Helsinki Quarterly 4/2014

City of Helsinki Urban Facts

New, collectively produced urban culture

Open Helsinki encourages citizens' engagement

Migration is a source of dynamism

City of Helsinki
Urban Facts

CITY OF HELSINKI URBAN FACTS

Quarterly

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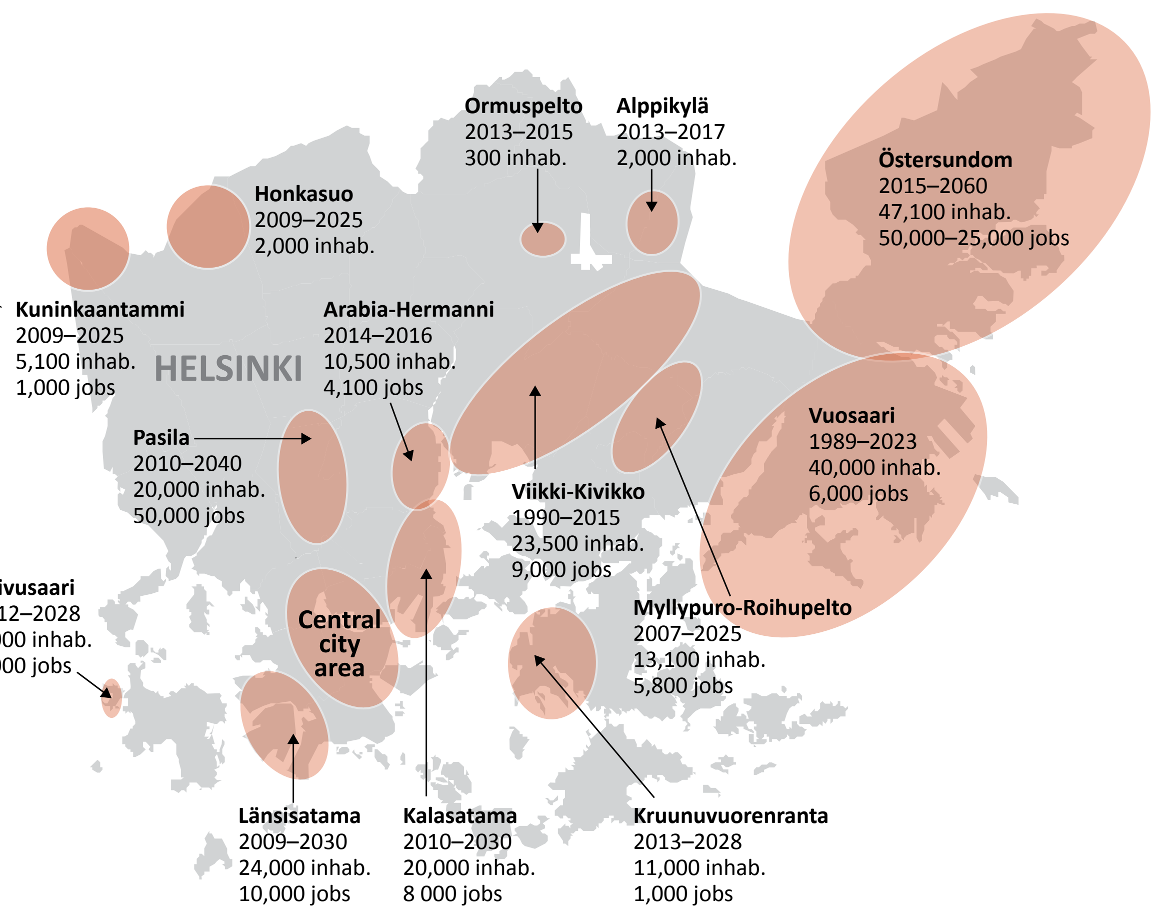
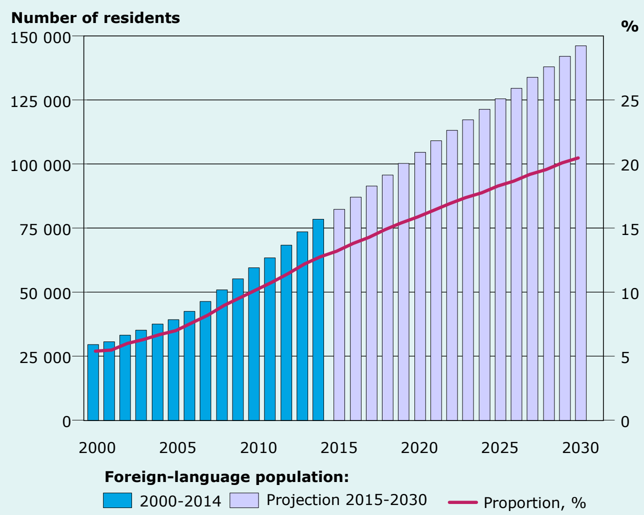


FIGURE 1 Urban development project areas and forecast of population increase

FIGURE 2

Foreign-language population and proportion (%) in Helsinki 2000–2014 and projection through 2030.



Helsinki 2014: Urban life, openness and citizen engagement

Population growth through urban development and in-migration

The population of Helsinki has increased in recent years at a faster rate than any witnessed since the mid-1960s. An annual growth of 8,500 to 9,000 has been registered during the last three to four years. This is largely due to net migration gain especially in population of foreign origin.

Helsinki has drafted a new City Plan which envisages a population increase of 250,000 residents by 2050. The city prepares to absorb the population by continuing to build new neighbourhoods and new housing, for instance on waterfront areas formerly occupied by the port and logistics. In addition, the City Plan aims to intensify the urban structure in other parts of the city, considering the recent surge in popularity of inner-city living.

Population remains young; increase projected in elderly and non-native groups

The population of Helsinki is relatively young compared to the rest of the country, largely thanks to the constant influx of students entering the various higher education institutions in the city. Recent years have also seen a trend of young adults who wish to remain in the urban core of the metropolitan area after completing their studies and entering working life.

Notwithstanding, the elderly age groups in Helsinki are also considerably large and expected to grow in the next decades (see Pekka Vuori's article in this issue). The population share of those aged 65 or over in Helsinki is now higher than in Stockholm, Oslo and Copenhagen. It is projected to reach 20 per cent by 2023, while in Finland as a whole the share of 65+ year-olds is already now approximately one fifth.

Another population group which is projected to grow in the next few decades is those with a foreign background. Currently 13 per cent of Helsinki's population have a foreign mother tongue. Figure 2 shows that by 2030 more than one in five are expected to speak a foreign native language.

Young people fare better than before on many indicators

80 per cent of young people in Helsinki feel satisfied or very satisfied with their health condition. In general, their habits have developed in a healthier direction: physical exercise has increased; smoking is less common; and most youth have enough sleep and eat a school lunch daily. Nine out of ten youth have one or more friends they can talk to in confidence.

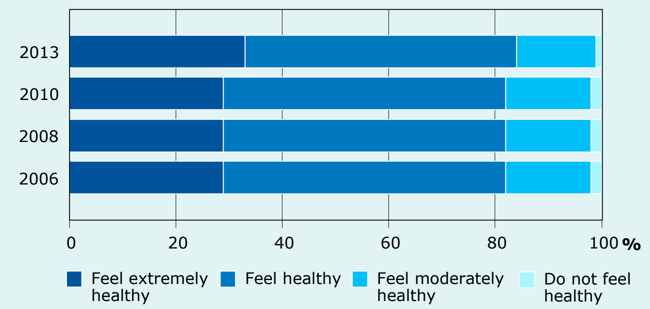
While the overwhelming majority of youth in Helsinki are doing well, there is also a growing minority of youth who are at a relative disadvantage. The income development of youth is increasingly polarised, and the need for income support and child welfare services has grown. Young people who speak a foreign mother tongue stand out negatively on several wellbeing indicators.

» www.nuortenhyvinvointikertomus.fi/briefly-english

FIGURE 3

Helsinki secondary school students' subjective assessments of their own health condition

Source: Helsinki Region statistics database/Youth indicators database



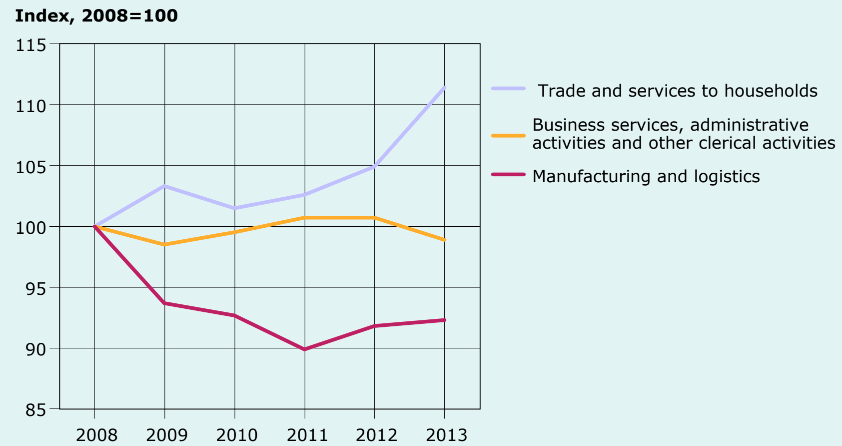
Changing job structure helped Helsinki cope with crisis

Net migration gain has helped to increase the size of the work-eligible population in Helsinki in recent years. The number of employed people grew by 2 per cent in 2013 despite the difficult economic conditions, remaining at the same level in 2014. Employment rate (share of employed 15–64-year-old people in the entire age bracket) has, however, decreased. It was 72.7 per cent in 2013, which is 3 points lower than in 2008.

The number of jobs in Helsinki surpassed a pre-crisis peak in 2013 but fell down again during the first three quarters of 2014 to a level 1.4 per cent lower than Q3 2013. The diverse economic structure of the city explains why Helsinki was able in 2013 to regain the jobs lost during the economic recession. During the past five years the city's industrial structure has undergone further changes (see Figure 4).

FIGURE 4

Development of the number of jobs in Helsinki by branch (Index: 2008=100)



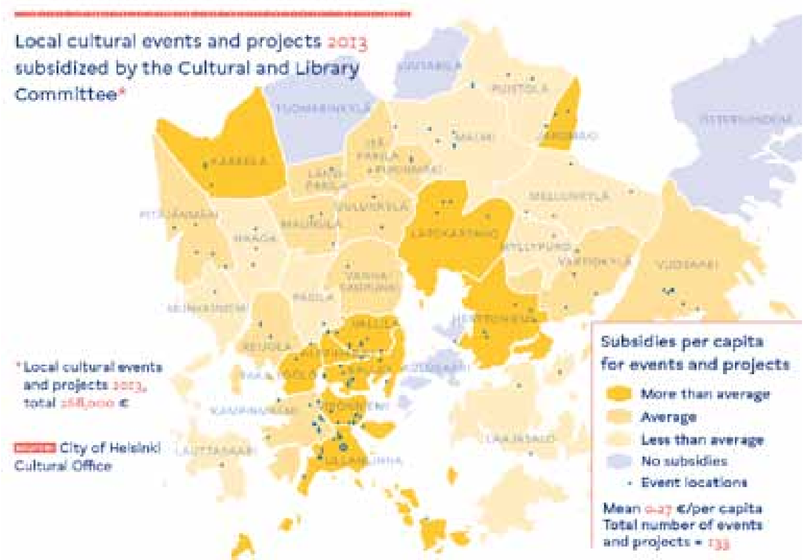
New forms of urban culture are collectively organised

Citizens are interested in collectively and non-hierarchically organised urban culture, as manifested by the popularity of local, bottom-up events such as Restaurant Day, (*www.restaurantday.org/en/*), Cleaning Day, (*http://siivouspaiva.com/en_EN/*), block parties and neighbourhood flea markets. This is indicated by the results of a recent arts and culture survey carried out by the City of Helsinki. The popularity of collectively organised local events is highest in inner-city neighbourhoods and older suburbs such as Kallio, Alppiharju and Herttoniemi.

FIGURE 5

City subsidies to cultural events and projects in the districts of Helsinki

Source: Arts and Culture in Helsinki 2014, http://issuu.com/tietokeskus/docs/arts_and_culture_in_helsinki_issuu



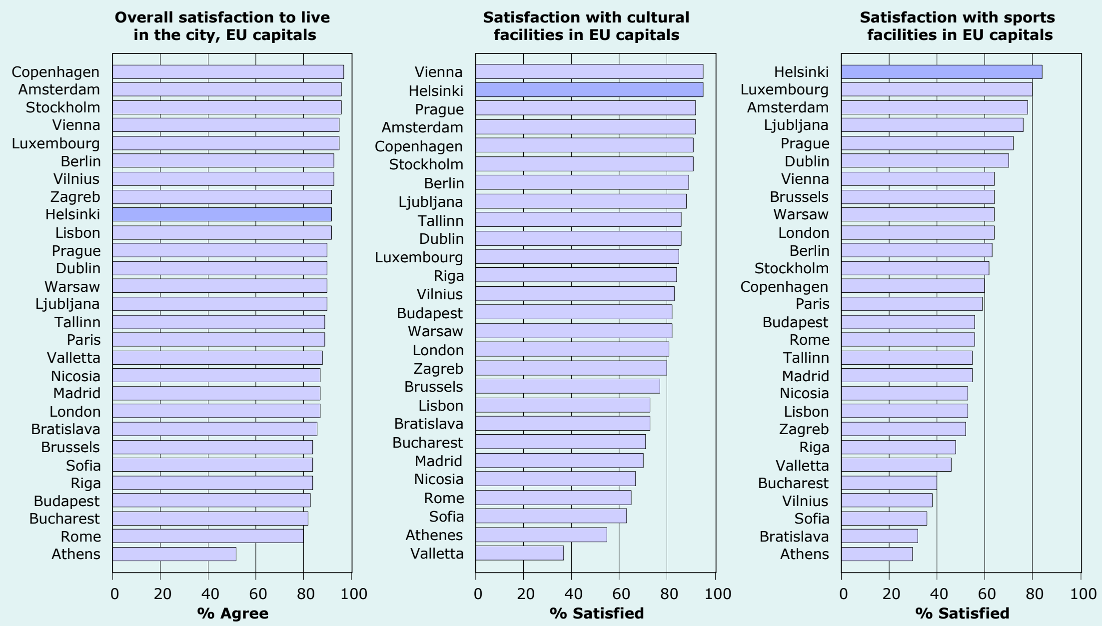


FIGURE 6 **Overall satisfaction, and satisfaction with cultural and sports facilities in EU capitals.**
— Source: Quality of life in cities. Perception survey in 79 European cities. European Union, 2013.

