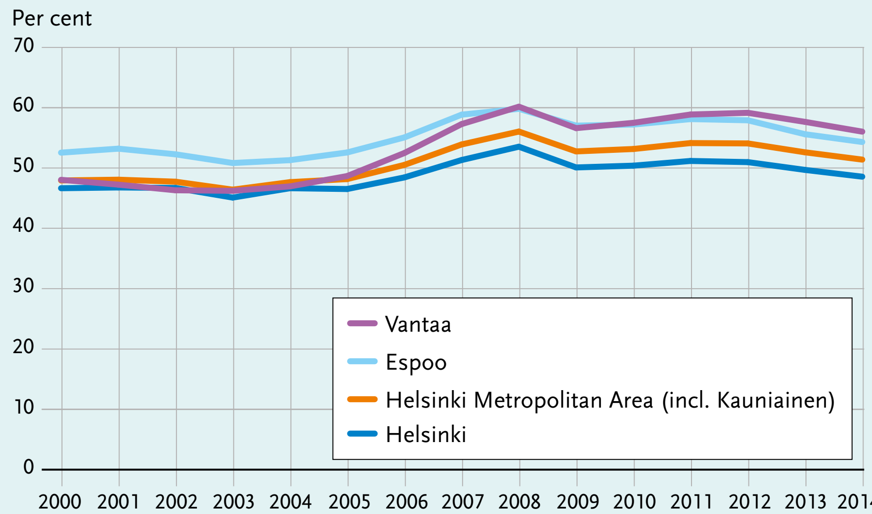
The immigration of Estonians is likely to explain at least partially why the employment situation of the immigrant residents of Espoo and Vantaa is better than in Helsinki. More people, relatively speaking, have moved from abroad into the other two cities than Helsinki in recent years, and the inflow of Estonians has been particularly strong.[6] From the perspectives of both employment and unemployment, the situation in 2014 was less favourable in Helsinki than in the neighbouring cities (for employment rate, see Figure 4). The employment development for immigrants in Vantaa particularly positive between 2004 and 2008.

Immigrant employment by sector

Immigrants are employed in a wide range of sectors in Helsinki. In 2013, less than one fifth (17.1 per cent) of all immigrants in Helsinki worked in administrative and support service activities, which include general, routine and often short-term support services for business. The next most common sectors were health and social welfare services (12.9 per cent) and accommodation and food services (11.0 per cent). Overall, the sectoral structure of the Helsinki labour market is dominated by service industries; thus, it is understandable that immigrants also find employment in these sectors.

6) In addition to migration to Finland from abroad, the statistics cover migration within Finland and the Helsinki Metropolitan Area.

Figure 4. Employment rate of 15–64-year-old immigrants in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area in 2000–2014 (%). Source: Statistics Finland



There are, however, significant differences within the immigrant population when looked at by region of origin (Figure 5). What is more, employment in different sectors is strongly gendered. Almost one fourth[7] of the Estonian-born worked in the administrative and support services sector (more than one third of women), while nearly one fifth worked in construction (almost 40 per cent of men). Nearly one third of employed Somali-born immigrants worked in health and social services (almost two thirds of women), whereas one fourth worked in transport and storage (almost 40 per cent of men). Nearly half of those born in Turkey were employed in accommodation and food services, and slightly over one fourth of Indian immigrants worked in the information and communications sector.

The way the Finnish immigrant population is distributed across industries also reflects the considerable differences in labour market integration between the groups. The largest single occupational class among the foreign-born in 2013 was service and sales workers. This was followed by the group 'elementary occupations', which involves supportive tasks that are routine in nature or require little training or education. The third group was 'professionals', who usually have a high level of education and long work experience. Of the Turkish-born persons who were in employment in 2014, almost one in four were self-employed.

Conclusions

Information on the main activity of immigrants in Helsinki points to significant differences based on country of origin. For some groups, the situation in the labour market is roughly the same as for the native population. Other

7) This data is shown according to a person's country of birth instead of the country of origin. There are only minor differences compared to the numbers based on the country of origin classification.

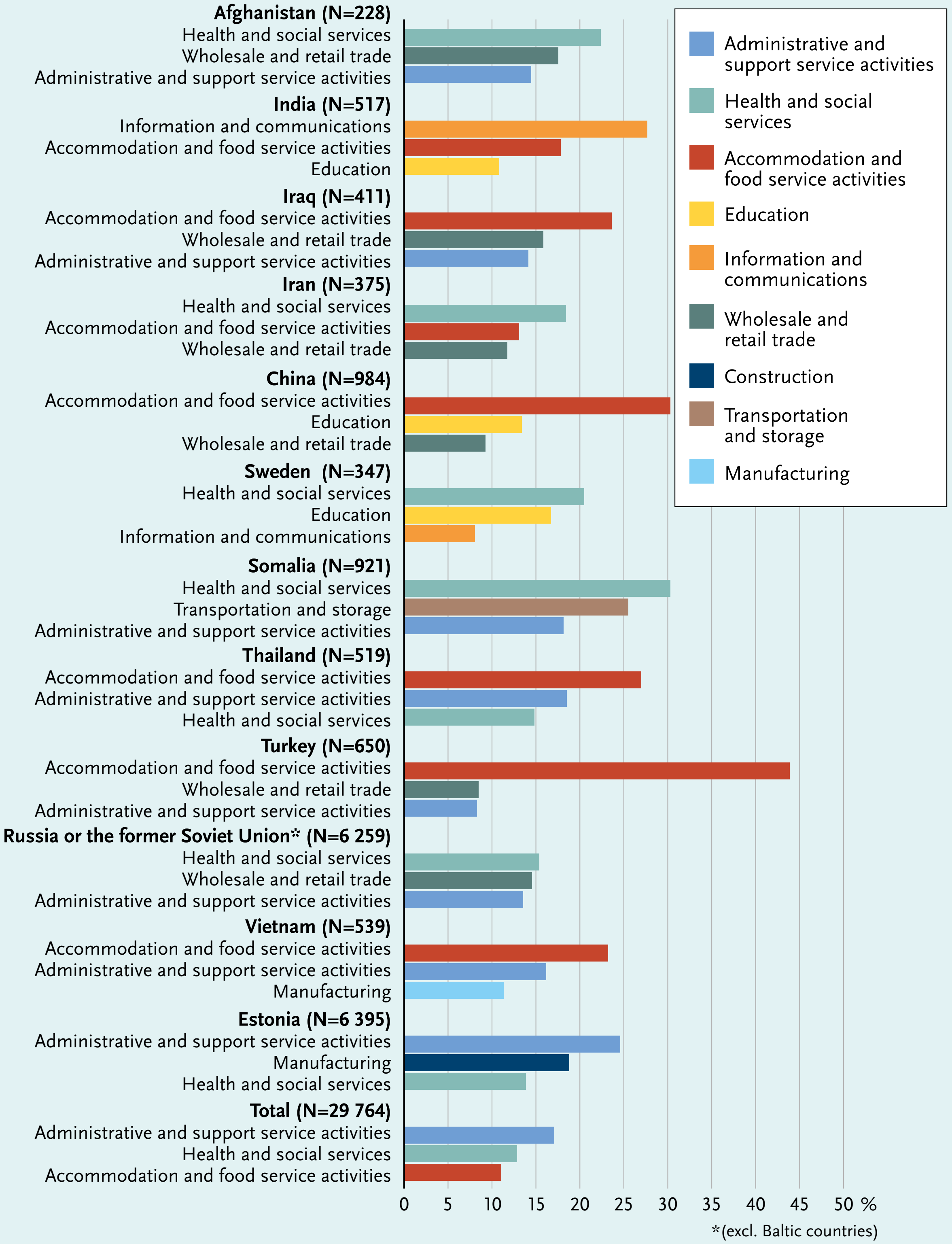


FIGURE 5. Largest sectors of activity among employed immigrants by country of birth, as a proportion of all employed persons within each immigrant group in Helsinki in 2013. Source: Statistics Finland.

> We should also think of ways for new Helsinki residents to engage themselves actively in the Finnish society and the local community, and to develop an identity as a resident of Helsinki.

immigrant groups typically face difficulties finding work, and subsequently unemployment is common.

THE REASONS for moving to Finland are understandably reflected in a person's position in working life. Labour migrants often manage to find employment, whereas humanitarian migrants have more difficulties. Those who move for family-related reasons are in different situations in life: some benefit from their spouse's knowledge, skills and contacts in their search for work, while others spend extended periods of time as stay-at-home mothers. Language proficiency, education and work experience are also of great importance, although reliable statistics on the effects of these factors are not available.

ECONOMIC TRENDS also have a clear impact on the likelihood of immigrants to find work. Integration policy measures also have a beneficial effect on their position in the labour market (see VATT working group 2014, 42–49). Nevertheless, it is difficult to find employment if the economy remains stagnant and the number of jobs in Helsinki does not increase. To ensure a swift entry into the labour market for humanitarian migrants, for instance, there should be an increase in the number of jobs that are accessible even without a strong command of Finnish or Swedish or supplementary studies.

FOR MANY PEOPLE who migrate to Finland, the path to the labour market is long and arduous. A possible result of global crises and conflicts is that Finland and Helsinki will receive growing numbers of people who struggle to find work reasonably quickly. Working and earning a livelihood is necessary not only for these individuals but also for Helsinki. In addition to promoting employment, we should also think of ways for new Helsinki residents to engage themselves actively in the Finnish society and the local community, as well as to develop an identity as a Finn and as a resident of Helsinki.

Pasi Saukkonen is a senior researcher at City of Helsinki Urban Facts. He also holds adjunct professorships in the University of Helsinki and the University of Jyväskylä.

