Migrants and Ethnic Minorities on the Margins: Report for Finland

MEMM-report to CEMES

Matti Similä
Forskningsinstitutet vid Svenska social- och kommunalhögskolan vid Helsingfors universitet (FISS) publicerar i Notat-serien föredrag och diskussionsinlägg, bakgrundsmaterial, preliminära rapporter samt projektbeskrivningar av allmänt vetenskapligt intresse eller avsedda för en mera avgränsad publik. Syftet med serien är att sprida kunskap om den pågående verksamheten samt att bidra till forskarnas möjlighet att få respons i ett tidigt skede av forskningsprocessen. Forskningsinstitutet vill betona bidragens preliminära karaktär; de kan senare omarbetas och ingå i andra publikationer.

Högskolans två andra publikationsserier, Skrifter samt Meddelanden innehåller forskningsresultat av mera slutgiltig karaktär.

The Research Institute of the Swedish School of Social Science at the University of Helsinki (FISS) has established this new series in order to show the ongoing activity of the Institute and to provide researchers with an early feedback to their ideas and activities. The series consists of discussion papers, research outlines and preliminary reports of general interest or of interest to specific groups. The preliminary nature of the contributions is emphasized. Some contributions may appear later in a revised form in other publications.

The publications in the two other series of the School, Skrifter, and Meddelanden, contain more final research results.

Telephone +358-9-191 28400, fax +358-9-191 28485
Internet: http://sockom.helsinki.fi

Address: Svenska social- och kommunalhögskolan vid Helsingfors universitet
PB 16, FIN-00014 Helsingfors universitet

Visiting address: Norra Hesperiangatan 15 A, 6. floor
FIN-00260 Helsingfors
Migrants and Ethnic Minorities on the Margins: Report for Finland

MEMM-report to CEMES

Matti Similä
Swedish School of Social Science/CEREN, University of Helsinki
## Contents

1 Introduction  
1.1 General background  
1.1.1 Finnish minorities  
1.1.2 Language  
1.1.3 Religion  
1.1.4 Migration  
1.2 The present handling of immigration issues  

2 The Context  
2.1 National minorities  
2.2 Immigrants  
2.3 Attitudes, media, discrimination and racism  

3 Employment and the labour market  
3.1 The Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum Seekers  
3.2 Unemployment figures  
3.3 Attitudes  
3.4 Types of jobs  
3.5 Downward mobility  
3.6 Unequal treatment and discrimination  
3.7 Entrepreneurial activities  
3.8 The Romani  

4 Housing and environment  
4.1 The Romani  

5 Education  
5.1 The educational system  
5.2 Upper secondary school  
5.3 Completing basic education and upper secondary school as an adult  
5.4 Supplementary general studies for immigrants  
5.5 Vocational education for adults  
5.6 Pre-school education  
5.7 Preparatory teaching for adolescents  
5.8 Preparatory teaching for immigrant children  
5.9 Finnish and Swedish as second language and the pupil’s first language  
5.10 Immigrants and education  
5.11 The Romani  
5.11.1 The Romani language  
5.11.2 General education  

6 Health and health care  
6.1 Finnish social security  
6.2 The Romani  

7 Conclusions  

Bibliography
1 Introduction

This is a report over the situation in Finland, as regards migrants and ethnic minorities on the margins. It is made on the request of CEMES, Centre for European and Ethnic Studies. At CEMES the country reports will be put together into a joint report for the situation in the EU as a whole. This joint report is asked for by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia in Vienna.

The report will cover the situation for immigrants and one cultural minority group, which deserves special attention as regards exclusion, xenophobia and racism. Special attention will be given to employment, housing, education and health issues. The data sources are official statistics, different kinds of studies carried out by departments and administrative units, as well as research reports from academic centres.

1.1 General background

1.1.1 Finnish minorities

Finland is fairly homogenous with only a few endogenous, nation specific minorities: the Sami (about 6000), the Romani (about 9000), the Jewish (less than 2000) and the Tatar (less than 1000). In some respect the Swedish speaking population (about 300 000) can be regarded as a de facto minority. Finland is sparsely populated and the total number of inhabitants is about five million people. Besides the two official nationalities – Finnish speaking and Swedish speaking Finns – the Sami people have an official status with linguistic and cultural rights within the Sami territory. Other minority groups do not have official rights in the same respect, but Finland has ratified the Human Charter for the Protection of Regional or Minority Languages.

1.1.2 Language

Finland is a bilingual country where the Finnish and Swedish nationalities are considered equal in the constitution, although, as stated above, the size of the Swedish population – 5.7 % – in practice makes it a minority in many respects. The local rights of the language groups are connected with the municipalities and language relations within the municipality, based on censuses every tenth year. Municipalities are accordingly defined as monolingual Finnish, bilingual with Finnish majority, bilingual with Swedish majority or monolingual Swedish. The status of a municipality changes if the language relations change, which has consequences for the local administrative service, day-care centres and schools, etc, in Finnish and Swedish respectively.