Satisfaction with services and safety is at high level

Helsinki takes part regularly in international city comparisons that assess the cities' various characteristics ranging from quality of life and resident satisfaction to economic competitiveness.

In a European Union survey measuring citizen satisfaction with quality of life in their city, Helsinki ranked high on many indicators. Residents in Helsinki are content with local cultural services and outdoor recreation opportunities and they found their city and neighbourhoods safe and secure places to live. They are also highly satisfied with the quality of public transport. The same survey also showed some points of dissatisfaction among the respondents in Helsinki, most notably with the availability of reasonably priced housing in the city.

Helsinki–Tallinn corridor is important and evolving

The passenger ferry traffic between Helsinki and Tallinn increased to 8.2 million passengers travelling between the cities in 2014. One third of this total figure consists of commute to work between the two cities. The traffic to and from Tallinn represents 75 per cent of all passenger traffic flowing through the Port of Helsinki.

In Helsinki, Estonian is currently the foreign language with the second largest number of speakers. The number of native Estonian-speakers in the city has grown rapidly in the past few years, making up 14 per cent of all those with a foreign mother tongue in 2014.

Passenger traffic between Helsinki and Tallinn has been at record levels in recent years. (Photo: Visit Helsinki/Tallink Silja Oy).

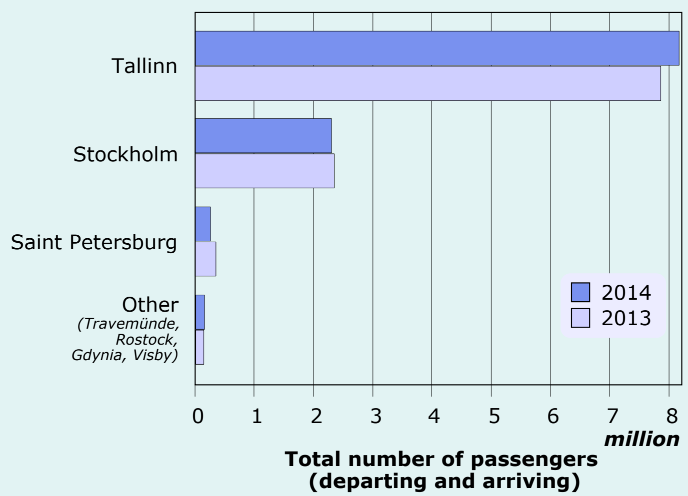


FIGURE 7
Passenger traffic to and from the Port of Helsinki, 2013–2014. (Source: Port of Helsinki)

Helsinki engages citizens in urban development

The cities in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area have been forerunners in open data, with a total of 1,200 open datasets now freely available over the Helsinki Region Infoshare service (www.hri.fi). The past couple of years have seen great advances especially in terms of the complete transparency of the city's decision-making data. 'My vision is that anyone could follow and take part in the decision-making process from the beginning of the preparatory process,' states Mayor Jussi Pajunen. Mobile apps such as the freely downloadable Ahjo Explorer help anyone keep apace with the plans and decisions of the city, form informed opinions and have their say about the plans.

A recent example of the use of open data for city development is the map-based citizen survey related to the vision and drafting for Helsinki's new City Plan. The results of the online survey – 4,700 respondents and 33,000 comments – were published by the City as open data for anyone to use freely. Experts and residents alike can use the data, and applications based on it, to bring their own views into the discussion and the preparatory process. ■

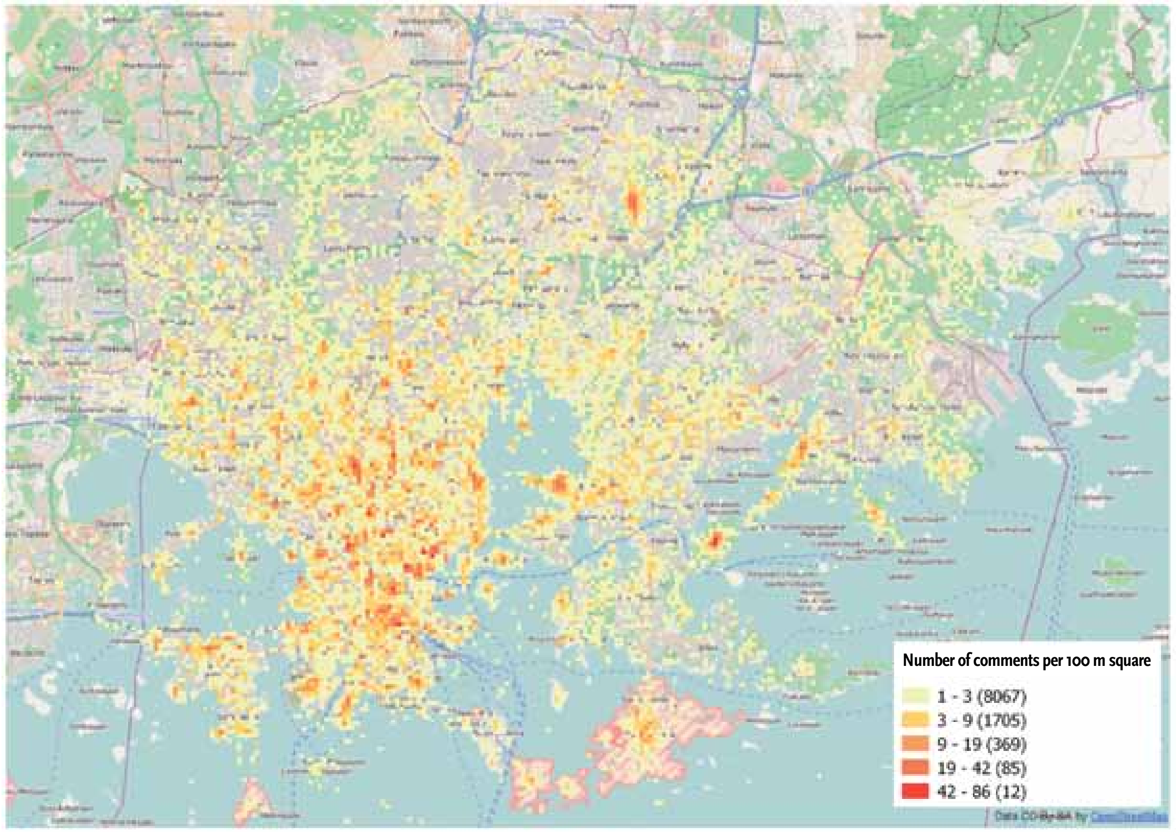


FIGURE 8

Spatial distribution of comments left by the respondents in the Helsinki City Plan map survey in 2013. The most 'significant' locations, i.e. greatest concentrations of comments, appear in red (Source: City Planning Department).

City Of Helsinki Urban Facts

CITY OF HELSINKI URBAN FACTS is a department of the City of Helsinki, charged with the task of monitoring and analysing the development of the city. Urban Facts serves decision-makers, administration and citizens with up-to-date, relevant information – urban statistics, prognoses, applied research – on the state of the city and its operating environment. Urban Facts also operates the open data service Helsinki Region Infoshare (HRI), a pioneer of open knowledge in Finland. The City Archives of Helsinki forms a part of the department.

▶www.hel.fi/tietokeskus/ ▶www.hri.fi

We would like to thank all our readers and contributors for a successful year, and all the best wishes for 2015!

ASTA MANNINEN | TEEMU VASS
Editor-in-Chief | Editor

CITY OF HELSINKI MEDIA BANK

PEKKA VUORI

Development of the elderly population in Helsinki

►CURRENTLY ALMOST 100,000 PEOPLE aged over 65 live in Helsinki, equivalent to 16 per cent of the city's population. This is slightly more than elsewhere in the Helsinki Region (14 per cent) but less than the Finnish average (19 per cent). There are significantly more elderly women (61 per cent) than men (39 per cent). 89 per cent of the age group speak Finnish, 9 per cent speak Swedish and 3 per cent have another native language.

The share of 65+ year-olds in Helsinki remained higher than in Finland as a whole until the mid-1990s, but the proportion dropped as the city entered a period of rapid growth. The number of people aged 65 or over – and their share of the population – began to increase rapidly in all parts of Finland in the early 2010s as the baby boom generation (those born between 1945 and 1950) entered retirement age.

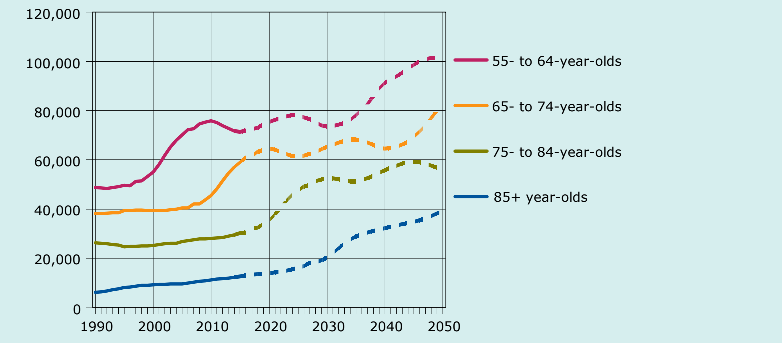
During the current decade, the number of people aged 65 years or over has already increased in Helsinki by one third (25,000), which equals 40 per cent of the total population growth. The number of men and women belonging to this age group increased by over 50 per cent and 25 per cent respectively.

Population projection

At present the population of Helsinki is ageing rapidly, but not as fast as the entire Finnish population. In Helsinki, the estimate according to the medium variant is that the share of over 65-year-olds will rise to 20 per cent by 2032, while Finland as a whole will reach this percentage at the beginning of next year.

Among the elderly population of Helsinki, the number of people aged 65–74 has been on a steep rise for several years. This group will continue to grow for another decade, after which the growth will cease for the foreseeable future. The number of 75–84-year-olds is increasing gradually, but the strongest period of growth will take place between 2018 and 2027. By the end of the 2020s this group will increase in Helsinki by over 80 per cent compared to the current level. The number of people older than 85 will grow steadily until 2030 followed by a period of faster growth. According to the current prognosis, their number will almost triple by 2040.

FIGURE 1 Elderly population in Helsinki by age group 2000–2014 and projection 2015–2050.

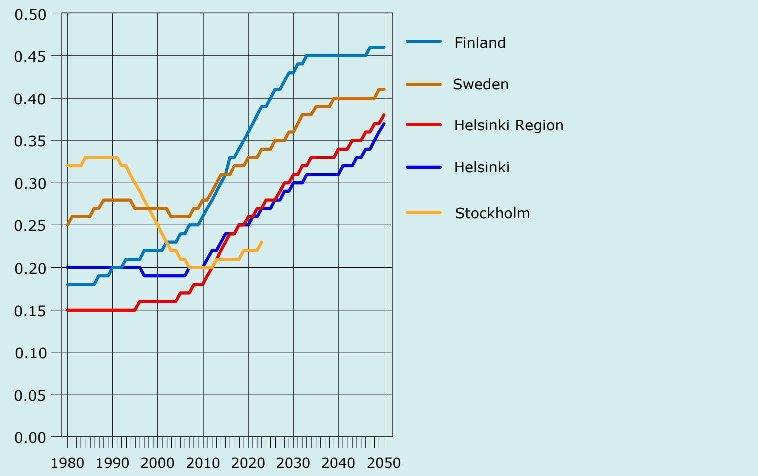


Old-age dependency ratio

The increase of the elderly population in relation to the working age population remained at a stable level in Helsinki until the 2010s. By contrast, in Finland as a whole, the old-age dependency ratio has been declining for somewhat longer (Figure 2). The dependency ratio is now falling more rapidly because the post-war baby boom generation has entered retirement age.

It is noteworthy that the old-age dependency ratio of the Helsinki Region as a whole is declining proportionately faster than in Helsinki itself. In earlier decades, the share of the retirement age population was notably higher in Helsinki. Young adults moving to the region now tend to settle initially in Helsinki. As a result, the age structure of the city is younger than in other parts of the region.

FIGURE 2 Old age dependency ratio in Helsinki and Stockholm (city and region), Finland and Sweden in 1980–2014 and projection through 2050

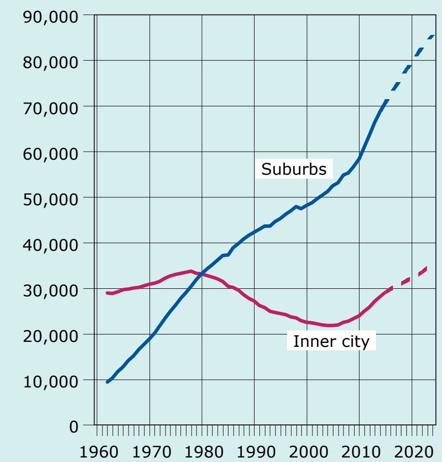


Until recent years, Finland had a more favourable old-age dependency ratio than Sweden. Today Finland is ageing much faster than Sweden. In Stockholm, the old-age dependency ratio has improved significantly since the 1990s, when the number of the retirement age population began to decrease. The reasons behind this development are the expansion of the city to the surrounding municipalities in the 1970s and the proportionately stronger population loss in the core area than in Helsinki. The population of Stockholm has once again been on the increase since the late 1980s, and between 2008 and 2013 the annual population growth was approximately 2 per cent, compared to 1.3 per cent in Helsinki. This has rejuvenated the population of the city.

Population projection by district

In the inner city of Helsinki, population decreased from the late 1940s to the early 1990s. In addition, the number of people aged over 65 began to decrease in the 1970s, but a new period of growth, which is predicted to continue, began after 2005. In the suburbs, the retirement age population is growing faster than before.