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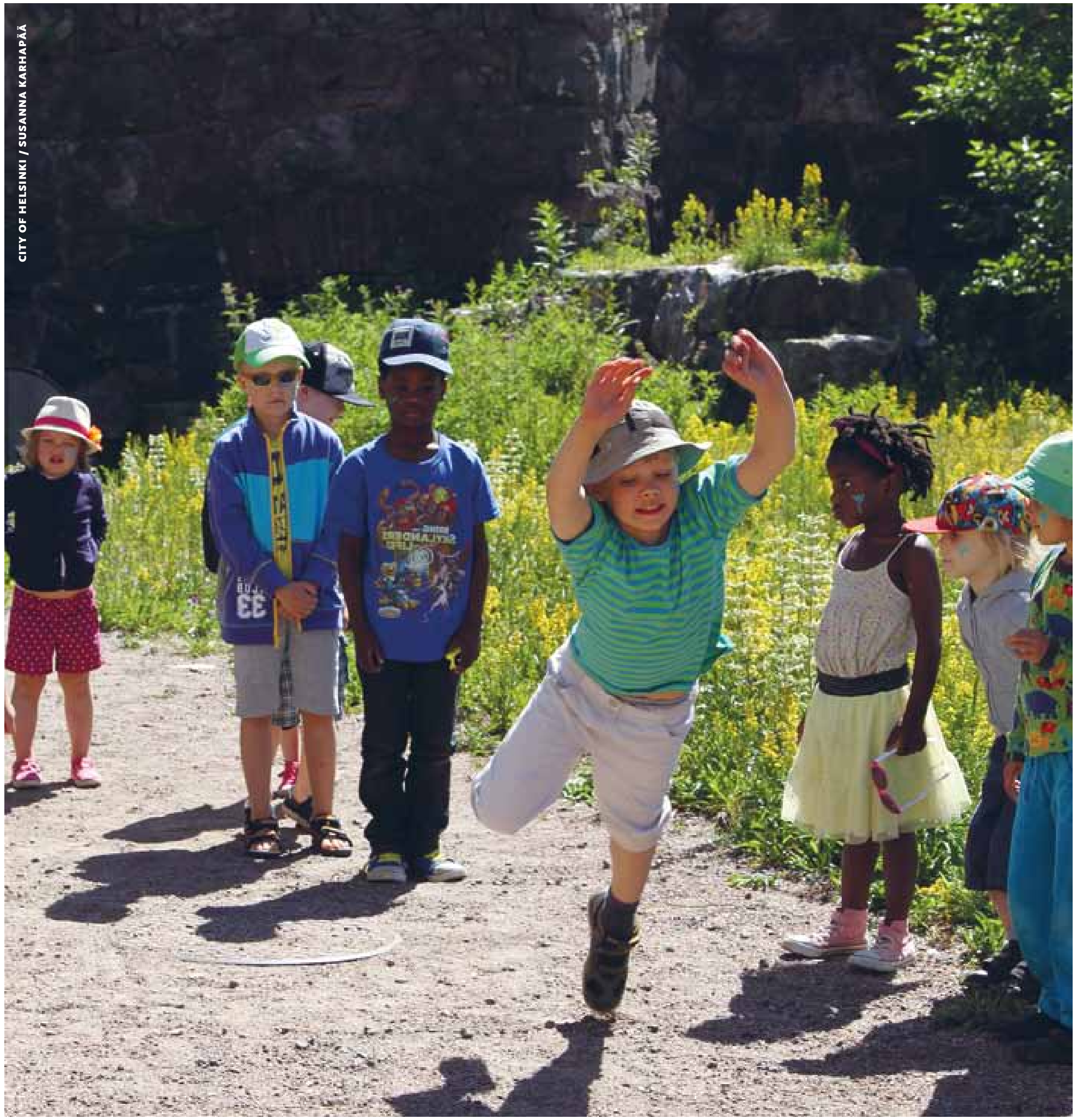
CITY OF HELSINKI / LAURI ROTKO



CITY OF HELSINKI / SUSANNA KARHAPÄÄ

Entry to homeownership among immigrants

in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area

In Finland and in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area, immigrants live in owner-occupied housing far less frequently than the native population (e.g. Vaattovaara et al. 2010, 218–220, 253; Castaneda & Kauppinen 2015; City of Helsinki Urban Facts 2015). A corresponding mismatch can also be seen in many other countries, particularly with regard to immigrants who have been in the country for a short period of time.

TIMO M. KAUPPINEN ★ KATJA VILKAMA

In this article, we will examine the rate at which immigrants who moved to the Helsinki Metropolitan Area between 1991 and 2005 entered homeownership and the factors that usually precede this transition. The analysis is limited to immigrants born outside of Western countries.[1] The results presented here are based on the core findings of our article, which was published in the Housing Studies journal and covered the topic more extensively (Kauppinen & Vilkama 2016). We will also compare the situation in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area with observations made regarding entry into homeownership among immigrants in the Stockholm and Copenhagen regions.

1 In this context, the term 'Western countries' refers to Western Europe (Europe not including Cold War era Eastern Bloc countries), America and Oceania. According to Kauppinen et al. (2015), Western immigrants enter homeownership nearly at the same rate as Finnish-born residents.

Buying a home can be viewed as an indication of a stable financial situation. Thus, the differences between immigrants and the native-born population in terms of entry into homeownership can be explained simply based on disparities in financial resources and family situations, especially as we know that immigrants often have trouble finding employment (Eronen et al. 2014). However, studies conducted in a variety of countries have revealed that this explanation falls short of covering all the gaps found in the prevalence of homeownership. Furthermore, expenditures other than housing (e.g. money transfers to the native country, investments in business operations), religious obstacles to taking out an interest-bearing loan or hopes of returning to one's home country may reduce the rate of making the transition (Virtanen & Vilkama 2008; Skovgaard Nielsen et al. 2015). The money left over from day-to-day expenses may also be invested in building a house in the original homeland instead of purchasing a home in the new country of residence (Huttunen 2006). The discrimination experienced by immigrants may also have an impact. Alongside labour market discrimination affecting financial resources (Larja et al. 2012), this may be manifested as fewer possibilities for securing a housing loan, for example. However, no research findings related to this aspect in Finland are available. In countries and cities with a large population of a specific ethnic group, various peer assistance networks and housing agencies established by the minorities have often emerged to facilitate the entry into homeownership (e.g. Søholt 2001, 345–350; Texeira 2006, 127).

Research data

The research material was register data ordered from Statistics Finland (Agreement TK-52-1520-10), pertaining to persons between 18 and 49 years of age who moved to the Helsinki Metropolitan Area (Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa, Kauniainen) from other parts of Finland or abroad. Housing tenure status within this group was monitored annually from the year of the move up to 2008 or the transition into homeownership. In other words, all the persons studied, including those born in Finland, had moved to the Metropolitan Area as adults. The register-based sample encompassed 23,063 Finnish-born people (10% sample) and 10,390 people born outside of Western countries (33% sample). The monitoring was discontinued before 2008 if the person in question moved outside the Uusimaa region or Finland. The research material covered only those who lived in Finland for at least two years after moving to the Helsinki Metropolitan Area.

The studied foreign-born immigrants were divided into six groups (see Figure 1). Among them, those who were born in the Soviet Union were included in the group for persons born in Russia. However, the group for immigrants born in Estonia included those born in Russia or the Soviet Union who were Estonian citizens or whose native language was Estonian upon moving to Finland. People who speak Finnish, Swedish or Sami were excluded from the foreign-born group, with the exception of Finnish-speaking persons born in Russia or Estonia. Finnish-born persons will hereinafter be referred to as the "native population".

This article's considerations only included persons who did not move into owner-occupied housing immediately upon moving to the Helsinki Metropolitan Area. Of the Finnish-born 18–49-year-olds who moved to the Helsinki Metropolitan Area between 1991 and 2005, 22 per cent moved directly into owner-occupied housing. For those born elsewhere, the proportion varied between 12 and 21 per cent, depending on the group. Therefore, these groups are not included in this article's considerations.

Clear differences in the rate of entry into homeownership

There are clear differences in the rate of entry into homeownership from other forms of housing between the native population and immigrants, on one hand, and between immigrant groups on the other hand. Figure 1 illustrates the proportional differences that these rates lead to over the course of 12 years of monitoring. In the figure, year 0 refers to the year of moving to the Helsinki Metropolitan Area.

Finnish-born immigrants made the transition to homeownership much faster than other groups: half of those who had originally lived in other housing moved into owner-occupied housing within seven years of migrating to the Helsinki Metropolitan Area (Figure 1). Among the immigrants, the fastest

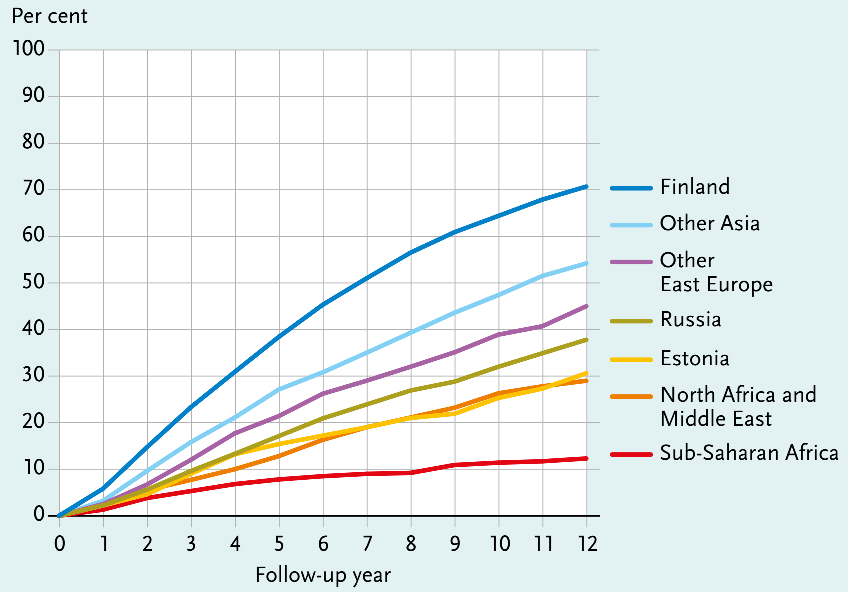


Figure 1. The cumulative proportion of those who entered homeownership according to the follow-up year and country of birth. The figure only includes persons who did not move into owner-occupied housing immediately upon moving to the Helsinki Metropolitan Area. (Source: Kauppinen & Vilkama 2015).

to enter homeownership were those born in Asia outside the Middle East. For them, the median duration was 11 years. The slowest to enter homeownership were those born in Sub-Saharan Africa. Among this group, moving to owner-occupied housing was so rare that in the 12 years of monitoring only 12 per cent made the transition.[2]

In Figure 1, those who moved away from Finland (or to other locations in Finland) have affected the results up until the year preceding the year of the move. Yet the results are fairly descriptive of those who stayed in Finland for a longer period: the results are almost identical, if the criterion for years spent in the country is at least six years after moving to the Helsinki Metropolitan Area.