Another case is the Åland Islands, which are defined as a monolingual Swedish territory with a considerable amount of self-government. The population amounts to about 25 000 people. The Sami population is recognised as a minority with linguistic rights within the Sami territory in Northern Finland since the beginning of the 1990s.

1.1.3 Religion

As regards religion, Finland is predominantly Lutheran, and the Lutheran church is both a National and a State church. Over 86 % of the population belongs to this (bilingual) Lutheran church, while about 12 % do not belong to any religious association. The Orthodox Church is historically well established in Eastern Finland, but in fact less than
60 000 people belong to it. Other groups are even smaller, like Catholics or the Jewish and Islamic congregations or minor movements like Pentecostalist, Jehovah’s witnesses or Adventists.

1.1.4 Migration

Finland has historically been a country of emigration. After the Second World War emigration to Sweden increased rapidly from the middle of the 1960:s and reached its peak around 1969-70. Nearly 80% of all Finnish citizens abroad live in Sweden.

During the first three decades of this century Finland was both a country of transit and a country of permanent residence for refugees, especially after 1917, when many refugees from Russia arrived into Finland. The peak year was 1922, when the number was 33 500. Many went on to other countries, but about 18 000 stayed. In 1930 there were about 8000 Russians and 8000 Eastern Carelians and Ingrian Finns in Finland. From 1930 on there was a hesitant attitude to refugees from Central Europe in all the Nordic countries – Austrians, Sudetengermans, Czechs and Jews. Finland received the smallest number of refugees from these areas, only about 200-300.

During the war years of 1943-44, 63 000 Ingrian Finns were moved to Finland. In the Peace Treaty of 1944, Finland conceded to send back the Ingrian Finns ‘who had been interned and forcibly brought to Finland’. About 8000 stayed in Finland, of whom 4000 left for Sweden because of fear of being sent back to the Soviet Union. 55 000 were eventually sent back. These events have an impact even today, since the Ingrian Finns are presently regarded as return migrants and are thus given a special status with right to “return” to Finland.

The greatest population movement in Northern Europe came about as a consequence of the lost territories to the Soviet Union after the war. 417 000 people – 11 % of Finland’s population – moved from the conceded areas to remaining Finland. The integration of these people was very successful. There were never any refugee camps, instead special laws were instituted signifying that landowners had to give a piece of land to the refugees. This was possible thanks to the strong feelings of solidarity with the refugees. A great number of petty farms were thus established, which postponed the structural change in agriculture on the countryside until the 60:s and 70:s, when the postponed changes came with brutal rapidity, creating new waves of migrants to the cities and abroad. More than 610 000 Finns moved abroad in 1946-80, three-quarters of them to Sweden. By the beginning of the 1980:s, almost half of them had returned.

1.2 The present handling of immigration issues

When analysing the situation and the politics as regards migration, it is clear that some important changes in Finland took place fairly recently. The end of the Cold War and the breakdown of the Soviet Union (with which Finland had established a Pact of Cooperation and Friendship) were obvious factors of relevance. Other factors were the membership in the European Council, the EEA-agreement and the membership in the EU. These developments led to the following events:

The laws as regards immigration and rights of foreign citizens are harmonised with the common directives of the EU. Being a Nordic welfare state means that laws on social security in most respects are close to the rules in the other Nordic countries, with which Finland has had so much cooperation after WWII.

From having been a country of emigration, Finland now gets a surplus of immigrants, and asylum seekers also find their way to Finland more often than earlier. Although the
figures are very modest, the relative increase some years ago was quite substantial and lead to new demands for the administrative agencies handling visas, work permits, and the integration and support of refugees and other immigrants.

The special features in the case of Finland as regards immigration can be summarised as follows:

- The number of immigrants is still very low in a Western European context.
- Many immigrants are returning migrants with Finnish ancestry.
- Finland has never had flows of labour migration.

Immigrants in Finland earlier came in very small numbers, for instance as a consequence of marriage with a Finnish citizen. Only during the last ten years greater numbers have arrived as refugees and asylum seekers. This increasing number of refugees has, of course, led to further immigration in terms of family reunification. This means that:

- Most immigrants in Finland have lived here for a very short time.
- The increase of immigration happened in a period when Finland was struck by a very heavy depression in the early years of the last decade.

The low number of immigrants is not just a coincidence. Besides the fact that other countries have attracted more immigrants and asylum seekers, Finland has traditionally tried to limit the influx from abroad. In fact there has been a long trend of homogenisation during the last century. In the beginning of that century there were 13 % Swedish speakers in Finland, and after the Russian revolution there was an influx of Russian refugees. The trend thereafter went towards a homogenisation, which reached its peak in the 1980s. The migration since then has really had a very limited effect, as the percentage of people with Finnish as their mother tongue has decreased from 93 % to 92,6 %. So much for the popular debate about the multicultural society.