FIGURE 3 Population aged 65 and over in Helsinki, 1962–2014 and projection through 2024.



The number of people aged 75 or over is increasing particularly in the suburbs that contain plenty of housing built in the 1960s, for instance in eastern Helsinki. The 75+ age group is also growing in Jätkäsaari, Kalasatama and other districts with a high volume of new housing production – although the residents of these areas are primarily younger. On the other hand, the oldest suburbs, such as Maunula, Munkkiniemi and Herttoniemi, already have such a high share of elderly people that similar growth is unlikely. ■

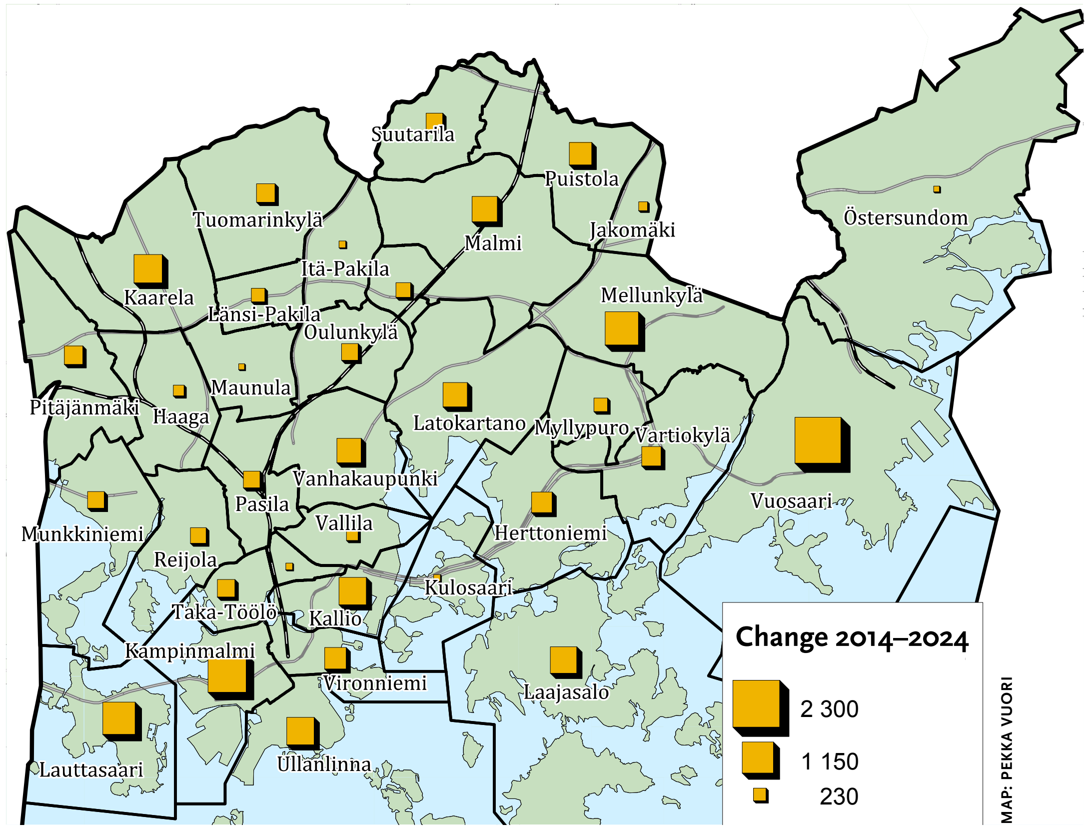
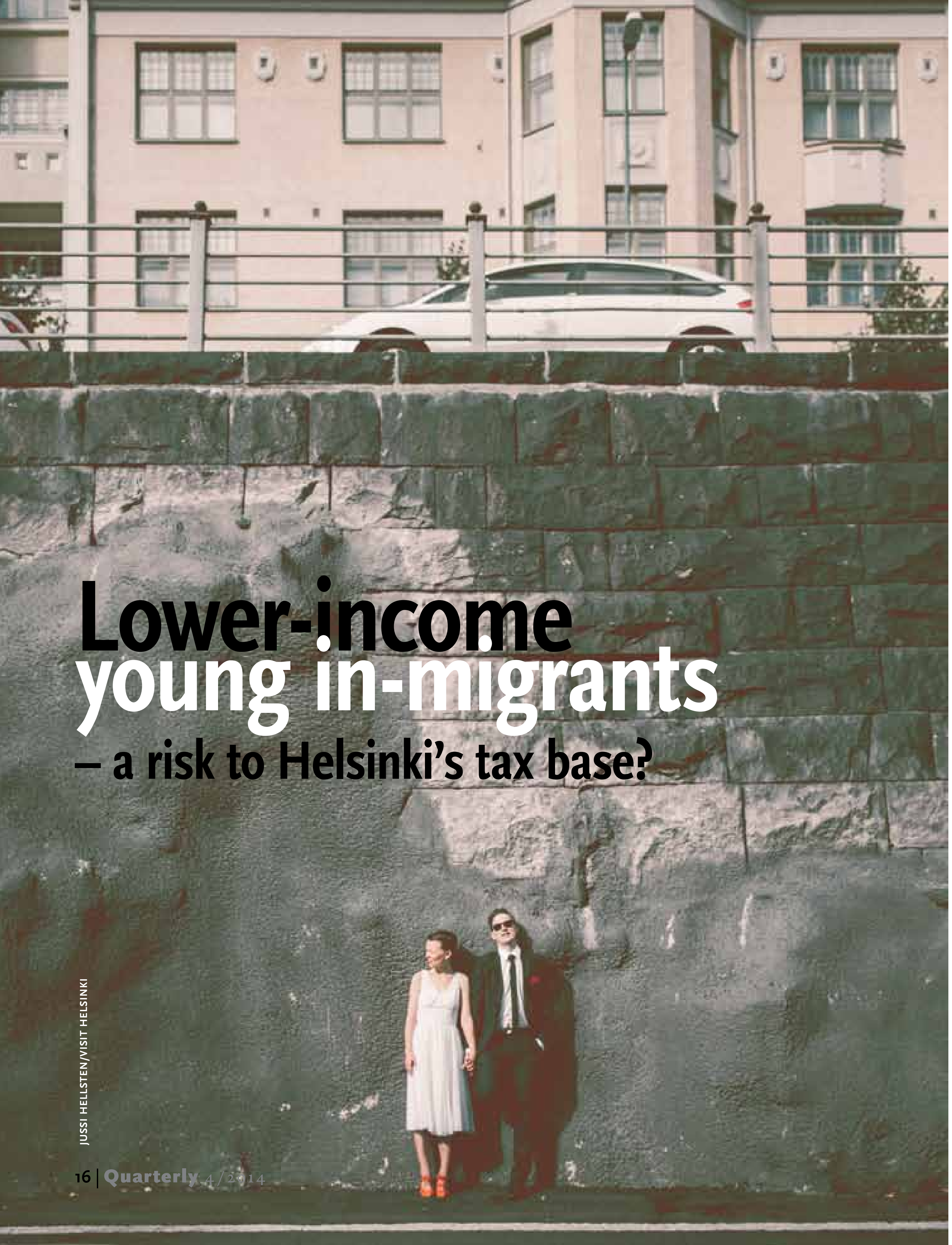


FIGURE 4 75+ year-olds, population change by district, 2014–2024.

PEKKA VUORI *is Senior Statistician at City of Helsinki Urban Facts.*

Source:

City of Helsinki Urban Facts. Helsingin ja Helsingin seudun väestöennuste 2015–2050 [Population projection for Helsinki and the Helsinki Region], Statistics 2014:29.



Lower-income young in-migrants – a risk to Helsinki's tax base?

JUSSI HELLSTEN/VISIT HELSINKI

SEPPO LAAKSO

▶ **MIGRATION BETWEEN THE MUNICIPALITIES** of the Helsinki region has been busy in the 2000s. As is the case in other urban centres, it has been typical for Helsinki that the people moving into the city are young people with relatively low income, while those moving out are older and have often established themselves in employment. This has been seen as a threat for the city's tax revenue. Or is the reality more complex, and what is the effect of the economic downturn on the migration patterns?

Background

The Helsinki Region (14 municipalities) forms a housing and labour market region where migration within and between municipalities is frequent. Almost 19 per cent of the region's population moved in 2012. Of these moves, 67 per cent took place within municipalities, 20 per cent occurred between municipalities and only 13.5 per cent were moves to other parts of Finland or abroad.

Moving is selective in terms of the age and other characteristics of the movers. 18- to 30-year-olds are the most mobile. At this age people typically go through changes in life, having to do with studies, employment, relationships or family formation. These changes are mirrored by housing needs and possibilities, and the resulting reaction is to move. The migration presents itself differently in different municipalities and residential areas. This is due to the variation in housing stock, services, taxes and payments, environment and population structure between areas.

There are also numerous other factors that affect migration and the choice of new residence. In the Helsinki region, young adults tend to move to small rental flats either in the inner city or in the suburbs with blocks of flats. Families with children often move to the fringes of the urban area, where larger and more affordable housing is available. The increasing migration flow consists of people at or near retirement age moving from areas dominated by single-family houses to flats in the city centres.

Moving is also selective in terms of income level. The differences in income level among the moving population have raised the question of whether or not the effects of migration accentuate regional differences. The differences in income are presumed to weaken the revenue base of the "losing" municipalities and cause residential segregation through the concentration of low-income residents in certain municipalities. International research literature presents plenty of evidence of the economic and social segregation processes of selective migration. The development of Detroit and the surrounding cities since the 1970s is the most famous example (Glaeser 2010).

Hannu Kytö and Monika Kral-Leszczynska (2013) studied migration in Finland between 2001 and 2010 and found that the central cities of urban areas with their diverse labour markets attract both internal migrants and immigrants. Surrounding municipalities, which have more affordable housing markets, draw the best tax payers but also have the largest service demand. The study indicates that, as a result of net migration, Helsinki-Uusimaa region attracted about 50 per cent of the net income of all municipalities with migration gain – although, City of Helsinki lost the most income among all the municipalities due to net migration. According to Timo Aro (2013a, 2013b), migration that is selective in terms of income level is shaping the spatial structure of Helsinki and the entire metropolitan area towards incremental segregation. This conclusion is based on the comparison of average annual income levels of migrants between municipalities and areas. Broberg's (2008) conclusions indicate the same result for Helsinki-Uusimaa.

It can be asked whether any far-reaching conclusions can be drawn from statistical data on individual years with regard to the effects of migration on income differences between municipalities. Annual statistics describing the average income levels of movers and the net income revenue of municipalities consolidate various groups of residents moving between municipalities. The low-income group, in particular, contains people with 'temporary' and 'long-term' low income. The majority of low-income residents moving to Helsinki are students or fresh graduates who have low income because they are young and usually not employed. On the other hand, Helsinki also attracts movers who have been dropped out from education and employment.

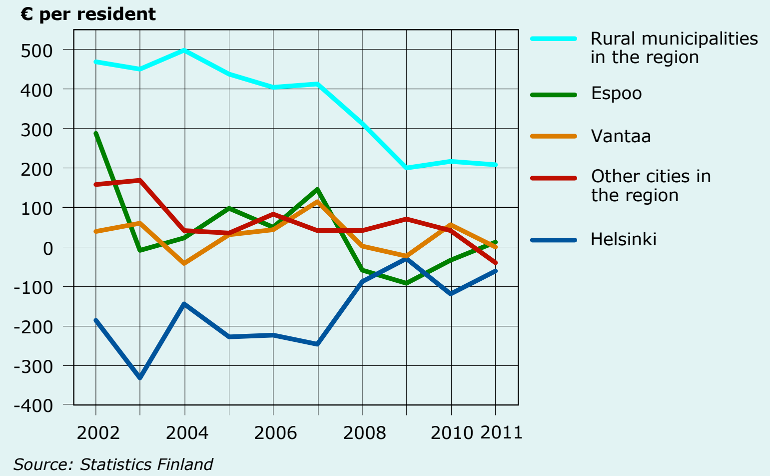
Net income revenue[1] from migration

Domestic migration has caused Helsinki to lose income revenue to other municipalities annually in the 2000s, when viewed in terms of the taxable income of the migrants each year (Figure 1). The cities and groups of municipalities in the Helsinki region deviate from each other greatly with regard to the annual relocation of mover income. Helsinki stands at one extreme: it has suffered 'loss' due to migration. At the opposite extreme are the rural municipalities in the outer parts of the region (Kirkkonummi, Mäntsälä, Nurmijärvi, Pornainen, Sipoo, Tuusula and Vihti), which have gained in terms of the taxable income of movers. Espoo, Vantaa and the smaller cities in the outer-lying parts (Hyvinkää, Järvenpää and Kerava) fall in the middle of these two extremes – they have had positive net in-migration of income or the balance has been near zero.

Between 2002 and 2011, however, there has been a dramatic shift in the income relocation related to domestic migration. Until 2007, the loss suffered by Helsinki varied within €200–300/resident while the gain of the surrounding rural municipalities was

FIGURE 1

Net income of in- and out-migration (€ per resident) in different parts of the Helsinki Region 2002–2011 (taxable income of in- and out-migrants at 2011 income level).



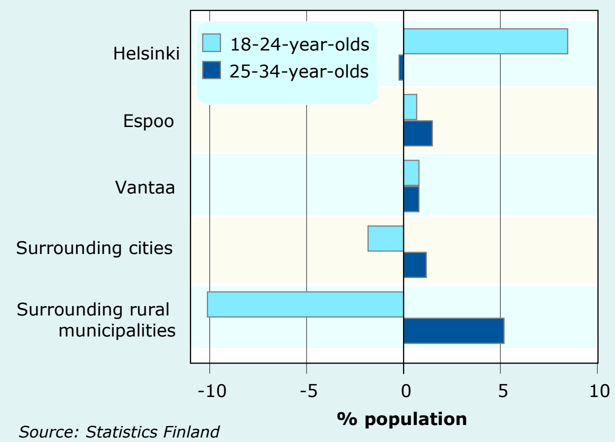
€400–500/resident. Espoo, Vantaa and the smaller cities also gain revenue, with some exceptions.