The results are closely aligned with those of Stockholm and Copenhagen (Kauppinen et al. 2015). The differences in the rate of entry into homeownership between the native population and non-western immigrants in the Copenhagen, Helsinki and Stockholm regions are very similar (when the local cooperative type *bostadsrätt* housing is also included as a form of owner-occupied housing in the Stockholm region).

Financial resources especially important for explaining the gaps

When examining the rate of entry into homeownership between the groups determined according to country of birth, the simplest explanation for the differences would be that the slowest groups are the ones

2) The prior results of Linnanmäki-Koskela and Niska (2010) referred to smaller differences between groups, which may be connected to the immigrants who came to Finland between 1987 and 1993 being special in that they were among the first to arrive, the impact of selective emigration on the results of the study in question, or the fact that our study is limited to the Helsinki Metropolitan Area alone.

most lacking in financial resources. In fact, the differences between the groups in terms of employment and income level would suggest this to be the case. A stable employment history is significantly rarer in all of the examined immigrant groups than among Finnish-born people; it is rarest among those born in Africa and the Middle East. Within these groups, the proportion of follow-up years in which an individual was employed for at least a second consecutive year was approximately one fourth, while it was much higher – two thirds – among the native population. Furthermore, a household's average income level was much higher among the native population than immigrants. The lowest levels were found among those born in Africa and Asia. However, the employment and income level of Estonian-born immigrants was fairly high in relation to their slow transition into homeownership.

Table 1 shows the degrees to which the observed differences in entry into homeownership between immigrant groups and Finnish-born people can be explained by financial resources (employment and income level) and, more generally, by socio-demographic factors (the above-mentioned financial resources as well as age, gender, family situation, children[3]). This decomposition based on logistical regression analysis compares the average proportion of the Finnish-born people who entered homeownership in a single follow-up year (9.3 per cent) with the proportion predicted by the regression model if the Finnish-born group were given the same financial resources (or socio-demographic background) as in the immigrant groups. The difference between these proportions can be interpreted as the portion of the difference between the Finnish-born group and immigrant groups that can be explained by the differences in the backgrounds of these groups. In the table, this is indicated in the percentage points of the observed difference between the groups.

3) The differences of monitoring periods between 1991 and 2008 have also been taken into account here.

Table 1 shows that, with the exception of those born in Estonia, the majority of the differences with the native population can be explained based on the differences in the socio-demographic background. Therefore, if the immigrant and Finnish-born groups were equal in terms of income, employment and family structure, the modelling indicates that the differences in entry into homeownership would be less than half of the observed differences.

"The simplest explanation would be that the groups most lacking in financial resources move slowest.

The explained proportion is mostly linked to financial resources that explain 30–67 per cent of the difference found in the probability of entering homeownership. This explanation that hinges on financial resources is the least accurate for those born in Estonia; in other groups, more than half of the difference can be explained by the measured differences in financial resources. Demographic differences only help to explain the disparity between Estonians and Russians and those born in Finland, since these groups are older in terms of age structure.

The remaining gap to the native population is the largest with Estonians and those born in Sub-Saharan Africa. However, socio-demographic background factors fall short of explaining the full difference for any immigrant group.

Table 1. The difference that can be explained by socio-demographic background factors in the proportion of entry into homeownership (P) in a single year between non-Western-born immigrants and the native population. –Source: Kauppinen & Vilkama (2015).

Country of birth	P %	Difference with the native population, percentage points	Explained difference %		Remaining difference, percentage points
			Financial resources	Total	
Sub-Saharan Africa	1,3	8,0	54	55	3,5
North Africa and the Middle East	2,9	6,4	67	66	2,2
Estonia	3,0	6,2	30	43	3,5
Russia	3,8	5,5	56	68	1,7
Other East Europe	4,7	4,6	57	57	2,0
Other Asia	6,0	3,3	64	57	1,4

When examining the links between the background factors and entry into homeownership, it is apparent that the household income level is much less likely to predict entry into homeownership among immigrants born outside the Western countries than among the Finnish-born group. In other words, higher income does not increase entry into homeownership as frequently among immigrants as the native population. By contrast, the connection between employment and the transition to homeownership is roughly at the same level. Among both the Finnish-born and immigrant groups, moving in with a spouse is an important factor increasing the likelihood of entering homeownership, but the birth of the firstborn child is the factor that increases the likelihood the most among the native population.

The connections between the background factors and entry into homeownership are very similar in the Stockholm and Copenhagen regions (Kauppinen et al. 2015). Among non-Western immigrants, income level is less likely to affect entry into homeownership (and least likely among those born in Africa and the Middle East in all three metropolitan areas), and changes in the family situation are less likely to influence the entry among non-Western immigrants than the native population.

Living in social rental housing is linked to a lower rate of entry into homeownership among both immigrants and the native population, but in the Helsinki region, this connection is stronger among immigrants (Kauppinen et al. 2015). When comparing the Nordic capitals, immigrants in the Helsinki region are particularly strongly concentrated in the social rental housing sector (Skifter Andersen et al. 2015). Despite this, non-Western immigrants are less likely to reside in disadvantaged neighbourhoods than in other Nordic capitals (Wessel et al. 2016). This may be due to the policy of social mixing that is implemented in the Helsinki region to balance the differences between neighbourhoods (Skifter Andersen et al. 2015).

The significance of having a Finnish spouse for entry into homeownership would be an interesting topic for a further study. This was not covered in the studies described here, but the data indicates that 30 per cent of non-Western immigrants who moved to owner-occupied housing did so in a year during which they were living with a Finnish-, Swedish- or Sami-speaking spouse (7 per cent of the moves took place specifically in the year when the persons moved in with their spouse). In other follow-up years, 16 per cent had a spouse who spoke Finnish, Swedish or Sami.

Conclusions

The results indicate a year-by-year increase in entry into homeownership among Finnish-born and other individuals who moved to the Helsinki Metropolitan Area between 1991 and 2005 (cf. Linnanmäki-Koskela & Niska 2010). However, considerable differences were found between the groups, with Finnish natives being faster to make the transition.

THE MAJORITY of the disparities between immigrant groups and native Finns can be explained by the differences in socio-demographic structure, particularly in terms of financial resources. The significance of years spent in the country, which has been emphasised in previous international and Finnish studies (e.g. Linnanmäki-Koskela & Niska 2010), is likely to be mostly connected to an increase in financial resources.

THE DATA USED for the present study extends back to the 1990s when work-related immigration was less common than in the 2000s. Moreover, in the early 1990s, Finland was in the throes of a deep depression. These factors may partially explain why differences in financial resources account for such a large portion of the gap between immigrants and the native population in terms of entry into homeownership. The integration of immigrants into the labour market has been a challenge in Finland, which Sarvimäki (2011) links with the strict labour market regulation and the comprehensive social security system (see also Yijälä 2016).

THAT SAID, the differences in financial resources do not explain the full scope of the disparity, and income level is less likely to affect entry into homeownership among immigrants than the native population. Particularly with those born in Estonia and Sub-Saharan Africa, income level has little effect on the transition. As regards those born in Estonia, this may be due to the desire to maintain close ties to the original homeland, as a result of which some may choose to invest savings there instead of Finland. Also for immigrants born in Sub-Saharan Africa, approximately half of whom come from Somalia, the reason may be the habit of sending money back home, the impacts of discrimination, religious obstacles for taking out an interest-bearing loan or the possibility of eventually moving out of Finland.

THE CONNECTION between social rental housing and a lower rate of entry into homeownership can be interpreted as an indication that social rental housing can be viewed as an alternative means for securing a stable housing situation (cf. Skovgaard Nielsen et al. 2015). From this standpoint, the social rental housing sector provides secure living conditions even in groups in which purchasing a home may be difficult. However, this benefit decreases or disappears altogether if the possibility to continue living in social rental housing is denied as the person's income increases (Prime Minister's Office 2015).

IF THE SOCIETY succeeds in improving the financial situation of immigrants by means of labour policy, for instance, such improvement can also serve to efficiently tear down many obstacles in their housing careers. This assumption seems reasonable on the basis of our research results. Since confidence in continued secure living lowers the threshold of entry into homeownership, many other factors, such as immigration policy and the general social climate, can impact the speed of entry into homeownership.

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Timo M Kauppinen is Research Manager at the National Institute for Health and Welfare (THL).
Katja Vilkama is Research Director at City of Helsinki Urban Facts.

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CITY OF HELSINKI / JUSSI HELLSTEN

PASI MÄENPÄÄ ★ MAIJA FAEHNLE

CIVIC ACTIVISM AS A RESOURCE FOR CITIES

A **significant social change** is taking place in civil society in Helsinki and neighbouring cities. Activities based on networks and peer-to-peer production are emerging due to the internet and social media, inspiring new forms of agency. This leads to changes in civil society and thereby also changes in cities and how they are planned and developed. Citizens are liberated and empowered to organise and act as both individuals and communities without the authorities as a middleman. The question is not of participating in decision making in society, but of acting directly to improve the urban environment, its spaces, its service and cultural offering and its operationality.