There has been a tendency in Finland to deny that racism is a problem and many have advocated a policy of silence, in order ‘not to wake up the sleeping bear’. A recent speech by President Tarja Halonen was the first given by a Finnish president that clearly discussed the problems of racism and xenophobia which exists in Finland, as well as in the rest of Europe.

In this report we will discuss the situation generally as regards immigrants. Besides we will also discuss the situation of one ‘historical’ minority, namely the Romani people.
2 The Context

2.1 National minorities

As has been said, the sizes of endogenous minority groups are very small. Here we will deal with the Romani. The exact number of Romani people is hard to assess, but it is lately estimated to about 9000 people (Välimäki, 1997), while earlier estimations varied between 6000 and 7000 (Grönfors, 1995).

The first written records about the Romani in Finland are from the 1500s. Finland was at that time a part of the Swedish kingdom and the Swedish laws concerning the Romani also applied to Finland. The laws aimed variously at expulsion, assimilation or control.

Special state committees on Romani affairs published two reports: one in 1900 (when Finland was a Grand Duchy under Russia) and the other in 1955. Both reports aimed at assimilation, but the effect was negligible. In the 1960s, however, when the Romani started moving into the cities a change took place. In 1967 the Romani organised themselves as the Finnish Gypsy Association. The association was instrumental in getting some important laws onto the statute books, such as the law prohibiting discrimination on the basis of ethnic or racial origin in 1970 and a law aimed at improving the housing conditions in 1975. On the whole the situation of the Romani has received little attention in Finland, and as Grönfors (ibid.) says ‘At the every day level, blatant prejudice and neglect are factors in the everyday life of the Rom’. One can see that an improvement has occurred in later years, maybe as a side effect of the increased attention to immigrants. Anyway, in 1999 the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs published a report on the strategy of policy regarding the Romani population. I will come back to this report later (Kyösti Suonoja & Väinö Lindberg, 1999).

At state level there is a permanent commission that deals with Romani affairs. It operates under the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health with the purpose to follow the development of social welfare, making suggestions for improvements and also guaranteeing the rights of the Romani minority, including the right to Romani language and culture.

The isolation of the Finnish Romani up in the Northern corner of Europe has lead to a development of Finnish Romani language, which makes it different from Romani idioms in other countries, i.e. Finnish Romani language can only be used when talking to other Finnish Romani. However, no Finnish Romani has the Romani language as her first language, neither can every-day communication be conducted fully in Romani among the Romani themselves (Grönfors, ibid.). Interest in the language has increased since the 1980s.

The Romani have had a marginal position in society. As Grönfors (ibid.) puts it: ‘Being variously haunted, persecuted, controlled and despised, it is not surprising that the Romani, for their part, have sought security within their own group’. We all know how the Nazi treated the Romani people, for instance.

Finnish policy was for a long time aiming at assimilation, and only in the 1980s did the culture of the Romani start to get support.

The Gypsy organisation, founded in 1967, initiated more interest in Romani affairs and this led to two state reports in the late 1960s on social conditions, housing and employment. One resulting measure was the law on housing, passed in 1975, which was implemented differently in different municipalities, but still had an effect.
Two things have weakened the situation for the Romani people: the lack of a 'homeland' which could speak for the Romani minorities in other countries, and, in Finland at least, the lack of a central organ that could represent the totality of the Romani people in negotiations with Finnish authorities.

2.2 Immigrants

The number of immigrants is also very small. Asylum seekers have come to Finland in any significant numbers only during the last ten years. Thus, Finland has had no previous labour market immigration, contrary to many other Western European states. Instead, Finns moved abroad in those days, mainly to Sweden. Finally, Finland has not had any colonies.

The small number of immigrants and the short time of their presence have its consequences for the research situation too. There are still many fields where we lack knowledge about the life and well-being of immigrants. Also, it has not yet been possible to study long term effects. Finally, the small size of the different immigrant groups makes it more difficult to make reliable comparisons between immigrants from different countries.

The number of foreign born persons in Finland is around 130 000 and the number of foreign citizens is around 90 000, or 1.7 % of the population. The number of refugees is about 16 000. As late as 1987 there were only 18 000 foreign citizens in Finland and more than half of them originated from Western Europe. The number of refugees was only 600 and the number of asylum seekers was 46 persons.