The turn took place during the first year of the international financial crisis in 2008, which took a heavy toll on the housing markets of Helsinki, for example. In 2008 and thereafter, the differences between the cities and groups of municipalities in the Helsinki region have narrowed: Helsinki's loss and the gain of the surrounding municipalities have decreased, and the result of the intermediate cities has fluctuated on both sides of zero.

In 2011, Helsinki and the surrounding cities suffered slight losses (–€60/resident and –€40/resident, respectively). The surrounding rural municipalities gained a profit (€210/resident), as did Espoo to a lesser degree (€12/resident), with Vantaa's result standing near zero.

FIGURE 2

Net migration of 18–24-year-olds and 24–35-year-olds in relation to the whole age group in 2012.



1) 'Net income revenue' refers to the difference between all income earned by in-migrants and out-migrants.

Age and income distribution of migrants

The income relocations related to migration are closely connected to the age of the movers and, as a result, to their main occupation, employment and income level. A particularly large number of young people between 18 and 24 years of age move to Helsinki from other zones in the region and from outside the region. Espoo and Vantaa are target areas for young adults, but young people are also moving out of the areas of these cities that are dominated by single-family houses. As regards the surrounding rural municipalities, 18- to 24-year-olds move out but over 25-year-olds move in. (Figure 2)

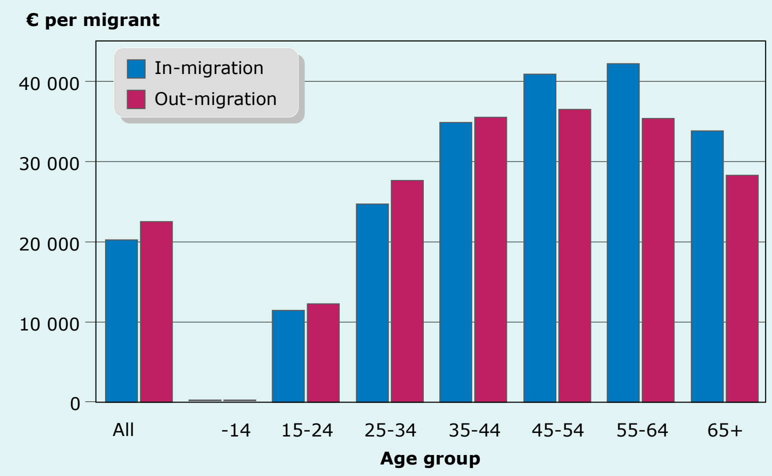
The migration is also selective in terms of the income level of the movers (Figure 3). In the migration between municipalities in the Helsinki region, the average income level of people moving to Helsinki, in particular, has been significantly lower than that of people moving out of the city each year in the 2000s. The average income level of in-migrants was approximately €2,500 lower than that of out-migrants and approximately 25% lower than that of the native population of Helsinki in 2011.

The income level difference varies according to age group. In-migrants aged under 45 have a lower income level than out-migrants, but for those over 45 years of age, the relationship is the opposite. If the average incomes of in- and out-migrants are standardised for age using the age distribution of all movers, the difference in income level becomes marginal. From this we can conclude that Helsinki's loss due to domestic income relocation is based entirely on the differences in the age distribution of in- and outmigration – it is not a case of Helsinki attracting specifically low-income residents and losing high-income residents in domestic migration across all age groups.

Age group-specific income differences have remained fairly stable during the 2000s. However, there has been a dramatic change in the numbers of migrants. In domestic migration, Helsinki's loss of people aged 25–39 especially to other areas in the Helsinki Region increased significantly in the early years of the past decade. Since a turnaround in 2008, the loss has continued to decrease systematically. At its highest, Helsinki's migration loss of people aged 25–39 was -4,100 in 2003, but in 2011 the number had dropped to 960 and in 2013 a slight gain was registered (65 people). The decrease of migration loss in these age groups explains almost the full scope of the decrease in Helsinki's net income revenue in relation to domestic migration from 2003 to 2011 (Figure 1).

The strong age-dependency of employment and income level is an important factor in terms of the long-term effects of migration on income level. In general, the income level of not-employed people moving to Helsinki is less than one-third of the income level of employed in-migrants (Laakso 2013). The average income level is low for 15–24-year-olds since nearly half of them are students and less than half are employed (the employment rate was 46 per cent in 2011). The employment rate and income level increase rapidly after people have surpassed the age of 25. In Helsinki, the employment rate of 25–34-year-olds was 77 per cent in 2011 and their income level was nearly fourfold compared to 15–24-year-olds. Near retirement age, the employment rate and income level begin to decline. Similarly, the income level of migrants changes in the years following the move: on average, the income level of young movers increases in the subsequent years while the income level of old movers tends to decrease.

FIGURE 3
Average taxable income (€) of in- and out-migrants in Helsinki in 2011.



Overall, the impact of the income level of movers on the average income level of a municipality and on tax revenue is a long-term process that is affected by the development of employment and income level in the years following the move, and the time spent living in the municipality in question. Many young adults who move to Helsinki initially have low income but their income level then increases in the coming years, together with their employment rate. For Helsinki's tax revenue base, the development of the migrants' income in the years following the move is much more important than their initial income at the time of the move.

Employment and income level of immigrants

The general income level and differences in income level between municipalities is also affected by immigration and emigration. Immigration has been the most important element impacting population change in Helsinki and the entire Helsinki Region in the 2000s. In 2010, the employment rate of immigrants was one-third lower than that of the entire population or domestic migrants in Helsinki and in the Helsinki Region. The low employment rate is mirrored by the income level, although comparing the income level of immigrants with domestic migrants is problematic since, for the year of immigration, the income registered in statistics normally only covers the part of the year following the move.

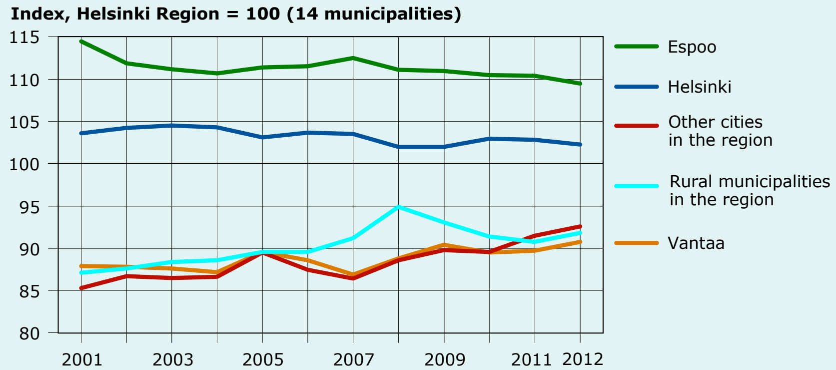
Over half of immigrants (56 per cent) to the Helsinki Region have moved to Helsinki in the 2000s, whilst Helsinki's share of the entire region's population is 44 per cent. Correspondingly, the majority of low-income immigrants outside the workforce have ended up in Helsinki. However, the immigration flow has levelled off in recent years: in 2012, Helsinki's share fell down to 51 per cent from the peak of 59 per cent in 2007.

Income per resident

If migration that is selective in terms of age and income level intensifies the differences between municipalities, this should materialise as a change in the intra-municipal income level differences – in other words, as a decrease in the relative income level of 'losing' municipalities and an increase in the 'gaining' municipalities. Figure 4 shows that the income level differences between municipalities in the Helsinki Region decreased from 2001 to 2008. The relative income level of Helsinki and Espoo, in particular, dwindled. The decrease in Helsinki's relative income level was affected by the active migration of families with children from Helsinki to other parts of the region. As regards Espoo, the decline is most probably attributable to the decline in the IT field between 2002 and 2004, rather than inter-municipal migration.

FIGURE 4

Income per resident in the Helsinki Region 2001–2012 (taxable income, Statistics Finland), index



Source: Laakso 2013

Correspondingly, the relative income level of surrounding rural municipalities that received migration gain from Helsinki and other parts of the metropolitan area increased dramatically. In addition, there was a relative increase in Vantaa and the surrounding cities. On the other hand, there was fairly little change in the income level differences of municipalities in the Helsinki Region between 2008 and 2012. The relative income level of Helsinki remained approximately the same although the net income revenue of migration was negative during this period in Helsinki. The relative income level of Espoo continued to drop slightly, and the surrounding rural municipalities descended to the level preceding the peak of 2008. The relative income level increased clearly in the surrounding cities and slightly in Vantaa.

Conclusions

The effect of migration on the average income level of residents and municipal taxes in the long term is a complex process, also affected by the development of the migrants' income in the years following the move. Which municipalities are 'winners' or 'losers' cannot be directly determined on the basis of the annual net income revenues. Negative net income revenue does not necessarily mean the municipality will become poorer in relation to other municipalities when measured in terms of average income level. The long-term effect is dependent on the age structure of the movers, age-specific income level and the duration of residence in a municipality.

In Helsinki, the migration gain of young adults compensates for losses in tax revenue due to migration fairly well, since the income of young adults tends to increase rapidly in the years following the move. However, for balanced development, it is important that the migration loss of the age group with the highest employment rate does not increase excessively. In the past decade until 2007, Helsinki's annual migration loss of people aged 25–39 amounted to several thousand people. At the same time, the concentration of immigrants out of work or outside workforce in Helsinki decreased the city's income level. These factors had a negative effect on Helsinki's relative income level. On the other hand, in the early years of the current decade, migration has been more balanced for Helsinki. Even though the income level of in-migrants is still lower than that of out-migrants, the increase in employment and earnings among young incomers in the years following the move balances out the apparent loss. ■

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JUSSI HELLSTEN/VISIT HELSINKI


HELINÄ KUUSELA/HELSINGIN JUHLAVIIKOT

How Helsinki became a trailblazer in urban culture – chronicling two decades of change

PEKKA MUSTONEN

HELSINKI HAD A VIBRANT cultural life as early as the 19th century, but the history of our urban culture is still relatively brief, especially in comparison to old European cities. Since Finland also has older cities than Helsinki, it can be argued that the first steps of Finnish urban life were taken somewhere other than the present-day capital.

The recent times, however, have been extremely fruitful from the perspective of chronicling the history of urban culture in Helsinki. This article focuses on two decades of rapid development. During this period, Helsinki has evolved immensely and there is a feeling that the pace continues to accelerate. At present, the lull period of the mid-20th century seems like a distant memory.

What is urban culture? This question is meant to inspire a reflection of how we each interpret the term. Defining concepts is, of course, important – even interesting – and necessary for comparability between studies. For the present purpose, suffice it to say that I understand the concept of urban culture, in general terms, to simply refer to the various ways of living in a city.

Viewed in this fashion, urban culture encompasses lifestyles, consumption and even housing. The associations of 'culture' with class distinctions – and comparisons of the various spheres of culture and cultural products – will be deliberately kept in the background. I prefer to exclude large cultural institutions, such as opera, theatre and art museums, from the consideration of urban culture. It goes without saying that national-level institutions, in particular, require the urban sphere to function, but in principle, they could also be located outside cities. Therefore, I am inclined to think that urban culture represents the kind of things that derive their content from the urban environment.

As is the case with many other concepts that are difficult to define (e.g. sustainable development, culture and the 'creative class'), the best way to grasp the entire phenomenon, or field of phenomena, is to view it through individual occurrences that are easier to define and delineate. This is the approach to urban culture and its recent development in this article.

Re-emergence of urban culture

'Helsinki is a city that you can enjoy', urban researcher Pasi Mäenpää stated fifteen years ago in the article collection URBS (2000, 17–31). The articles in the book explore this notion rather thoroughly, analysing a number of concrete examples from the urban life of Helsinki. The period depicted in the book – the 1990s – was characterised by the democratisation of consumer culture. If the first giant leaps towards consumer-centric urban citizenship were taken in Helsinki in the 1980s, the subsequent decade saw another massive stride: a larger portion of the urban population began to truly 'use the city' and take advantage of its cultural offering. It was still a supply-driven process where influences were eagerly absorbed from other cities, and urban culture was built top-down.

In the same book, Ruoppila and Cantell (2000, 51) state that the invigoration of urban culture in Helsinki is characterised by the fact that the changes occurred relatively late, but when they did, they came at a very rapid pace. It was not until late in the last millennium that urban culture in its current form began to gain a foothold. The roots of many people in Helsinki are in the countryside or in small towns, where the prevalent way of life was naturally quite different from the largest agglomeration in the country.

In the 1990s, the ethos of consumption was omnipresent. Consumer culture became a 'universal immanence', a formless presence that permeated everything. Life in the city was doomed to revolve around consumption, whether we wanted it or not. Yet, in a way, this facilitated the process of urbanisation – we were served tried-and-tested models on a silver platter.

But under the surface of the consumer-centric urban life, there were rumblings of something new. Subcultures gained a larger presence in the cityscape, and at the same time, new subcultures emerged that had not been seen previously in Helsinki. Still, subcultures and mainstream culture each followed their own paths.

Traditionally, the most visible urban subcultures are the ones that have their origins in cities and utilise the street space: street food, café culture, diverse use of parks, punk, skateboarding, breakdance, graffiti and rap music. These phenomena arrived in Helsinki very shortly after they sprang to life in the big American cities, primarily the decaying borough of The Bronx, New York.

Hip hop first came to Helsinki in the form of breakdance and graffiti, but rap groups began to form early on. The first beats of the rap movement reverberated in the streets of the Bronx in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and within a few years the first native Helsinki versions had already taken shape (see Mikkonen 2004, 29–42). The general populace was not aware of these developments until the 1990s. Eventually some of the phenomena became so popular that they began to be seen as a problem. The City of Helsinki adopted a zero-tolerance policy to graffiti with its Stop töhryille ('Stop the scrawls') campaign, perhaps to most visible counter-reaction (see Helin 2014).