Thanks to digitalisation and the internet, cities have become an even stronger growth platform for communities, functions and services. Social media is more than just a tool for communication, it is a form of organisation and operation for citizens (see Idström 2016). It is leading the change in civil action towards more active and community-based consumption, as well as networked-based self-integration of urban communities (see Wallin 2015). In a shared economy, collaborative consumption is not limited to obtaining and using goods. It also means participating in the production and circulation of goods and services (e.g. Botsman & Rogers 2010, Lindblom & Mustonen 2016).

Together, social media, collaborative consumption and network-like development lead to the simultaneous development of local and virtual groups and modes of action, which challenge the urban organisations and structures inherited from the industrial world. City-dwellers work together with others to create a city that reflects themselves and their values. These actions are called urban civic activism. Acts of urban civic activism are united by their use of the internet as a platform, which maximises the opportunities for supply and demand to meet, while also minimising costs and enabling the rapid growth of new modes of operation.

The term "activism" has been used to describe typically reactive social movements and actions aimed at political influencing, such as demonstrations and expression of conflicts. The English term "urban civic activism" is still often used in this context (e.g. Jacobsson 2015). Recent developments appear to have broadened the field of activism to include not only the reactive but also the proactive. According to our definition, urban civic activism is

- collective activities organised by citizens themselves on their own terms, usually outside of non-governmental organisations
- of an initiative-taking nature, proactive and constructive
- directed primarily at action, rather than political influencing or the expression of a political opinion
- relies on a do-it-yourself spirit and commons way of thinking
- utilises the internet and social media in its activities and organising
- and happens either in an urban space or is related to a city and its environment.

Governments and above all the city authorities should recognise the field of urban civic activism and the underlying functional and operational change in civil society, as it affects encounters between the administration and citizens as well as the social and economic dynamic of the city. The most important thing is to recognise the possibility to utilise the new activeness of citizens as a resource. The goal of activists to achieve an ecological, collaborative, fair and functional city largely correspond to the strategic goals of the City of Helsinki organisation.

Here we present forms of urban civic activism primarily in Helsinki in order to describe the phenomenon and classify its dimensions with the goal of understanding the scope, connections and meanings of activism. We suggest preliminary conclusions regarding what we feel should be done in the city administration[1].

Events and spaces: spontaneous culture and activity

When talking about urban civic activism, the first things that may come to mind are city events like Restaurant Day and Cleaning Day, as well as buildings and spaces used by activists in a new way, such as the Lapinlahden Lähde and Herttoniemen Taukotila spaces (Figure 1). When it comes to events, the city administration is ideally involved in developing them, cooperating with activists and aiming for a "one-stop shop" policy for granting event permits. The value of events for both city-dwellers and travellers has been understood by the city authorities, although Restaurant Day, which would go on to be an award-winning event, was originally created as rebelling against city regulations.

The Cleaning Day event – in which anyone can offer their secondhand items for sale in public spaces – involves exchanging goods among peers according to an ecological way

1) The article is based on the Kaupunkiaktivismi metropolin voimavarana ('Urban civic activism as a resource') research project (2015–2017, see kaupunkiaktivismi.wordpress.com (in Finnish)). Funded by: The Helsinki Metropolitan Region Urban Research Program, the Housing Finance and Development Centre of Finland, the Uusimaa Regional Fund of the Finnish Cultural Foundation, the Heikki von Hertzen Fund, the Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of Finance. Research partners: Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa, Lahti, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of the Environment, the Housing Finance and Development Centre of Finland, the Finnish Environment Institute, the Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities.

Figure 1. Citizens bring together their resources to the benefit of the community with activities such as turning spaces into meeting places. One example of successful cooperation between local actors and city authorities was the crowdfunded creation of the Taukotila space at the Herttoniemi metro station in summer 2016.

FIGURE 2. Citizens are more and more likely to purchase food directly from producers through networks such as REKO food groups. In the Puotila district, a school courtyard was used for a REKO food distribution event thanks to the headmaster who was sympathetic to the activities.

of thinking. A motivation of environmental awareness can be found in many, if not most, forms of urban civic activism, even if this is not overtly stated. Community is often mentioned as both the content and the goal of urban civic activism activities.

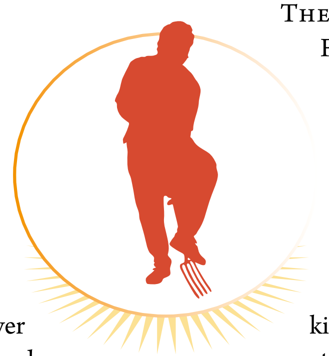
A COMMUNITY can be born through social media, but it also needs physical spaces. When spaces are adopted into public use, the city authorities often confront criticism from activists. The ways in which the local authorities administer the use of spaces owned by the City of Helsinki are not perceived as supportive of spontaneous activities; instead, the activists feel these practices sometimes act even as a barrier to meaningful use of space. However, the city real estate department works within its mandate and is dependent on the activities of other administrative bodies, whereas pop-up communities are not easy contracting parties from the perspective of legislation and economic accountability. In order to better serve the space-related needs of urban civic activism, the mission and operational culture of the city's real estate authorities should be developed in the framework of political and administrative decision-making.

Economy in transition: peer-to-peer services, crowdfunding and new business

The significance of urban civic activism for the renewal of the economy and markets is related to changes in the supply and demand of goods and services, work, exchange systems and the

conditions for the development of all of the above. Activists maintain virtual and physical meeting forums which function as innovation platforms, create opportunities to test business ideas through city events, build platforms and operating models for exchanging services and recycling, renting and borrowing goods, shift the provision of food from market giants to direct trade platforms and develop the use of virtual currencies.

EXAMPLES OF citizens' network-based operational models, known as the sharing, peer-to-peer or citizen economy, include Facebook flea market groups and REKO local food groups and food co-ops (image 2). According to a study, in just over a year and a half, Finns purchased goods for around 500 euros through peer-to-peer web commerce platforms, which is already more than Finns spend on services and goods in Estonia (Finnish Commerce Federation 2015). Peer-to-peer web commerce platforms are part of a shift in trade that is primarily affecting traditional department stores. For more information on attitudes towards peer-based consumption and the establishment of such trade among Helsinki residents, see Lindblom and Mustonen (2016).



IN TERMS OF food trade, the REKO food groups, consisting of local food producers and consumers, already have over 250,000 members in more than 160 groups, of which the 20 Helsinki metropolitan area groups have around 35,000 members. The basic principles of REKO's operations are direct encounters between producers and consumers, local food, ethical production practices, openness and transparency. REKO's activities are carried out by a network of administrators on Facebook and occasionally also in seminars, and the network also carries out research and development activities[2]. The success of REKO's activities is based on the growing demand for ethical, small-scale food production and on the use of Facebook as a platform that "everyone" already has and uses to spread new phenomena effectively. The successful operating model has gained interest in the EU and has been adopted already in Sweden.

THE CENTRALISED nature of the Finnish food market is one motivation for establishing food co-ops. There have been food co-ops in Finland since at least the 1970s, but they have become more popular in recent years thanks to the internet and a growing interest in organic and local food as well as different kinds of diets. Large food co-ops operating in Helsinki include the Elävä Maa ry organic co-op and the Herttoniemi, Laajasalo and Haaga co-ops, which each have hundreds of members. There are also community-supported agriculture activities, and the groups operate also more generally as local communities.

IN TERMS OF other food-related activism, urban farming has become well known through activities such as the 'Turntable' (Kääntöpöytä) centre in the Pasila railway yard arranged by the environmental organisation Dodo. On Mustikkamaa island, there is an 'edible park' (an open, educational community garden) maintained by volunteers; and urban foragers, who gather wild herbs for their dinner table, share tips in their social media groups. The economic significance of this kind of activism is small, but their social and cultural value is great. In the urban landscape, these activities can be seen in the historical kiosks sold by the City of Helsinki to crowdfunded city groups in Käpylä and on Museokatu.

2) See e.g. http://aitojamakuja.fi/index_eng.php

Crowdfunding has also been used to raise funds for a restaurant making use of surplus food, an art hotel, graffiti painting, and aerobics classes in public parks (Mesenaatti.me), as well as for an organic village and women's resource centre (Ehta Raha). These forms of activism usually represent social innovation and entrepreneurship in which the content and collaborative nature of the activities are more important than an economic motivation. However, they still provide new means to earn an income at the local level and lead to cooperation with local actors. For example, in the Laajasalo district, young people can get summer jobs weeding invasive plant species from the area thanks to a crowdfunding campaign organised by the Saaremme co-operative and the Laajasalo–Degerö association.

The border between activists and start-up entrepreneurs is blurry, as both groups are supported by the possibilities of the internet, social innovation, collaborative ways of working, environmental awareness and a self-motivated entrepreneurial spirit. For example, Helsinki-based CoReorient operates based on wise consumption of resources and the crowdsourcing of work. The smart container pilot projects, organised by the company in cooperation with other bodies, have demonstrated how services and the everyday lives of citizens can be organised more resource-efficiently and in a way that is supported by people's own initiative. CoReorient's PiggyBaggy delivery service crowdsources the transport of goods. The transport and container pilots in the Kalasatama district, for instance, have demonstrated ways to fill gaps in public services when services have been cut, or when they do not yet exist in a new area.

Business opportunities also emerge through the new service needs generated by the increase in different platforms. The Helsinki-based company Hostaway is developing a service that makes it easier for people renting apartments to use several listing services at once. This will help to diversify the use of listing services by offering alternatives to the most popular market giant, Airbnb. Wikimploi, on the other hand, aims to "uberise" work by combining a workspace, workforce, work community and assignments in one package. Recci is developing the recycling of clothing and textiles and also has a second hand clothing store. Many forms of activism operate within the circular economy. Food and transport seem to be the most interesting sectors when it comes to the financial dimension of activism.