Café culture saw significant development and democratisation over the course of the 1990s (Mäkelä & Rajanti 55–71; Ruoppila & Cantell 2000, 35–53), alongside a new rise of restaurant and bar culture (Koskelo 2014). In the same way as advances in entertainment technology can be easily viewed as an auxiliary to the development of urban culture, the shift in restaurant culture is an excellent indicator when we consider the visible manifestations of the evolution of (urban) culture. Restaurant culture also provides a window for assessing other changes in the field of culture and changes in the preferences and tastes of urban people.

The 1990s also saw the emergence of the first 'trendy bars' in Punavuori and other inner-city areas. The gentrification of Punavuori began – and the first signs of the now often derided 'hipster culture' began to emerge. The same development is currently underway in the northern and eastern parts of Helsinki's inner city, although the process has taken different shapes compared to Punavuori in the past couple of decades (Lindblom & Mustonen 2014).

Cultural hangover and 'Helsinki spirit'

The period that began in the 1990s has been called the second wave of urbanisation (e.g. Mäenpää 2005). This new kind of urbanisation no longer only refers to general migration into cities. Instead the meaning is more closely related to living in the city and the changes occurring in city development.

It is illustrative of the shift that took place in the 1990s that, little by little, urban life began to rise from the shadow of institutions, cultural events and festivals. The 'culture as welfare' perspective took a prominent place in the discourse, alongside the business perspective. At the onset of the 2000s, if not earlier, it was evident that culture and economy had a two-way interrelationship, leading to the 'economisation of culture' and 'culturisation of economy'.

The vitalisation of the city was adopted as a shared goal in the city administration, and this eventually led to Helsinki successfully applying for the status of the European Capital of Culture. At the same time, more attention began to be paid to the impact of cultural activities on the urban space. It was understood that activities arranged around culture could have significant effects on (regional) economy, and these could be attained by making the city more vibrant and activating urban life. This new-found interest and excitement is also at the root of the project to make Helsinki European Capital of Culture. Without a doubt, the aim was to boost the economy and promote budding creative activity. New festivals and urban events were springing up constantly, and some of them, such as World Village Festival, Helsinki Festival and The Night of the Arts have established themselves as permanent and highly important institutions over the years (see Silvanto 2007).

Despite the favourable starting point, the city eventually found itself somewhat at a loss in its attempts to capitalise on the hype and upward motion brought about by the European Capital of Culture year. The cultural services of the city and the City of Culture Foundation were separate organisations although they shared some of the same goals. The expectations were high but the methods were out of date. The structural changes

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implemented later were one way to rid the city of the hangover following the ECOC year. In the case of Helsinki, this manifested itself in wide-ranging policies and strategies formulated at top level. This change in thinking is aptly illustrated by the positioning of the Event Unit under Economic Development in the city organisation.

Discussion spread through the City Departments, and culture became a tool for urban development. Travel marketing began to take advantage of the unique cultural characteristics of Finnishness. Finnish people's 'creative insanity', strangeness and quiet nature were seen as fascinating traits that defined the northern capital. The marketing began to increasingly encompass a variety of target groups. The rational ethos began to veer towards a crazier and more fun approach. Even the city strategy stated that Helsinki should be 'fun and functional'. Tolerance increased in all forms – but perhaps only seemingly, which is something that those critical of the bureaucracy inherent in city administration have been eager to bring up time and again.

Nevertheless, attitudes had changed on many levels. In planning its activities, the city increasingly relied on opportunities and available resources instead of prohibitions. This was a way of extending a hand to the city populace. The residents were provided with the opportunity to affect the development of urban life. 'Here is the city – use it', seemed to be the message to the residents – at least in principle. In actual life, partly due to the rapid change, the idealistic bottom-up development perhaps remained a utopian aspiration.

The city administration began to comprehend the inevitability of change and the benefits it would bring. The 2000s were characterised by strong internationalisation and, on the other hand, the IT boom and the increasingly fierce competition for skilled labour. The city needed to remain interesting and appealing so that the seeds of new growth sown by the creative industries, for example, would flourish in the future.

At the beginning of the 2000s, Helsinki began to develop into a miniature metropolis with a distinctive character and less need for outside influences. Active efforts to lay the foundation for unique urban citizenship were initiated, or, at any rate, the foundation began to take shape. The consumer-centric attitude of the 1980s and 1990s became commonplace to such a degree that it was no longer necessary to emphasise it. It was important for Helsinki to struggle out of the shadow of other cities, such as Berlin and Stockholm. There is naturally nothing wrong with applying good practices, but now the influences also began to flow in the opposite direction. Helsinki was sparking interest abroad. Later in the decade, Helsinki took a number of top spots in international city rankings. This naturally spurred the city on towards active and continuous development.

Time for a new type of activity

A decade ago Pasi Mäenpää (2005) wrote about the shift in the focus of social engagement in urban society. This shift moved the focus from communities to shared urban events (see also Mäenpää 2007, 187). Now in the mid-2010s, there is reason to contemplate whether there has actually been a change in the opposite direction. More than ever, urban citizenship is built from the ground up, meaning that individuals and communities – as collectives formed by individuals – are becoming the driving forces of development.

Through communities, even the actions of one individual can help to bring about permanent change. This phenomenon can be seen in the emergence of street food, for example. The city as an organisation cannot take credit for accomplishing the feat of developing street food culture in a northern capital. Such a notion seems absurd. Instead, the city can be proud of its open-minded disposition and the fact that it spotted the rapidly growing phenomenon and took determined action (Helsinki Streets of Food 2014).

The resurgence of food culture has been strongly influenced by another, larger phenomenon – the increasing interest in temporary spaces. Providing spaces and premises for temporary activities is exactly where a tolerant and active approach is needed from the public sector. Positive energy can be easily extinguished, but the opposite is also true. At its best, the city organisation can take an active stance, marketing available spaces to cultural actors and addressing bureaucratic discrepancies.

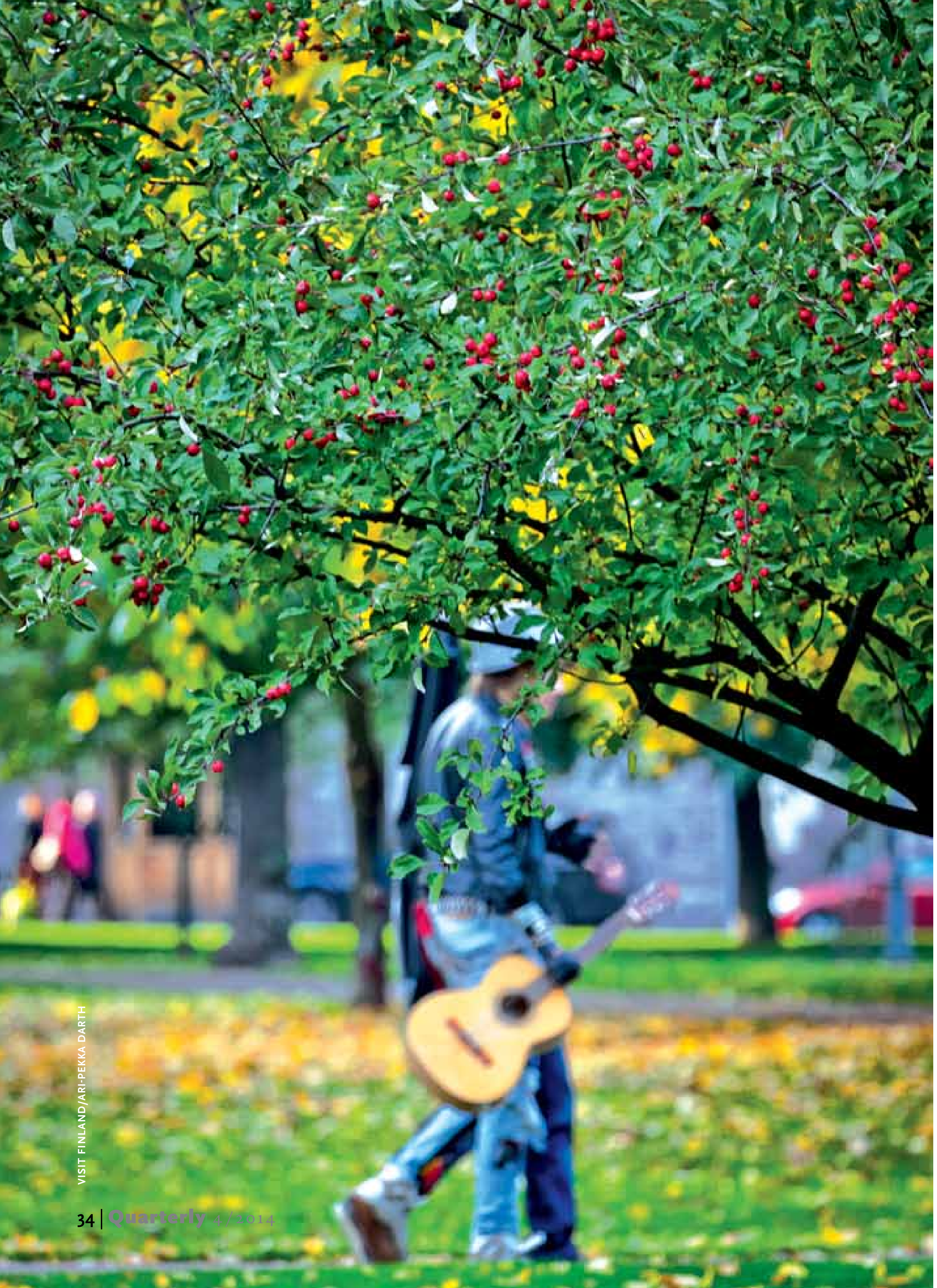
This is exactly what the local actors most often expect the city organization to do: take measures that enable new urban cultural activity. An example of success is the Teurastamo (Abattoir) area, which originally took flight as a World Design Capital project. It was supported by the Helsinki Food Culture Strategy, which was also involved with the recent reinvigoration of the city blocks to the south of Senate Square.

There are numerous similar cases. The public sector is an easy target for criticism, as it is funded by tax revenue. There is certainly cause for criticism, but examples that have resulted in positive developments are rarely brought up, and many citizens may even be unaware of their existence. On the other hand, some of the more conflicting cases such as the dismantling of the seaside sauna built by urban activitsts in Sompasaari, or the bureaucracy faced by the Camionette van – an early pioneer of the street food phenomenon – are still fresh in people's minds.

What this means is that the city must profile itself as a tolerant partner. Its new proactive approach must be seen as a positive driver and an image boost. At present, the most substantial efforts for the development of urban culture originate among the city residents themselves (see Hernberg (ed.) 2012), and it is this activity that seems to be an integral element in the 'new' Helsinki.

Helsinki has rapidly grown into a city that other cities look to as an example. The 'learning from Berlin' paradigm is shifting, although some structures are still holding back development. In my mind, the spirit of urban culture in Helsinki has transcended the perceivable reality. A good example of this is the unexpected popularity of the Streat Helsinki street food event. Whereas before demand followed supply, the situation has now been somewhat reversed. This is something that is essential for us to comprehend. In many cases, structures that inevitably restrict the offering emerge in response to these developments. It is important to try and prevent the general atmosphere from becoming reserved and prohibitive.

New events are born constantly, largely thanks to the motivation of people at grassroots level. There are probably more different kinds of festivals in Helsinki than ever before. The city centre has cemented itself as a venue for major festivals, and new locales have been utilised in an exemplary manner. Some of the 'alternative' festivals have grown to such a degree as to have inspired their own 'fringe' or alternative versions. The Flow Festival is now one of the largest festivals in Finland, and in a way, the Kuudes Aisti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('Sixth Sense') summer music festival, organised in the middle of the Kallio district, has practically taken its place as the 'official' alternative festival.

The entire festival field has become heavily polarised. For instance, Tuska, Hustle, HKI and Weekend Festival are important representatives of their genres, even on an international scale, but their presence in the actual cityscape is relatively minor. On the other hand, massive music festivals have been held at the Hietaniemi beach for a few years now, which may have come as a surprise to the general public.

From a neighbourhood perspective, festivals and events are important. District festivals show that life does extend outside the city centre. However, permanent structures on the scale of the inner city are yet to be put in place. The most important festivals and events that represent urban cultures still take place in or near the city centre, and as was indicated above, this trend has only increased in the 2000s.

According to some views, the focus on the city centre is about to shift (Vaattovaara 2011, 216), and perhaps this is also the case from the perspective of the development of urban cultures. There are even some empirical signs. Small brick-and-mortar shops, along with cafés and restaurants, are springing up constantly in the expanding inner city, but now some indications can be seen that such small-scale activity is gradually spreading outside the central area. In other words, the vibrant part of the city, which is interesting from the viewpoint of urban life in general, is expanding. Restaurant Lähiö was recently opened in Rastila Manor in the eastern suburbs, and Café Stoa in Itäkeskus serves weekend brunch 'Kallio style'. Things are also happening at the fringes of the inner city, such as the Vallila district. Likewise, the area around the Sörnäinen metro station, which has had something of a bad reputation, has become one of the pioneering districts of the street food boom.

New, more mature Helsinki?

There is no question that urban events are still needed. They liven up the city and its districts, spawning new interest in the city and its offering. They also create job and development opportunities for professionals in a variety of fields. Despite all this, economic development policy and related goals should be separated from the development of the deep structures of urban culture.

At present, urban culture is evolving at a staggering rate. Has Helsinki in fact reached a certain maturity in terms of urban culture and is no longer in need of titles and high-profile city designations? There can be active efforts to reach the grassroots level, but, in their absence, a city should focus more clearly and genuinely on economic policy and the development of tourism. An urban identity cannot be created from the top down, nor can the city be forged into something interesting by developing and supporting existing institutions alone.

In the past three decades, Helsinki has changed from a city that reaches towards continental Europe to a unique and self-aware metropolis. It would seem that the residents have no need for their city to achieve any particular status, and, quite honestly, I doubt the city administration does either. The residents want a pleasant and comfortable city and opportunities to affect the processes through which these qualities can be increased. This kind of city appears to be interesting to outsiders as well.