Activists take on administrative tasks: support for asylum seekers and urban planning

Another feature uniting startups and activism is the ability to act quickly when compared to administrations, large corporations and traditional neighbourhood and housing associations, for example. When a record number of asylum seekers arrived in Finland in 2015, one Espoo resident contacted the City of Espoo to ask how the city was organising the reception of an unprecedented group of asylum-seeking minors. Feeling that the matter had not been adequately addressed, this citizen founded a Facebook support group for young asylum seekers and, together with the group, began to coordinate the reception of the youth in cooperation with the Finnish Red Cross and the City of Espoo.

The group made it possible to organise, for example, clothing donations and activities for asylum-seeking children and youth. The city administration's task of receiving asylum seekers was handled better and faster than could have been done by the authorities alone. The city administration wanted to ensure that these activities would continue, and therefore hired the activist who had started the initiative in autumn 2015 to continue work as a part-time coordinator. The example demonstrates the potential of activism in improving the resilience of cities, or their ability to cope with sudden changes.

The relationship between activism and the city authorities has been developed particularly far in the case of the Facebook group Lisää kaupunkia Helsinkiin ('Towards a more urban Helsinki'). Founded in 2009, the group, which had nearly 10,000 members as of 2016, gathers together interested individuals to develop the city to be more urban. In the group, people present areas for development, make concrete suggestions for urban planning solutions, comment on plans made by the city departments

Figure 3. Activists channel information, ideas and expertise aimed at improving the city through collaborative planning events, for example. At the YIMBYcon event organised by activists in August 2016, participants made plans to use underutilised spaces, such as the office space pictured here in the Herttoniemi industrial area, in a new way as a collective living space.

When citizens are approached as a resource, it is wise to refrain from making a strong distinction between work done by volunteers and work carried out as part of a job.

and activist groups alike, and review the results of resident surveys carried out as part of planning projects. The most active members also attend discussion events organised by the group, take field trips together and provide background for conversations on their own blogs. In addition to interested citizens, group members include researchers, officials and decision-makers.

The group has become an active and enduring discussion forum in addition to the opportunities for discussion organised by the City Planning Department (Laakso 2015). The City Planning Department has recognised the significance of the group as a resource for planning and aims to further develop cooperation with the group. The group's founder, Mikko Särelä, also feels that the group has reached such a status that the department listens to what its members have to say.

One important feature of the group from the perspective of the administration are its international connections. Activists in the group share examples of urban planning and ideas from abroad and discuss how they could be applied to Helsinki. Members of the group have also been involved in organising the international YIMBYcon event, which aims to attract urban planning activists to Helsinki every year. This means activists do their part to build up the reputation of Helsinki as a YIMBY ('yes in my backyard') city. The event offers opportunities to enrich urban planning in the Helsinki area using ideas and expertise from abroad, such as when activists are inspired to organise planning workshops in order to develop parts of the local urban landscape.

Concluding remarks

The connections between spontaneous citizen activities and the development of the city are multifaceted, and our work in describing them is still in progress. However, the examples described above already demonstrate how citizens can act spontaneously to promote the city authorities' goals of an ecological, collaborative, fair and functional city. The first conclusion of our work thus far is that the administration can be most successful in achieving these goals if the concrete activities of administrative units and their working culture are adapted to support citizens' activities to benefit the city community.

From the perspective of the administration, citizens are still benefactors of and participants in administrative activities, but it is becoming more and more beneficial to think of them as initiative-taking, self-organising actors and cooperation partners – in other words, as a resource for urban development. The administration can, in a limited but still significant way, influence how the resources of civil society are liberated or developed, or remain untapped.

Secondly, in reconceptualising the relationship between the administration and citizens, it is important to recognise the diversity of the forms and content of activities, as well as of the citizens themselves. Activism often represents ways to spend leisure time and also to have fun, but at the same time, it also works for the benefit of society, both locally and more generally. Some forms of activism, such

Figure 4. A self-organising city thrives with a bustling fourth sector in which different forms of activities and organising emerge and disappear, take on new forms or begin to become established. For further discussion on the interaction between the sectors, see Mäenpää et al. 2017.

as the Lisää kaupunkia Helsinkiin ('Towards a more urban Helsinki') Facebook group, aim directly at developing the society in the long term. Others, such as Facebook flea markets, are more interested in serving people's immediate needs, but, at the same time, they impact development in the long term by changing people's everyday lives and the way people live, consume and earn a living.

The third conclusion is that the redevelopment of the relationship between citizens and the administration requires discussion beyond the traditional divisions of roles, as well as a renewal of concepts. In order to identify and bring together resources, it can be helpful to talk about citizens not only as residents, but instead as service providers, service designers, community managers, entrepreneurs and holders of office, for example. Activists fill, for example, these roles.

When citizens are approached as a resource, it is wise to refrain from making a strong distinction between work done by volunteers and work carried out as part of a job. A person in public office can become an activist by volunteering to take on tasks within their own

The administration must adopt ways to participate constructively in the activities of citizen networks.

work that benefit the community more than what would be required by their position. It is also important to note that the resources of urban civic activism do not automatically disappear even if the activities shift from volunteer work to business operations or a position of public office. Activism also means human capital and an operating culture that radiates into other areas of society.

We have developed the concept of the *fourth sector* to describe the field of urban civic activism and to analyse its relationships to and influence on society (Figure 4). By the fourth sector, we refer to the area of civil society that, with its quick, lightly organised, proactive and activity-centred nature, is structured outside of the third sector, or the field of non-governmental organisations (Mäenpää et al. 2016). However, the fourth sector is, above all, a type of activity that can be done by people other than those in the fourth sector proper. For example, when carrying out local development projects, project leaders can aim to identify how traditional third-sector associations and the current fourth-sector activities in the area can be used as resources for the development project and possibly for local cooperation in the future as well.

In order to enable more detailed discussion and development work, it can be helpful to examine activisms from the perspective of their content, nature and goals. As a tool for this, we have developed a content classification for activism (Figure 5). The classification is based primarily on the cases we have identified in the Helsinki metropolitan area. The categories can be helpful in identifying activism activities and resources and provide ideas for the development of self-motivated activities. The classification can also provide an impetus for considering what may be missing from the categories or examples. What forms of activities not yet seen here before would be welcome?

For example, the crowdsourced transport enabled by the PiggyBaggy service can be identified in the classification as a shared economy service at minimum, but the classification can also be used to consider its significance as, for example, a promoter of community (does transporting grocery bags increase the sense of community?) and supporter of activism (does the transport pilot create conditions for innovative cooperation between stores and activists in the future?). Facebook groups can also be regarded as space-related activism, as they in themselves create virtual space that is meaningful to citizens. Some of them act as tools for modifying physical space.

How to manage a city of activisms?

According to Helsinki's recently introduced city brand, "Helsinki means people whose ambition is to solve meaningful problems and to build the world's most successful everyday life." In the contemporary-style urban civic activities organised by citizens, the residents of the city and their everyday needs are influenced by worldwide environmental awareness and benefit from the open operating possibilities of networks in the local contexts, united by social media communities.

Throughout history, cities have gained new impetus for development when their inhabitants have freed themselves from rigid

Figure 5. Examples of urban civic activisms classified according to the content of the activities. One form of activism may have features from one or several categories.

TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF URBAN CIVIC ACTIVISMS

Sharing/platform/peer-to-peer/citizen economy services

- peer-to-peer trade, food distribution (online flea markets, food groups and co-ops, REKO groups, Kallion safkat kiertoon group...)
- peer-to-peer rental, other peer-to-peer services and exchange of services (Kuinoma, time banks, PiggyBaggy, carsharing services, Nappi Naapuri...)

Community activism, or activism that emphasises community, mutual help, or the environment

- city events (Restaurant Day, Cleaning Day, Dinner Under the Stars, Sauna Day, Block Parties...)
- local movements (Kallio, Kannelmäki, Myyrmäki or Jätkäsaari movement, ARTOVA, Hertsikan pumppu, Saaremme...)
- social peer support (Refugee Hospitality Club, support group for asylum-seeking minors in Espoo, emergency coffee, emergency beer...)
- improvement of social services ('environment grandma and grandpa' activities, libraries opened by individuals, kaupunkifillarit.fi bicycle service, Väistä viharatikka journey planner...)
- environmental movements (Don't put frozen goods in a plastic bag, The better clothing recycling service...)

Space-related activism, or modifying spaces for short-term or long-term use, directly or through planning

- urban planning groups ('Towards a more urban Helsinki' + Espoo + Tampere, Selkäranka, Urban Helsinki, Urbaani Tampere ry, Herttoniemen ja Roihupellon vaihtoehtoinen tulevaisuusvisio ('alternative vision for the future of Herttoniemi and Roihupelto')...)
- house or space squatters, openers and modifiers (Suvilahti, Herttoniemi, Lauttasaari, Lapinlahti, Vartiosaari, group builders, urban farming incl. Guerilla Gardens Helsinki, ice castles, Hoffice, Olohuonenäyttely ('living room exhibition'), Korttelipihat takaisin ('bring back block yards'), Taukotila space...)
- artivism or art activism (murals, graffiti, street drawing, flash mobs...)

Digital activism or activism that develops the use of information technology

- hacktivism or activism requiring special information technology expertise (developing, incl. open data hackathons, improvement of data systems and data...)
- development of digital society (development of openness, encrypted currency activism, fibre-optic co-operatives, digiapuri.com service...)

Activism support, or activism that supports other forms of activism

- innovation and transmission communities (Yhteismaa ry, Hukkatila ry, Dodo ry, Oranssi ry, ARTOVA ry...)
- development of tools for activism (development of activism guides, operating models, crowdfunding and other platforms, voluntary research and investigative work to help activism...)
- activating communications (kapitaali.com service, cultural disruption, counteradvertisements...)

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operational models (Mäenpää & Schulman 2011). The city authorities can either promote or hinder the society-renewing power achieved through the internet, participatory consumption and community-based operating models. Does Helsinki's new participation model inspire people to do influential deeds in the changing roles of work and leisure time?

Adoption of new roles by citizens can be seen most clearly in the framework of sharing economy, in which the production models of society are being reorganised. Citizens do not simply consume what is offered: instead, they create their city themselves. For example, when city residents create food distribution networks, maintain places for exchanging goods and services or crowdfund local services for themselves, we come close to the concept of inverse infrastructure, which refers to technical systems created locally (see e.g. Anttiroiko & Heino 2013).

The more the service infrastructure of city life is built from the bottom up, the more the city administration and decision-making system must reposition themselves. It is not enough for citizens to be engaged to participate in the activities of the administration. On the contrary, the administration must adopt ways to participate constructively in the activities of citizen networks.

Pasi Mäenpää is researcher and docent at the University of Helsinki Department of Social Research. **Maija Faehnle** is an external researcher at the Finnish Environment Institute SYKE (University of Helsinki Department of Social Research).

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Cultural **participation** and cultural **preferences** in Helsinki

PEKKA MUSTONEN ★ TARU LINDBLOM

▸ ***Cultural participation in Helsinki is a little-studied topic.***

The 'Urban lifestyles in Helsinki' (Urbaani elämäntapa Helsingissä) research project, initiated in 2013, has now reached its second phase. A new survey was sent to respondents in the winter of 2016. The first findings to be presented include this article on cultural participation and preferences, along with another one by the same authors addressing the topic of shared economy (Lindblom & Mustonen 2016). Cultural participation is an area in which there is a surprising lack of information as far as Helsinki in concerned, considering the Finnish capital's importance as a city of culture and the significance of culture in our free time (see e.g. Mustonen 2014).

Despite the relative scarcity of Helsinki-specific information, there is naturally plenty of information on cultural participation in general. The data, and the analyses derived from it, are often quantitative and cover differences between population groups, for example. There is far less information on consumption, attitudes and preferences, which is arguably an important area to be explored. It could of course be assumed that, given the limitations related to time and money, people primarily attend and engage in cultural activities that they happen to enjoy. The matter is slightly more complex than that, however. For example, a person's professional status may affect their involvement in activities – resulting in them taking part in an event that they do not enjoy. On the other hand, budgetary limitations may prevent people from participating despite their willingness to do so. Indications of this kind of behaviour have been seen in the context of food consumption, for example (see Lindblom & Mustonen 2015).

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PHOTOS: CITY OF HELSINKI / SUSANNA KARHAPÄÄ

An excellent overview of cultural participation and studies focusing on the theme can be found in a recent publication by Cupore, the Finnish foundation for cultural policy research (Virolainen 2015). It features a comprehensive look into statistical reports on the topic from recent decades. Virolainen states that non-participation and the factors that contribute to it have been largely neglected. This is partially understandable as studying non-participation is challenging. On the other hand, it can simply be seen as the reverse side of participation. For instance, if two out of three Helsinki residents visit museums, as shown in Lindholm's study (2011, 36–38), then roughly every third resident is a non-participant. When working on the basis of survey data, examining these aspects separately and comparing the groups is a fairly simple task. When it comes to visitor and customer studies, however, examining non-participation is more challenging. General surveys fail to reveal why non-participants do not go to museums such as Kiasma or Ateneum.

More often than not, information on participation has been collected specifically through a variety of surveys. In some cases, sections on culture have been added to surveys focusing on other themes. One such survey is the 2012 national-level study on city and municipal services (Kaupunki- ja kuntapalvelut, KAPA; see FCG 2012). The purpose of the KAPA study was to poll residents' views on municipal services, with a short section on cultural services.

Among the most important sources of information on culture-related habits have been Statistics Finland's studies on leisure activities and the use of time. The downside of these statistics is their infrequent collection at intervals of approximately ten years. Furthermore, city-specific information on Helsinki is naturally absent, and the latest data, especially as regards the leisure survey, are beginning to become obsolete as it was collected in 2002. Regarding the Time Use Survey, the latest data was collected in 2009–2010.

The latest Leisure Survey clearly indicates the connection between engagement in various forms of culture and structural background factors – mostly level of education but also age and gender (Liikkanen 2005, see also Statistics Finland 2011). However, that was 16 years ago. The much more recent Time Use Survey shows that the differences between population groups have decreased while cultural participation has increased (Statistics Finland 2014).

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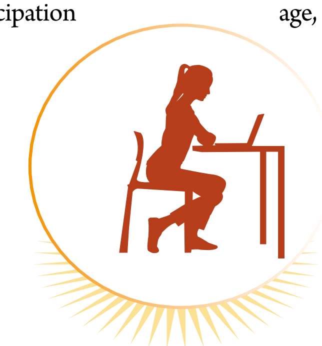
Around the time of the latest Time Use Survey, the Lindholm et al. (see Lindholm 2011) report on audience outreach was published, which considered cultural participation in a wider context. In his article, Lindholm (2011, 41–42) examined the consumption of culture and stated that stereotypically women and people with higher education are more likely to participate in cultural events. The same study showed that areas of residence seem to have an impact on participation. The city centre and its fringes would seem to be home to people who are interested in culture. With this introduction, we will now examine cultural participation and preferences using the new data provided by the Urbaani elämäntapa Helsingissä project.

Data used in the study

There were some differences in the survey conducted in early 2016 and the previous survey in 2013. From the perspective of this article, an essential new element was a section to measure cultural participation and preferences. Distinguishing these two areas is justified since people's behaviour is inconsistent. Liking something does not necessarily lead to actual corresponding activities, and some may engage in activities they do not in fact like. Consumption choices reflect taste structures, which are linked to a person's cultural capital. Those with the largest pool of this capital control the taste landscape and, in a manner of speaking, set the standards for legitimate taste. This results in some forms of culture being more popular than others and more sought-after among all consumers regardless of social status. (see Lindblom & Mustonen 2015; also Mustonen & Lindblom 2014)

For the purposes of the study, a random sample of 4,000 Helsinki residents between 16 and 75 years of age was picked from the Helsinki population information system. In addition to filling in a traditional paper form, the survey form could be completed online. The sample was also supplemented with an informal online questionnaire, which ultimately yielded more responses than the actual sample. However, this article relies solely on the sample material and adult respondents. The representativeness of the material is undermined by the low response rate, which stood at approximately 20 per cent: 890 usable response forms were submitted.



The division of the material based on gender, age, level of education and area of residence is presented in Table 1. The area of residence is represented with a dichotomous variable that was formed according to whether the respondent lives in a postcode area within the Helsinki tram network or outside it (indicating domicile in either Inner Helsinki or the suburban area). We have named this the 'tram variable'. A corresponding variable has been used in other studies under the Urbaani elämäntapa Helsingissä project, and it has been found to distinguish behaviours among people fairly efficiently (e.g. Mustonen & Lindblom 2016 & 2016b). This article focuses on differences between genders and between areas of residence. The material is slightly skewed towards educated residents and, due to the low response rate, the survey cannot be regarded as completely representative. However, the results give some indication of cultural participation and, from this perspective, fill some of the gaps in prior information.

Library, cinema and theatre the most popular

As argued, there is a lack of information on cultural participation among Helsinki residents, and even less is known about culture-related interests. The aim of this article is to determine what kind of cultural activities Helsinki residents participate in, on one hand, and which they prefer, on the other. In addition, we will examine the relationship between liking certain forms of culture and participating in related activities and events.

Two studies on cultural participation have been conducted within the past four years in Helsinki: the Keskinen and Kotro study of 2014 and the KAPA study of 2012. The latter was not an actual culture study as it only included one section on culture. Keskinen and Kotro (2014) examined participation in cultural activities and views about Helsinki as a city of culture by means of an online survey that utilised the 'snowball sampling' method. This study is most probably the latest one exploring this theme specifically in Helsinki. The information of the KAPA study applies to 2012, which is why it can be viewed as fairly relevant for comparisons (see Keskinen 2013).

In their study, Keskinen and Kotro (2014) examined people who participated in cultural, art or other events. Based on the participation percentages, the most popular forms of culture were libraries, cinema, theatre and free events. Among the polled activities, the circus, Helsinki Book Fair, dance performances (including ballet) and the Restaurant Day drew the least people. The study indicated clear differences between genders. The proportion of women was higher than men in almost all activities. There were also significant differences between age groups.

In the similar examination in the KAPA study, the top positions were held by libraries, cinemas, theatres, concerts, art exhibitions and museums. The survey did not include questions about free events. In other ways, the results were very similar between the two studies.

There were slight differences in the cultural services or forms of culture examined in our study and those covered in the KAPA study or the study by Keskinen and Kotro. Their results were also partially divergent (Figures 1 and 2), although some consistent trends could be seen. Libraries, cinema, theatre and popular music concerts were the most popular in all studies. On the other hand, galleries were not ranked as high in our study. This may be partially due to the way the questions were phrased. The KAPA study and the Keskinen and Kotro study both asked about visits to art exhibitions and galleries, whereas our survey only included questions about galleries.

The difference with regard to urban events was also clear. The Keskinen and Kotro study asked about participation in large free events and separately about participation in neighbourhood events. Once again, the questions were posed differently, which most likely contributed to the fact that the percentages were not as high as in our data.