The attitude of the city residents are exemplified by the awareness study pertaining to the 2012 Helsinki World Design Capital year (Mustonen 2014). The marketing of the city may have been reinvigorated by the WDC project, but the views of the residents were largely neutral. They were dispassionate about the project, which received an overall school grade of C from the respondents. The apparent detachment was most likely a result of the population's desire for easily accessible urban culture at the grassroots level.

It is difficult to make long-term prognoses, but logical examination of past events indicates that the development towards increased tolerance is likely to continue, despite economic and political trends. Even seemingly rigid structures can be changed rapidly if necessary. For example, no one knows when the restrictions on the opening hours of restaurant and bar terraces will be lifted, but it is hard to imagine terraces closing at 10 pm in the Helsinki of 2024. It is equally likely, at some point in future, that we will be able to purchase a wine bottle in a restaurant to take away. All of these phenomena already exist in one form or another, even though they are not yet visible in the cityscape. They are already more than weak signals. Structures are being torn down and rebuilt in entirely new ways. This is what makes a city a city. ■

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VESA KESKINEN

Citizens prefer **COLLECTIVELY PRODUCED** urban culture

▶ *Neighbourhood festivals, block parties, Restaurant Day, Cleaning Day – all these are examples of new, innovative and collective urban culture. Informal events arranged by citizens and communities have been extremely popular. This article examines how collective urban culture manifests itself in the consumption of culture and cultural activities in Helsinki.*


Alppipuisto park in the summer of 2013. Photo by Joel Kukkonen

The cultural activities of Helsinki residents and their opinions of Helsinki as a city of culture were analysed with a new kind of approach in the autumn of 2013. Survey responses were collected using a snowball sampling method by disseminating the questionnaire through e-mail and Facebook. Many of the respondents received the invitation to fill in the questionnaire from a person they knew, which increased their enthusiasm to participate and answer the questions more carefully. Almost 100% of the respondents answered all questions. A total of 838 respondents returned the survey.

The questionnaire included 12 questions around the following subtopics:

- *respondents' consumption of culture*
- *most interesting cultural experience in past 12 months*
- *problems and shortcomings in cultural offering in Helsinki*
- *use of Internet in consumption and creation of cultural content*
- *satisfaction with cultural offering in Helsinki*
- *respondents' relationship to culture (as member of audience, amateur, student or professional)*

Despite the short questionnaire, an extensive amount of information was gained. Nearly every question also included the option of typing in a supplementary free response. All these answers were analysed in a subsequent research report (Keskinen & Kotro 2014).

The question concerning the role of the respondents as consumers of culture already provided new information on the cultural audiences in Helsinki. Most of the respondents indicated themselves to be members of the audience, spectators or listeners. More than a quarter (29 per cent) stated that they are involved with culture as a leisure-time option or because of studies. 13 per cent of the respondents were culture professionals. Depending on the situation, the respondents could naturally take multiple roles – most commonly as an amateur and a member of the audience.

Neighbourhood events

Respondents were asked to indicate which types of cultural events and activities (rock concerts, opera, theatre, etc.) they had attended at least once in the course of a year. They turned out to be active consumers of culture, having experienced an average of seven events of different genres of the 14 options provided.

Jumble sale in Dallapé park in the summer of 2012. Photo by Joel Kukkonen

"Surf Cafe" in Alppila, Restaurant Day, February 2014. Photos by Vesa Keskinen

The cultural activities could be divided roughly into three groups according to popularity. The majority of the respondents (75–85 per cent) had visited a library, cinema, art exhibit or gallery or theatre, within the past year. Approximately half (49–61 per cent) had been to a major free event (Night of the Arts, Tall Ships Race, or similar), a pop, jazz or rock concert, a neighbourhood event, a classical music performance or opera, or a jumble sale on a street or in a park. A smaller part of the respondents had attended a dance performance or ballet, Restaurant Day, Helsinki Book Fair or the circus.

The proportion of people who had taken part in neighbourhood events was highest in the postcode districts of Länsi-Herttoniemi, Alppiharju, Roihuvuori, Kallio, Kumpula, Vallila, Tapaninkylä, Aurinkolahti, Mellunmäki and Kontula. 90–75 per cent of the respondents from these areas reported they had visited a festival. By contrast, less than a third of the respondents living in the postcode districts of Pikku Huopalahti, Jätkäsaari and Munkkivuori had attended neighbourhood events.

A particularly large number of the residents of in the inner-city districts of Vallila, Kallio, Alppiharju, Torkkelinmäki, Kumpula and Käpylä as well as the city centre had attended jumble sales on streets and in parks (87–64 per cent of the respondents from these areas). Lower attendance of such events was found in areas including Laakso, Veräjänmäki, Tapulikaupunki, Laajasalo, Länsi-Pasila, Munkkiniemi and Itä-Pasila.

In the postcode districts of Torkkelinmäki, Pikku Huopalahti, Lassila, Itä-Pasila and Vallila, over half of the respondents (75–56 per cent) had taken part in Restaurant Day. Among those living in Lauttasaari, Mellunmäki, Kivihaka, Tammisalo and Kontula, the corresponding proportion was 25–21 per cent.

The City of Helsinki supports local culture through urban culture grants. In 2013, the City supported 152 events. The City of Helsinki Cultural Office may grant support for the basic costs of arranging an urban culture event, be it a 'village festival' or a Chinese Moon Festival. The grant sums range from a few hundred euros to a few thousand. In 2014, the City assisted cultural community initiatives with grants totalling €230,000.[1]

High ticket prices, 'too many events'

Some 30 per cent of the respondents felt that there were no problems or shortcomings in the cultural offering of Helsinki. This percentage remained fairly constant irrespective of the respondent's age, gender or role in the field of culture (audience, amateur, professional).

Eight possible issues were suggested on the questionnaire. On average, respondents mentioned 1.7 problems. The issue that the respondents were most unhappy about was the high ticket prices of cultural events in Helsinki.

Slightly over one fifth of the respondents (113 people, equivalent to 23 per cent) also listed other issues besides those suggested in the form. The following is a summary of the entries:

- *There is an overabundance of interesting events – this is a 'positive problem'.*
- *A need for better information on the events was indicated – it was suggested that a website or online portal would list everything offered at a given time (the information is currently scattered across a variety of sites and media).*
- *The cultural offering is too focused on the peak seasons of summer and autumn – the most interesting events overlap.*
- *General bureaucracy and the arduous process of obtaining a permit are still obstacles.*

What were some of the things the respondents wished to add to the cultural offering of Helsinki? The written responses strongly indicated the popularity of local, smaller-

1) City of Helsinki Cultural Office, Urban Culture Grants 2013: http://www.hel.fi/hki/Kulke/fi/Avustukset/Kaupunkikulttuuriavustukset/Kaupunkikulttuuriavustukset

Top: Kallio Block Party. Middle: Concert by PMMP at Kumpula Village Festival in 2010. Bottom: Restaurant Day in Kallio. (Photos: Vesa Keskinen)

scale events with a community or collective focus. By contrast, the respondents were less interested in major events such as expensive performances by international stars in Helsinki.

A report based on the survey material has been published online (Keskinen & Kotro 2014). The results of the survey were also used in compiling the cultural statistics publication Arts and Culture in Helsinki (2014). ■

‘Snowball sampling’ method

● Benefits

The method made it possible to reach out to specific groups better than a normal sample. For example, Facebook helped us connect with groups such as graffiti artists and junior football teams. We also got responses from a large number of culture professionals (110 persons or 13 per cent of the respondents), whom a normal sample would not have been likely to reach.

The method employed is a fast and affordable means to collect fresh information on a limited and non-controversial topic. It would be worthwhile to test the potential of the snowball method in reaching citizens with a foreign mother tongue.

● Drawbacks

The data obtained is not representative of the population of Helsinki 'in miniature'. There was no sample. Nevertheless we were able to later analyse the responses by age group, educational background or place of domicile. On the other hand, a low response rate in a normal survey causes the same problem.

It was not possible to send reminders to those who have not responded.

We did not reach many people aged under 18, despite our wish that the recipients of the questionnaire would disseminate it to people of different ages. The difficulty of involving young people is a common problem with all survey- and interview-based studies.

Since well-educated, culturally active adults were overrepresented among the respondents, the study in fact describes the views of this group about cultural life in Helsinki. However, if the survey had been conducted by traditional means (sample, paper and online form), we would have arrived at a rather similar result because women, elderly and culturally active people would have been generally the most eager to respond.

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KATJA VILKAMA & HENRIK LÖNNQVIST

Are sociospatial differences cast in concrete?

VISIT FINLAND/TIM BIRD

Research results on segregation in the Helsinki metropolitan area indicate quite significant differences between sub-city areas in terms of income and education levels, percentages of immigrant population and employment rates (e.g. Vaattovaara & Kortteinen 2012; Vilkama 2012; Lönnqvist & Tuominen 2013). Although the general increase in education and income levels is evident across almost all areas, the differences have remained the same – or even increased – over the past decade (Vilkama et al. 2014). The increase in area differences has always been seen as a negative phenomenon, and various political measures have been taken to curb or reverse it. On the other hand, it would seem that social segregation is a fairly common and often permanent urban phenomenon.

THE HOUSING STOCK AND HOUSING MARKET play a central role in social segregation (Cheshire 2006). The stock of social rental housing, the proportion of which in the entire housing stock varies between areas, is often categorically reserved for those on lower incomes. As regards the housing stock priced on market terms, the type and location of the buildings, when capitalised in the prices and rents of the housing units, have a significant effect on the socioeconomic structure of residents. The varying solutions employed by municipalities in planning and land use policy and housing policy may also lead to varying results in resident structure. Furthermore, different demographic groups may have their own wishes in terms of the socioeconomic structure of the residential area. The above-mentioned characteristics of the housing stock and housing market, together with the income and wealth of households, form the limitations within which these choices are made.

In this article we will examine the development of the socioeconomic status of small areas in the Helsinki metropolitan area. The intention is to find out how permanent their social status is. After that, we will look into the possible connection of the structure of the housing stock and the location of the area to the socioeconomic status of an area. We will seek to determine the degree to which the structural characteristics and location of the housing stock – which change slowly or not at all – explain the socioeconomic status of an area. The article is based on a more extensive research report on area development in the Helsinki metropolitan area, which was published in the spring of 2014 (Vilkama et al. 2014).

Incorporating the dimensions of social segregation into one index

The growth of spatial differences is often approached through individual dimensions of segregation, one variable at a time. Analyses of individual dimensions produce interesting and topical information on the development of residential areas, but it is difficult to form an overall view of the wider developments in the areas, or changes in their status, based on them. In this article, we will utilise the area status classification developed by the City of Berlin, which condenses the dimensions of spatial segregation into a single variable depicting area status.

Since 1998, the City of Berlin has utilised and developed various indices for monitoring social development in residential areas. The purpose of the indices has been to provide tools to support the monitoring of area development, and the focusing and planning of various regional measures. At the moment, three separate indices are in use: the status index describes the status of areas as a summation of various indicators; the development index depicts the perceptible dynamic of area development; and the social development index incorporates the values of the two other indices into a single variable (see Social Urban Development Monitoring 2010).

Within the scope of this article, we will apply the first of the indices employed by the City of Berlin – the status index – which condenses the dimensions of spatial segregation into a single variable and enables us to view the status changes of areas between 2002 and 2012. In this context, status changes refer to changes in the order of the areas; in other words, changes in the status of an area in relation to other residential areas.

The status index was calculated on the basis of four variables measuring socioeconomic and ethnic segregation in residential areas: the proportion of 25- to 64-year-olds with only basic education (excluding immigrants); the unemployment rate of 25- to 64-year-olds; earnings subject to national taxation per each resident aged 15 or over (i.e. average income in the area); and the share of the population with a foreign mother tongue. The variables we used deviate from the statistical variables used in the City of Berlin index, but the calculation method is similar.

The areas were arranged in ascending order, after which the variable-specific ranking points (the ordinal ranking numbers of the areas for each variable) were added together. Thus the areas that ranked the lowest on several variables received the most points. The areas were then classified into ten groups of equal size. The areas in the lowest decile (i.e. with highest ranking points) were named as 'low status' areas, in line with the Berlin classification; the areas in the second lowest decile were dubbed 'moderately low status areas'; a 'middle' class was formed from the middle 60 per cent of the areas, and the final 20 per cent were placed in the 'high status' class.

The classification was conducted according to the situation at the turn of 2011/2012 and 2001/2002, so as to be able to examine the changes in status from 2002 to 2012. The area level used in the analysis was the smallest possible statistical area where data were available: sub-districts (osa-alue) in Helsinki, and comparable statistical areas in Espoo (pienalue) and Vantaa (kaupunginosa). New residential areas constructed in the 2000s, or areas that had fewer than 300 inhabitants during any part of the ten-year period, were excluded from the categorisation. Likewise, the parts of Sipoo that were annexed into Helsinki in 2009 were not included since statistical data was not available prior to the annexation. Thus we had the same number of areas throughout the ten-year period – any changes in the number of areas would have also affected their placement into the status classes. In total, the study encompassed 226 areas in the Helsinki metropolitan area.

Area status appears fairly constant

The status index provides a picture of the social status of residential areas in the Helsinki metropolitan area which is very similar to the results of previous studies on segregation processes in the region (e.g. Maury 1997; Vaattovaara 1998; Kortteinen & Vaattovaara 1999; Kortteinen et al. 2005; Vilkama 2012). Areas with weaker status (the lowest fifth; low and moderately low status) are primarily dominated by blocks of flats and situated along railway tracks and metro lines. High status areas (the strongest fifth), in turn, are located by the sea, in the eastern parts of Espoo and in some areas dominated by single-family houses in various parts of the metropolitan area. For example, the majority of southern and western Helsinki falls into the middle status class.

Furthermore, the differences in social status of small areas between the three cities are evident in the manner indicated in previous research (see e.g. Lönnqvist & Tuominen 2013). Espoo stands out from Helsinki and Vantaa as a municipality of significantly higher status (Table 1). Only four of the residential areas in Espoo are in the two weakest status classes, which include a total of 45 areas in the region (20 per cent of all areas). The residential areas in Helsinki are more evenly distributed among both extremes of the status classification. However, areas of Helsinki are clearly overrepresented in the lowest status class. At the same time, Helsinki includes a number of high status areas. The districts of Vantaa, on the other hand, typically appear as middle- or moderately low-class areas. Only three of the Vantaa districts are in the high status class.