Cinemas, city events, museums and libraries were clearly ahead of all other forms in our results (Figure 1). Over 80 per cent of the female respondents had visited one of these during the past year. For men, the proportions were slightly lower, which was also in line with the results of the Keskinen and Kotro study. In fact, the proportion of women was higher than men in almost all cases. Mostly, the difference was around 10 percentage points, but the largest disparities were found with regard to theatre, dance, ballet and musicals. Many other studies have reported women to be more culturally active, so this result was expected (see, for example, Lindholm 2011, 41; Virtanen 2007, 68-70; Mustonen 2014b & 2016). Sports events were the only area with regard to which the difference between the genders (over 20

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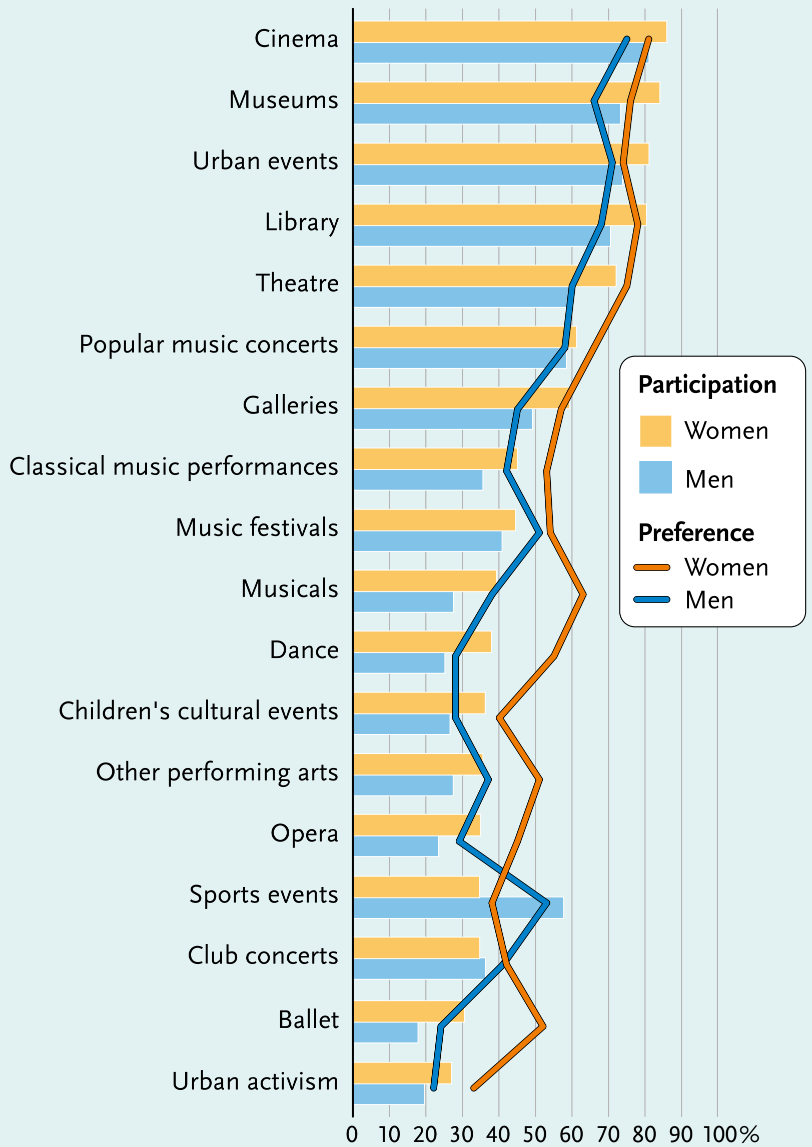


FIGURE 1. Preference of and participation in particular forms of culture (at least once in the past year) according to gender.

per cent) was statistically significant in the opposite direction. In terms of popular music concerts, club concerts and music festivals, the differences between women and men were negligible.

People like culture more than they engage in it

Figure 1 presents the preference proportions in addition to the participation percentages. The variable examined here was determined by asking whether or not the respondents like the forms of culture in question. In addition to the 'yes' and 'no' options, the respondents could also select 'Not sure'.

The preference values are higher for almost all forms of culture. For men, the largest disparity between preference and participation was found with regard to musicals and music festivals. For women, the gaps were the largest for art, ballet and musicals. The same phenomenon is also fairly prominent for classical music concerts, opera and club concerts, but the differences are less pronounced. Nevertheless, people visit these kinds of events less often than they would probably like to.

Conversely, people go to cinemas, museums, urban events, galleries and libraries more than the preference levels would indicate. For men, sports events stood out. These were the most popular in terms of participation, which means that they can be found on the left side of Figure 1. They also have a relatively low threshold across the board – participation is easy and does not require a lot of resources. With the exception of cinemas, museums and sports events, all forms of culture that have higher participation rates than the preference rates would suggest are actually most often free – this even applies to museums and sports events in some cases.

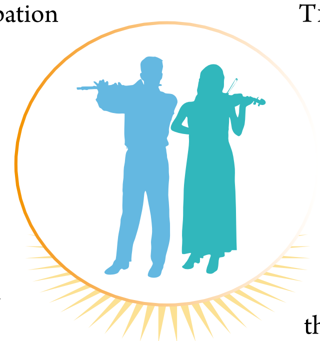
As is the case with participation, the differences in preference are sometimes clear between genders. The preference percentage was higher for men only with regard to sports events. The difference was slightly less than 15 percentage points. Women had the clearest lead with regard to dance (27 pp), ballet (29 pp) and musicals (25 pp). As the diagram shows, the differences were considerable across the board. This indicates that women would seem to like culture significantly more than men, which is also mirrored by the participation numbers, although to a lesser extent.

Active participation of Inner Helsinki residents reflects availability

Preference and participation and their mutual relationship were also examined based on the area of residence. As Figure 2 clearly shows, participation was higher in Inner Helsinki than the suburbs for all forms of culture, with the exception of children's cultural events. The gap was the largest for galleries (22 pp) and classical music concerts (16 pp). In addition to this, the proportional differences were considerable for city events (12 pp), museums (10 pp), music festivals (14 pp), ballet (11 pp) and opera (11 pp).

The results mirror the availability of various cultural events and activities. With all of the forms of culture or 'cultural products' listed above, availability is heavily concentrated in the city centre areas. Previous studies have shown that plenty of people who are interested in culture live in Inner Helsinki (e.g. Lindholm 2011; Mustonen 2016). The interest stems from lifestyles and taste structures, but it can also be connected to availability. In other words, alongside the obvious explanations related to lifestyle or socio-demographic elements, ease of access due to availability of culture close by would seem to be a factor.

In terms of preference, the differences between the areas are smaller than with participation (see Figure 2). This contributes to conforming that the differences observed in participation are above all linked to availability and, by extension, resources. It can be postulated that if the cultural offering were difficult to access, participation would be lower than the preferences suggest.



The question whether or not the area of residence can explain cultural tastes and participation was tested by means of a logistical regression analysis (the results are not presented here). Gallery visits were analysed first. Many different combinations of background variables were entered in the test models, and in all of them, the 'tram variable' remained a significant explanatory factor, even though the variation of other variables (e.g. age, gender, education) was taken into account. As stated above, the areas naturally also feature socio-demographic differences that are linked to people's preferences and consumption habits. Further explanations to participation are resources and availability, in equal measure.

The area-related differences in preferring certain forms of culture were most pronounced with forms of 'high culture', assuming that galleries can be equated with classical music and ballet in this context. For these three forms of culture, the differences were the highest. Based on our examination, we cannot say for certain whether this comes down to lifestyles and related preferences, socio-demographic differences and factors related to availability. All of them certainly contribute to the fact that these forms of culture are preferred more in Inner Helsinki than in the suburbs. As was stated before, many people who are interested in culture live in the Inner Helsinki. Availability may, of course, increase interest in culture, but some level of initial enthusiasm is always required. On the other hand, socio-demographic differences affect in particular participation in forms of culture that require resources.

The area-related differences in preferences regarding urban events, music festivals and club concerts are also clear but smaller than with participation. Here, too, the three explanations listed above all contribute to the end result, but the explanations related to lifestyle may have more of an effect than the socio-demographic ones. This is due to the fact that urban events, in particular, are accessible from a budgetary perspective to a wide range of people. Therefore, we can conclude that the obstacles and incentives to participation are connected to availability, lifestyles and taste structures.

Children's cultural events stood out in terms of participation and preference. Outside Inner Helsinki, people seem to like them more and the participation rates are higher, although the proportions are fairly low in both cases. It is safe to say that the number of children in a family affects the preference and, most of all, participation levels.

In the area-related examination, the differences between preference and participation were also significant. Residents of Inner Helsinki went to cinemas, city events, museums, galleries and sports events more often than the preference levels would suggest. Among those who live in suburban areas, the