TABLE 1 Division of residential areas into status classes by municipality at the turn of 2011/2012 ('Berlin classification').

	Number of areas (N)				Distribution of areas (%)			
Status 2012	Espoo	Helsinki	Vantaa	Total	Espoo	Helsinki	Vantaa	Total
Low status*	1	17	4	22	1	16	8	10
Moderately low status**	3	11	9	23	4	10	18	10
Middle level***	43	59	33	135	60	56	67	60
High status****	25	18	3	46	35	17	6	20
Areas in total	72	105	49	226	100	100	100	100

* Weakest 10% of the areas
** Second weakest 10% of the areas
*** Middle 60% of the areas
**** Strongest 20% of the areas

As can be seen, the spatial structure and inter-municipal differences depicted by the status index are quite clear. But how permanent do the area statuses appear if the changes in status are viewed over a span of ten years?

Table 2 describes the status classes of the residential areas in the Helsinki metropolitan area at the turn of 2001/2002 and 2011/2012. The majority of the areas (83 per cent) remained in the same class, and only less than one-fifth (17 per cent) moved from one class to another. For example, almost all (19 out of 22) of the areas in the low status class at the turn of 2001/2002 are still in the same class a decade later. This is the case despite the fact that the general increase in education and income levels has also had a positive impact on the development of these areas. However, in three low status areas, development has been more positive than average, leading to these areas (one from each city) climbing to a higher status class. As a result of this, the status of three other areas has weakened correspondingly, and they have fallen to a lower status class (two areas in Helsinki and one in Espoo). Similar minor transitions from one class to another also occurred in the high and middle class. Overall, the status of all areas appears to have remained highly constant. In summation, we can therefore state that the weakest areas have remained the weakest and the strongest areas have remained the strongest.

TABLE 2 Area statuses (Berlin classification) in 2002 and 2012. The transitions have been marked in grey; darker tone for areas with lowered status and lighter tone for areas with improved status.

Status changes of areas					
	Status 2012				
Status 2002	Low status	Moderately low status	Middle level	High status	Total
Low status	19	2	1		22
Moderately low status	3	15	5		23
Middle level		6	119	11	136
High status			10	35	45
Total	22	23	135	46	226

Impact of housing stock structure and area location on socioeconomic status

In the following, we will examine the impact of the housing stock structure and the location of residential areas on their socioeconomic status. Above, socioeconomic status was described using a status index ('Berlin classification') based on the ranking of areas. In this section, however, we will apply an approach based on principal component analysis, since in the ranking-based examination of the data, differences between areas are only linked to the placement (ordinal ranking number) of the residential areas on the ranking list. The difference in status between the areas that rank 10th and 20th is equal to that between the 30th and 40th. As regards the variables behind the ranking order, the differences are not equal in this way. If we look, for example, at the proportion of foreign language speakers, the differences between areas in the middle status group are fairly minor, but the differences between the areas in the group with the highest proportion of foreign language speakers are naturally larger. Principal component analysis allows us to take into account these types of variations in the distribution of basic variables.

Comparing the result produced by the status index to the results of the principal component analysis conducted with the original variables indicates that the 'Berlin' classification provides a fairly good description of the sub-city level variations in socioeconomic standing. The correlations between the original variables – proportion of 25–64-year-olds with only basic education excluding immigrants; unemployment rate of 25–64-year-olds; earnings subject to national taxation per person (aged 15 or over); and the share of foreign language speakers – are relatively strong and highly significant in statistical terms (Table 3). For example, there is a negative correlation between the proportion of foreign language speakers and the average income in the area, which stands at 0.47. The correlations between other variables are even stronger. These strong correlations indicate that the variables produce a very similar regional picture where good and poor social standing are located in largely the same areas.

TABLE 3 Correlations between the original socioeconomic variables

	Share of foreign language speakers	Unemployment rate (25–64-year-olds)	Average income per person (aged 15 or over)	Share of those with only basic education in the Finnish majority population (25–64-year-olds)
Share of foreign language speakers	1	0.77	-0.47	0.55
Unemployment rate (25–64-year-olds)	0.77	1	-0.55	0.77
Average income per person (aged 15 or over)	–0.47	–0.55	1	–0.60
Share of those with only basic education in the Finnish majority population(25–64-year-olds)	0.55	0.77	-0.60	1

The area differences depicted by the four basic variables can, through principal component analysis, be condensed into a single dimension that explains 72 per cent of the variation of the variables between the areas. If the result of the principal component analysis – a score describing the socioeconomic status of the areas – is viewed on the map together with the previously presented status classification ('Berlin classification'), it can be seen that the spatial picture is very similar with both methods.

At the outset of this article, we posed the question of how the housing stock structure and location of residential areas affect their socioeconomic status. We base our examination on a regression model in which the socioeconomic status is explained through the housing stock structure (proportion of ARA[1] dwellings, proportion of flats) and location of the area (distance from the centre of Helsinki; municipality).

Based on the estimation results of the regression model (Table 4), the above-mentioned variables describing the structure and location of an area explain approximately 68 per cent of the variation in the socioeconomic status of residential areas. The share of flats and ARA housing units alone explains more than half (51 per cent) of the variation between areas. According to the results (Table 4), the shares of ARA housing and flats both lower the status of an area. The latter may seem somewhat peculiar as the central area of Helsinki, which is the most expensive area in the region measured in price per square metre, is composed mostly of blocks of flats. The result makes more sense when the distance from the city centre is included in the equation. An increase in the distance dramatically lowers the socioeconomic status of an area. Therefore, among two residential areas at the same distance from the city centre, the one with the higher share of single-family houses will have the higher socioeconomic status, on the basis of the model applied here. In addition to this, there are significant differences between municipalities. Being located in Espoo will substantially increase the prognosis of an area's socioeconomic status according to the model. This is in comparison to Helsinki and Vantaa, as a statistically significant difference cannot be seen between the latter two.

1) Social housing. ARA is the Housing Finance and Development Centre of Finland.

TABLE 4 Explaining socioeconomic status ('factor of poor social and economic standing') based on housing stock structure and the location of an area

	Factor estimate	Statistical significance	VIF
Constant term	2.055	<0.0001	0
Share of flats in housing stock	– 0.01346	<0.0001	2.08833
Share of ARA dwellings in housing stock	– 0.02731	<0.0001	1.35086
Distance (km) from centre of Helsinki (Rautatientori)	– 0.08913	<0.0001	3.02922
Area located in Helsinki	ref.		
Area located in Espoo	0.60817	<0.0001	1.88791
Area located in Vantaa	0.06811	0.6210	2.36207

What this means is that distance from the city centre, housing stock structure and municipality can be used to account for a significant portion of the variation in social status between areas. Therefore, it is natural to conclude that the permanence of social status, which was also examined above, is largely explained by these structural factors. After all, changes in housing stock take a long time. For example, at the city level, newly produced housing typically amounts to 1 per cent of the total housing stock.

Discussion

In this article, we tested the possibilities provided by the status index developed by the City of Berlin for analysing the development of regional differences in Helsinki. Based on the results and a comparison with the results of the principal component analysis utilised towards the end of the article, it can be seen that the classification provides a feasible way to illustrate socioeconomic segregation in the Helsinki metropolitan area. The results are also in line with those of previous studies (such as Maury 1997;

Vaattovaara 1998; Kortteinen & Vaattovaara 1999; Vilkama 2012; Lönnqvist & Tuominen 2013). At least within the ten-year period investigated in this article, area status seems fairly constant. Changes are minor and primarily occur between areas that are similar to each other in relation to the basic variables behind the index. Here, however, lies a point of criticism regarding this method. How authentic are status changes when the rankings of very similar areas can be changed as a result of minor alterations in the basic variables?

When the housing stock structure and location of an area is used to explain its socioeconomic status, we gain very clear and possibly expected results. The fact that a high proportion of ARA housing lowers socioeconomic status is a given, since the income criteria utilised in the selection of tenants for this form of housing steer the development in this direction. The role of the distance from the city centre is also clearly evident. The status of an area is lowered (building type and municipality standardised) with increasing distance from the city centre. The differentiation of Espoo (other factors standardised) from Helsinki and Vantaa is also clear. Due to the slow change of housing stock, the socioeconomic structure can also be expected to change slowly.

On the other hand, as valuations of housing change and the urban structure develops, the valuation of individual areas may also change. This may occur as a result of the strong population increase of the city and related large-scale construction of housing in both new and old areas. Although the status of areas appears cast in concrete in the short-term – even in the span of ten years – area status may change significantly over a longer period of time. Who, for instance, would have thought 50 years ago that Käpylä or Punavuori would emerge as desirable residential areas? ■

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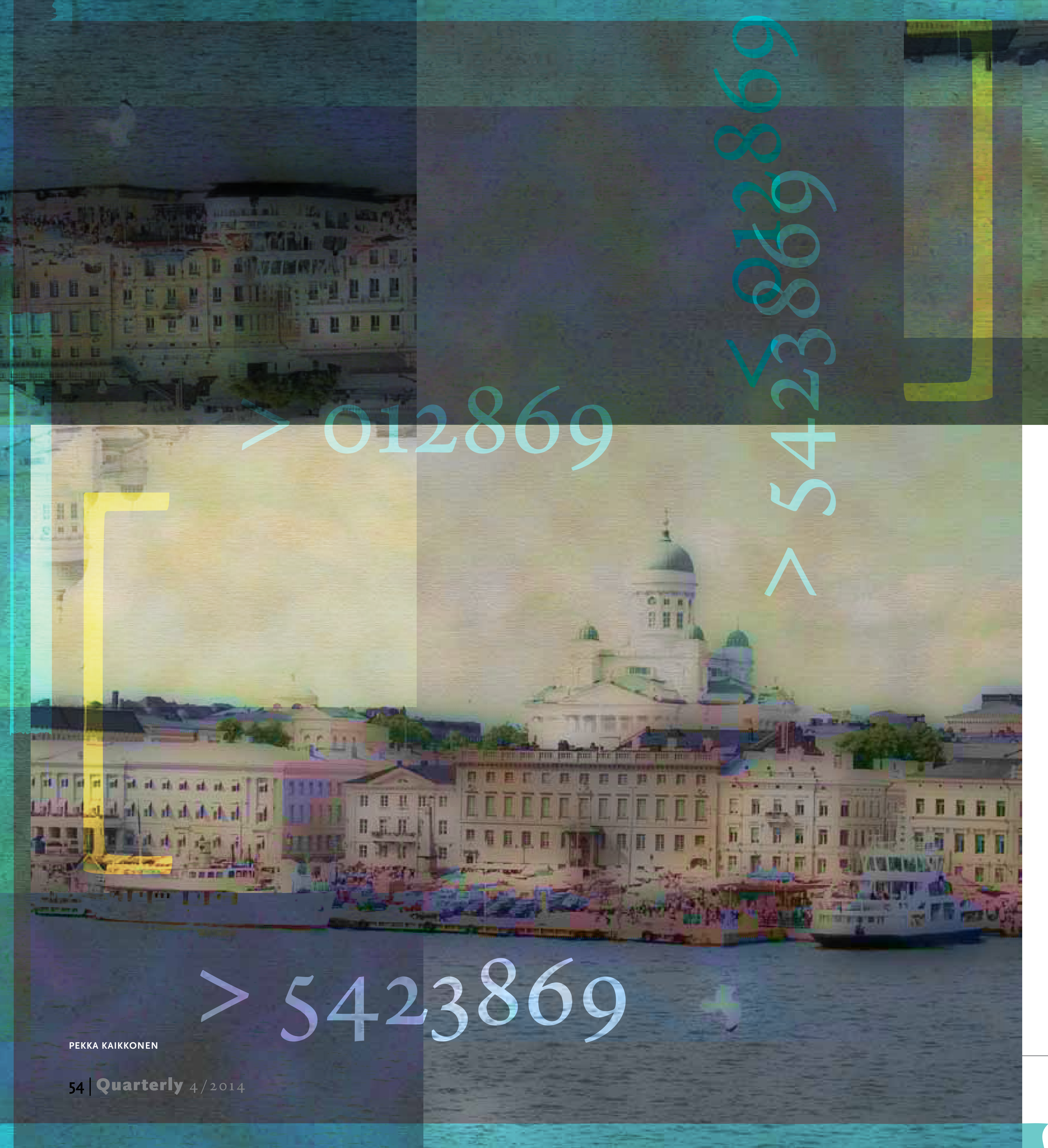

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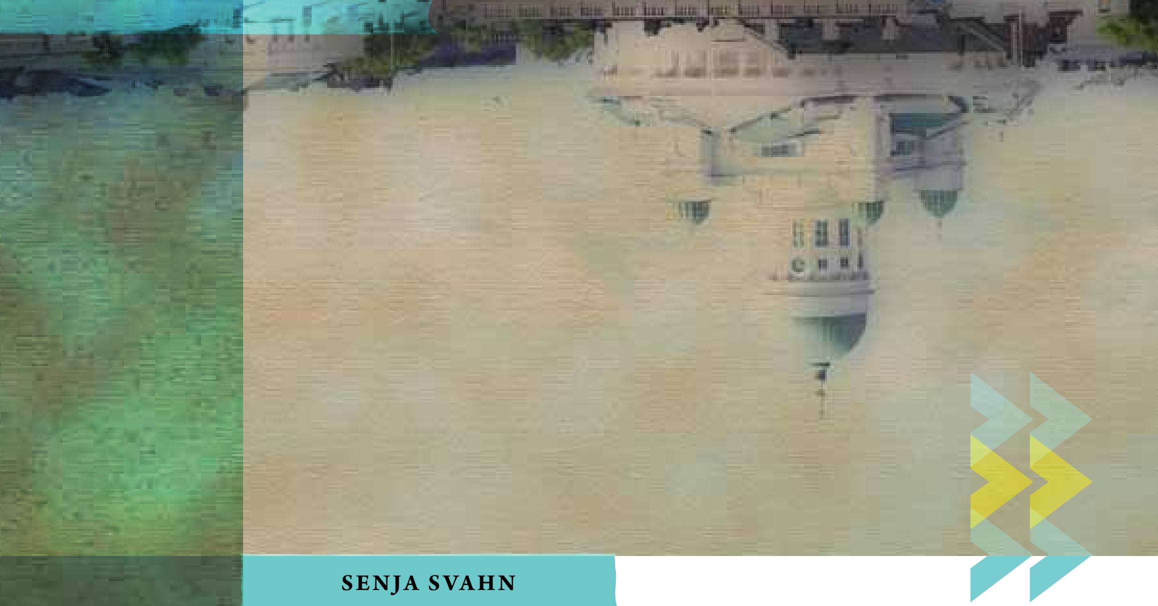


SENJA SVAHN

Harnessing the Uncovered Opportunities of Open Data

▶THIS REVIEW IS BASED ON a systematic mapping of existing research reports, websites and interviews of experts in the field of open data, conducted at City of Helsinki Urban Facts (Helsinki Region Infoshare) during the summer 2014. The analysis focused on city level. Firstly, the study proposes open data to be approached and analysed from the perspective of its benefits. Secondly, it indicates that still uncovered opportunities of open data could be identified and utilised better. Finally, the study emphasises impacts of open data and suggests some future trends.