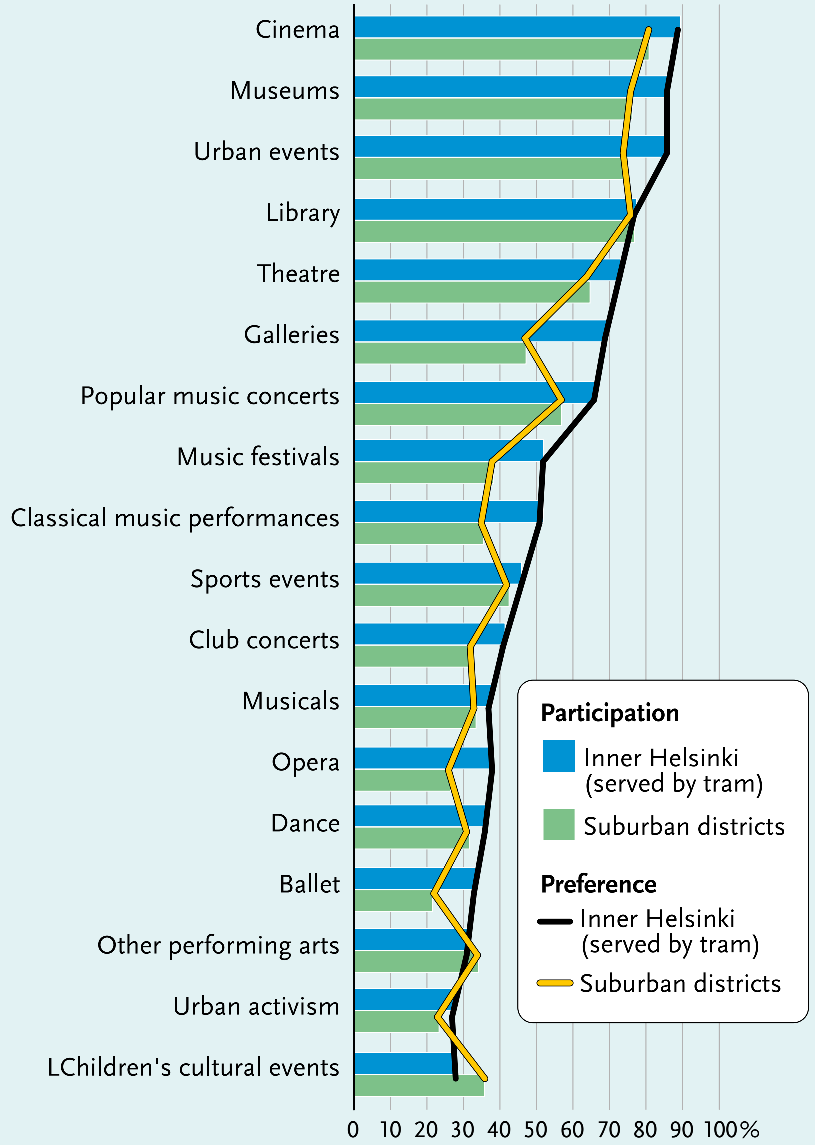


FIGURE 2. Preference of and participation (at least once in the past year) by area of residence.

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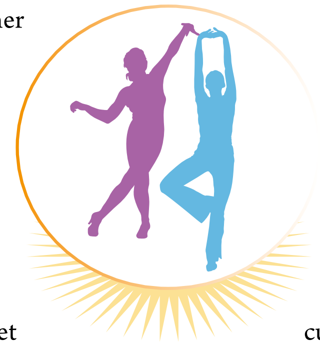
preference of films, city events and museums was lower but the differences were not as pronounced as in the city centre area. These fall within the same group of low-threshold forms of culture as those mentioned earlier when we examined the differences between genders.

The differences in the other direction were much larger. In most cases, there is something that prevents participation – preference is much higher than actual participation. Regardless of the area of residence, participation percentages were significantly lower for musicals, dance, ballet and other performing arts. The likely explanation for this is that these forms of culture are much more resource-intensive compared to films or museums, for example. With the exception of performing arts, the differences are greater in suburban areas. This result is influenced by both socio-demographic factors and availability. Music festivals and opera also stand out in suburban areas. In Inner Helsinki, the gap between preference and participation is clearly smaller for these forms of culture.



Conclusion

This article examined participation in and preference of cultural activities. The most popular forms of culture in terms of both participation and preference were all types of low-threshold culture. Interestingly, it was with these low-threshold activities that participation actually exceeded preference. Opposite results were observed with forms of culture with lower overall participation levels. More often than not, these are activities that require more resources.

The most essential results of the study are related to the differences between preference and participation, and the related substantial differences between genders and areas. In most cases, preference was higher than participation, particularly for women and residents of suburban areas. The results suggest that there are obstacles that limit participation in culture. These obstacles may be area-specific – participation is difficult in terms of accessibility – or financial. In addition to this, they may be social in nature, which means that the reference group's consumption habits guide their behaviour. People may tend to participate in cultural activities that are intrinsic to their reference group. Correspondingly, participation in certain other activities may decrease even if the motivation exists. The threshold for going to the opera is much higher than for going to the library.

In future studies, it would be interesting to consider the obstacles to participation. These three dimensions, socio-demographic factors and the related financial, regional and social factors, all contribute to the choices people make. This study considered the postulated impacts of these dimensions for various forms of culture. Some conclusions can naturally be drawn from the differences between participation and preference, and testing the hypotheses presented in this article is the next step in the Urbaani elämäntapa Helsingissä project.

Pekka Mustonen is a Senior Researcher at City of Helsinki Urban Facts. **Taru Lindblom** is a Postdoctoral Researcher at the Economic Sociology Department of the University of Turku.

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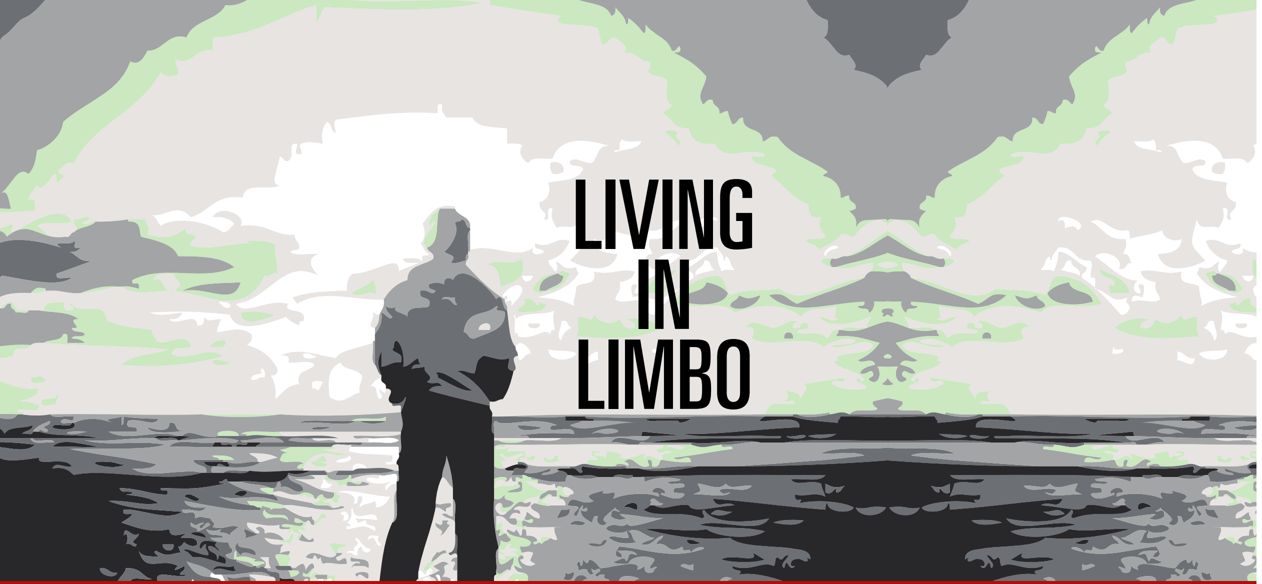

LIVING IN LIMBO

Qualitative case study of skilled Iraqi asylum seekers in Finland

The number of forced migrants in Europe during recent years is second to none in history. That said, according to the OECD (2016), in 2015 people of refugee background still formed a relatively small part of the estimated 4.8 million people who migrated permanently to OECD countries. Although the movement towards northern member states of the EU has decreased somewhat by the end of 2016, more forced migrants can be expected to come to Europe in the years to come. Consequently, to be able to constructively discuss both the potential and the needs of the newcomers, it is of utmost importance to gain an understanding of the phenomenon.

This study discusses the findings of a qualitative study of English-speaking skilled Iraqi asylum seekers (N = 22) arriving in Finland during 2015–2016. Iraq and Finland can be argued to be two countries with a vast cultural distance. The strong influence of Islam that permeates all aspects of life in Iraq, from politics to the private life behind closed doors, is almost unimaginable for Finns used to freedom of expression, keeping religious beliefs to themselves as an extremely private matter. These apparent differences aside, according to the results of the study, the future hopes and dreams of the participants reflected things that are very similar to those of Finns: finding work, getting married, raising a family and living a peaceful life. Unfortunately, in Finland, especially the visible minority groups are more often unemployed than other immigrant groups. The study discusses the aspirations that this privileged group of skilled Iraqi asylum seekers have regarding their future work life. The study also considers the possible challenges that the differences in the Finnish and Iraqi working cultures might pose to their future labour market integration.

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EDITOR IN CHIEF:
Timo Cantell
Tel. +358 9 310 73362
timo.cantell@hel.fi

EDITOR:
Teemu Vass
Tel. +358 9 310 64806
teemu.vass@hel.fi

POSTAL ADDRESS:
City of Helsinki Urban Facts,
P.O.BOX 5500,
FI-00099 City of Helsinki

STREET ADDRESS:
Siltasaarenkatu 18–20 A,
00530 Helsinki

INTERNET:
http://www.hel.fi/www/tieke/en

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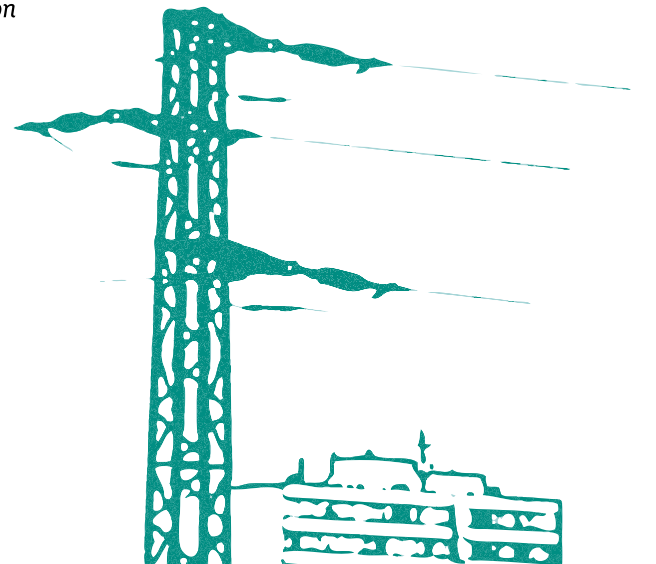

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