Open data-based innovations revolutionise markets

The field of socio-economic activities is fundamentally changing. Collaboration and interactions between various types of organisations have increased dramatically. The increased importance of knowledge, technological complexity, global competition and the expanded availability of information technology are drivers for forming business networks (Castells 1996). No organisation is able to develop major innovations alone because of the dispersion of knowledge and technological knowhow driven by organisational specialisation. In order to achieve higher effectiveness an increasing number of companies are forced to focus on their core competencies, leading to the externalisation of their other activities to outside suppliers and thus to dependence on each other's resources (Barney 1986, Prahalad and Hamel 1990, Wernerfelt 1984). In addition, industries are transforming from manufacturing towards services. Multiple offerings are formed to include more and more products and services combined together as a complete package. This service orientation at the same time initiates but also requires new operating models.

Such a networked way of organising activities combined together with an opportunity of open data may bring competitive advantage, but also increase challenges in ever-tightening global competition. Open data refers to information resources (contents) that are delivered in structured digital forms. The definition of open data also requires that the data sets must be fully digitally available; open data sets must be in machine-readable form in order to be downloaded over the Internet and need to be licensed so that anyone can freely use, reuse, adapt and deliver the modified data further. (http://www.hri.fi)

In the era of big, fast, valuable data, the novel usage of open data may become a strategic source of competitive advantage. It has also played a role in creating new jobs and innovation, as well as improved services. This competition requires balancing both locally with own regional actors and competing in the global marketplace. Key challenges and opportunities for open data applications include the shortening lifecycles of products and services and ever more complex and more integrated offerings that are taking over the markets.

Furthermore, the nature of work has also been transformed, guided especially by two trends: the pressure to achieve efficiency and the shift towards knowledge work, in which knowledge, skills and abstract immaterial rights such as patents are in the focus. Knowledge work is in a constant search of innovations by combining tacit knowledge with the imaginary offering (Nonaka & Takeuchi 1995). Capability to innovate has become inevitable in today's business. However, by opening up data, also government can channel inputs into the creation of innovative services providing increasing societal value. Governments, civil society organisations and companies across the world are actively engaging with open data by publishing and using datasets to promote innovation, development and democratic change.

FOCAL TRENDS DRIVING THE CHANGE:

- *Service orientation*
- *Networks*
- *Radical technological change*
- *Dispersed knowledge*
- *Knowledge work*
- *Open data*

Open cities, open governance

»OPEN DATA IS A KEY COMPONENT of open government and an open city. The City Boards of **Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa** and **Kauniainen** (the four core cities of the Helsinki Region) adopted a new open data policy in May 2010. This enabled the creation of the **Helsinki Region Infoshare** project, HRI open data service and the HRI.fi website, which were jointly developed by Forum Virium Helsinki, City of Helsinki Urban Facts and the cities of Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen. The HRI service is funded by the cities, and during its implementation phase it received additional funding from the Finnish Innovation Fund SITRA and the Ministry of Finance. The online service, opened in 2011, currently offers around 1,200 open datasets.

In line with its Strategy Programme, the City of Helsinki has also opened its decision-making system to connect local government and the citizens. Through **Open Ahjo**, an open programming interface to the city's case management system, the decisions made by officials and councillors are available for free re-use as open data. This offers the citizens a unique possibility to follow the city's decision-making in real time, for instance with a mobile app enabling users to browse the decisions by topic, date and decision-maker. Backed up by this information, the local residents are able to participate and influence the plans and activities of the city through various digital channels.

Open Knowledge Festival in Helsinki in 2012. (Photo: http://2012okfestival.org)

OpenStreetMaps are edited collaboratively.

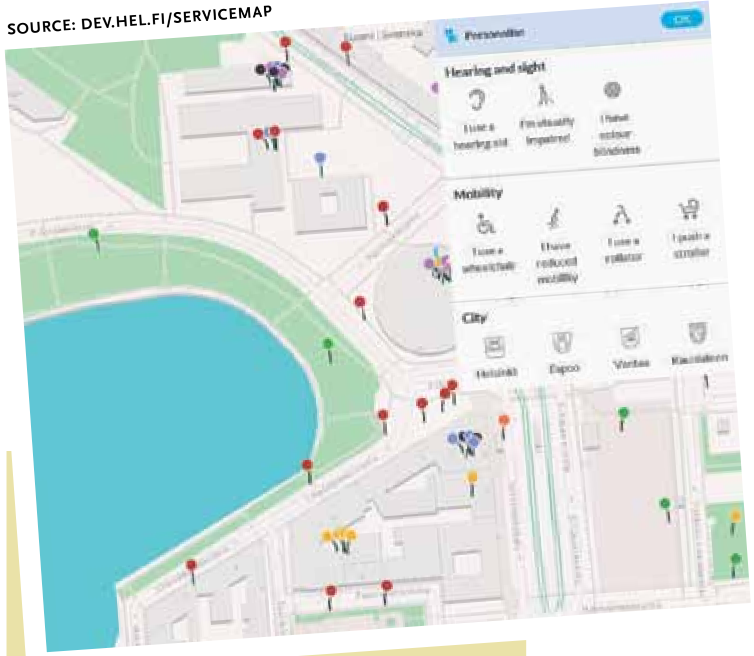
Remarkable impacts through open data

Open data is a fuel that facilitates innovations, better services, transparency and democracy. Notwithstanding, there is an ongoing debate whether opening up the data is worth it. It is true that many barriers need to be overcome, related to data formats, technology platforms and compatibility, as well as systemic products and services supporting the usage of open data. However, open data offers several benefits depending naturally on how to utilise it.

Firstly, open data offers efficiency improvements. In addition it may add value socially and commercially through improved accessibility of the relevant data sets. Efficiency refers to economies of time and money, but also to the improvement of services (e.g. increased efficiency through better logistics or more accurate schedules in transportation).

Secondly, the more transparent society is the more aware citizens are about their living environment, which makes it easier for them to participate and allows them, for example, to monitor the actions of their government. Opening up data enables citizens not only to be better informed, but they can also be directly involved democratically in decision-making. This is more than transparency, because participation strengthens their commitment to the community. Transparency in turn increases citizen engagement and participation, and further, leads to improved administration and government efficiency.

SOURCE: DEV.HEL.FI/SERVICEMAP



SERVICE MAP
– EASY ACCESS TO LOCAL SERVICES

What are the local services closest to my home? Which of them are accessible for someone with a wheelchair or pushing a pram? How do I contact the service provider or give feedback? What is the easiest way to access the service with public transport?

The Helsinki Metropolitan Area Service Map is a powerful example of interoperable open data. The online and mobile map service combines information about several hundreds of different services and thousands of service points. These are sourced from a variety of public registers through a REST application programming interface. The service map not only enables an uncomplicated user experience for clients of public services but also contributes to a more streamlined and efficient public service provision.

Thirdly, the increased availability of information also provides new possibilities for statistics, research, education, visualisations, and new applications. These new opportunities may motivate and increase creative ways of utilising open data. Open data facilitates the development of consumer services via web and mobile apps, thereby making citizens' daily life smoother, more comfortable and efficient. Especially, there exist opportunities for entrepreneurship to develop further services.

Finally, the openness may advance partnerships and cooperation, as well as research and development activities, thus presenting opportunities to create new jobs and new economic growth besides tax revenues. Transparency may help to identify suitable collaborating partners or lead to new, innovative forms of collaboration, for instance OpenStreetMaps, which are improved collectively.

Another form of crowdsourcing in the context of open data are the various competitions to find new ideas and inspiring ways to leverage open data for innovations and new technologies: applications, visualisations or data journalism. In the sixth edition of Apps4Finland in 2014, for example, the first prize was awarded to the data visualisation Päästöt.fi which opens a new window to the European Pollutant Release and Transfer Register (E-PRTR) and enables users to explore the greatest sources of pollution locally or on a European scale.

In what follows, I will look at the impact of open data and its unharnessed opportunities. The current landscape of opening data may even usher in a new era similar to those where new technological regimes such as the Internet and the smartphone have been created. Building an offering on top of open data may even constitute completely new business models. As regards the current user groups of open data, governments have a central role through promoting democracy, efficiency and accountability. Technology- and innovation-focused users concentrate on creating new platforms and linked-data technology tools (i.e. methods of publishing structured data in interlinked format). A third group are those who seek efficiency gains through technology-driven improvements. Other purposes include problem-solving-oriented usage and the provision of new services.

Open data has been used in the context of culture, science, finance, statistics, weather, environment and transportation. It is used for political participation through informing and involving citizens, and, for user participation, by co-producing information and services (Open Data Institute). In addition to traditional data browsing and searching operations, open data is used for purposes such as configuring interface tools, providing APIs and integrating new services into existing products/services. In Helsinki, for example, several open data-based mobile apps exist that help users to easily locate various kinds of services, including Avain for free-time activities, IhanaHelsinki for events and Hätäopas for emergency services. Supafly.net offers all the details concerning the locations of the city's street painting areas are in the open format, suggesting that also younger audiences have begun to adopt open data.

Essential impacts of open data are related to seeking specific facts and strengthening statistical analyses, emphasising interpretations, visualisation and conceptualisation of reports (e.g. blogs, infographics), creating interactive accesses and offering APIs as well as producing online, offline and mobile services (adapted from Davies 2010). Open data may have tremendous influence on economy by launching startups, creating jobs and offering innovative consumer services via web- and mobile applications. McKinsey & Co. has estimated the benefits of unlocking government data to be worth $3 trillion. Access to free databases covering e.g. business, government, and social media presents unlimited opportunities for startups turning government data into business, companies branding and building image marketing and exploring expanded opportunities for business ideas. Also, sharing scientific data at an early phase of the research improves reliability and efficiency.

The open data boom is based on deriving value from data and identifying who can benefit from it. During this boom, hundreds of American companies have been founded with a business idea based on using open data. Gurin (2014) has estimated weather data to hold business potential worth $30 billion, GPS data $90 billion, and the development of future's self-driving car $200 billion annually. Broad groups of people can benefit from these innovations, for example, journey planners and other apps using open map and location data. Weather forecasting applications or social media mining for advertising can benefit various industries. Therefore, opportunities for benefits are enormous. Open data has also been used in shipping and evaluating of suppliers (Panjiva), search engines such as flights, and a booming health industry, which is estimated to exceed $300 billion, for example, in patient records and drug effectiveness.

The identification and utilisation of the opportunities of open data is still in its infancy, even though plenty of effort has been made to open up data (see e.g. www.hri.fi/2years). However, a breakthrough of uncovered opportunities is still ahead. Open data combined with technology offers unlimited possibilities of application for different fields. In the comparison with other countries Finland is ranked on the top. What to learn from others? There could be great potential for more effective use of open data in the health sector, for instance in identifying cures for diseases. Another possible area of application is games development, which has become a massive industry in Finland with several regional game clusters. Open data has been utilised to some extent in games concerning, for instance, the use of city budgets. It also seems that investors do not yet utilise the full potential of open data in identifying and analysing investment opportunities.

FUTURE TRENDS:

- *Smart solutions*
- *Broader social innovations*
- *Collaborative behavior*
- *Tools for citizens*
- *Better functioning cities*
- *Big data*

Future trends – towards smarter solutions

Future trends of open data programmes seem to drive the development towards smart solutions – especially smarter cities, since cities are often global pioneers of open data. Smarter cities in turn may lead to broader social innovations and sustainability, protecting the urban environment. Further, open innovation ecosystems facilitate collaborative behaviour even at the fundamental level by solving societal challenges. Another future trend consists of offering new tools for citizens to collect data themselves about their environment, thus strengthening participation and creating social cohesion by enhancing the development of better functioning cities. Naturally, since governments are focusing on the benefits of new technologies as well as the development of new services for citizens, they have started to implement infrastructures that will make data releases easier and accelerate innovative reuse of data. Also, legislation and directives will guide the governments to offer broader data sets as open data. Especially collaboration between the private and the public sector is significant here. The increasing trend of big data can also offer plenty of opportunities for the development of smart cities, for instance through specific technologies facilitating the delivery of real-time information. ■

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KALASATAMA IS HELSINKI'S SMART CITY PILOT

The Kalasatama neighbourhood in Helsinki is a pilot example of smart city development, with leading technological solutions that provide an innovative and cosy living environment by advancing smart services, the use of ICT and offering a platform to utilise open data. Smart Kalasatama (Fiksu Kalasatama) is a collaboration pilot between the city, companies and residents emphasising resident participation and the creation of new business and innovations. The area is due to have 20,000 inhabitants and 8,000 jobs by 2030.

HELSINGIN KAUPUNGIN AINEISTOPANKKI/HELIN & CO ARKKITEHDIT

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