The largest groups of foreign citizens today come from the former Soviet Union. Around 20 000 of them are Ingrian Finns, who are considered to be 'returning migrants', but who in many cases do not know Finnish very well and often encounter problems of the same kind as many other immigrant or refugee groups. Also, the families very often may have a mixed Ingrian/Russian composition. The Ingrians are mostly Russian citizens, but they are in many cases also citizens of the former Soviet Union. It should perhaps be added that Finland already had a small Russian minority before the migration started ten years ago. The exact number is difficult to say, since many are assimilated, although with Russian ancestry. One estimation is that these 'Old Russians' number around 2 500 (Baschmakoff, 1995).

Besides the Ingrians, the largest single immigrant group is the Russians, about 17 000. Thereafter we have around 11 000 Estonian citizens, followed by around 8000 Swedish citizens (of whom a considerable amount are of Finnish ancestry), more than 5000 Somali citizens and 3600 citizens of the former Soviet Union (most of whom stem from the Russian part of the Union). Thus, the immigrant groups are very small, not only in absolute numbers, but also in relative ones.

Except for 200 quota refugees from Chile in the early 1970s and 100 refugees from Vietnam in 1979, refugees and asylum seekers began arriving in Finland during the last decade. In a comparative perspective the number of asylum seekers has been very low. 1993 was the only year during the 1990s when the number of asylum seekers rose to a little over 3 600. After that their numbers fell until they rose again in 1999 along with the movements of the Romani. In 1999, Finland received a total of 2 527 asylum-seekers. Only 29 of them were granted asylum on the basis of the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. 467 were granted residence permits and were allowed to stay in the country. 1 272 received a negative decision and 779 applications were rejected.
The quota of refugees in 1999 was 650 and this year it will be 700. In 1999, during the war in Kosovo, Finland accepted nearly one thousand Kosovar Albanians in addition to the refugee quota. Some returned to Kosovo voluntarily after the end of the war.

The largest refugee group is from Somalia. The first larger group of Somali asylum seekers arrived in 1991. The second largest group is from the area of the former Yugoslavia, about 4500 people. All in all, the number of refugees is about 16,000.

When it comes to language, 92.6% of the Finns have Finnish as their mother tongue, while 5.7% has Swedish and 0.03% has Saami as their mother tongue. The number of people with a foreign language as their mother tongue is 86,000, which means 1.7% of the population. Among the foreign languages, Russian is the most common with 23,000 speakers. The second is Estonian with 9000 speakers, followed by English, Somali and Arabian, all with more than 4000 speakers. Finally, there are some 2000 people who speak Vietnamese, German, Chinese, Albanian, Turkish and Kurdish. There are many children among all of the refugee groups. For instance, among the Somali speakers 45.6% are aged 0 to 14 years. Also among the Albanian and Kurdish speakers more than 40% are children. The biggest group of children by age is Russian with 4900 children, followed by 2700 Somali and 2200 Estonian children.

Since most immigrants in Finland have lived here for a short time and since naturalisation rates are rather low, the number of naturalised immigrants is also low. Since 1971 the total number of naturalisations is 24,000. In the 1970s Finnish citizenship was only awarded to about 100 people a year. In the 1980s the figure increased to 1000 a year, mostly for former Swedish citizens. Most of them had some prior ties to Finland.

In the 1990s the numbers actually declined for a while. In 1994 there were only 651 cases and in 1995 there were 668 cases. Since then, the numbers have been rising and in 1998 Finnish citizenship was granted to 4000 persons.

2.3 Attitudes, media, discrimination and racism

The fact that new immigrant groups arrived at the time when the recession was at its deepest is one probable factor behind resentful attitudes among Finns. The role of the media is another factor that has been studied. Magdalena Jaakkola has made several studies on attitudes in the Finnish population, the latest was published this year (Jaakkola, 2000). Juha Rekola (1996) and Raittia & Kutilainen (2000) has studied the Finnish press and its representation of immigrants, refugees and minorities, and a recent study has looked specifically on the same issues in the Swedish press in Finland (Sandlund, 2000). Also, a recent dissertation has studied the parliamentary debate around immigration issues, with a special focus on differences in opinions as regards Ingrain Finns vs. Somali refugees (Lepola, 2000). Finally, Karmela Liehkirtt has studied ethnic identity, racism and xenophobia for a long time. The results have been presented in many publications. In a recently edited work (Liehkirtt, 2000) she discusses and describes ethnic relations in the present multicultural Finland.

In her study, Lepola starts pointing out that the immigrant has to pass through three ‘gates’ to become fully integrated in the Finnish society in a legal sense. The first gate is to be allowed to come to Finland, if you are not a Finnish citizen. For some people, this requires a visa. For a longer stay, a permit is required. The second gate is for people who want to stay in Finland. In most European countries those people get many of the rights that an ordinary citizen has. The state can admit a foreign resident
a permanent residence permit. The third gate concerns naturalisation. Of course, only those who have Finnish citizenship have all the rights of a citizen.

The first gate is easy to get through if you are a resident of the European Union or a Nordic country, if you are married to a Finnish citizen or if you have acquired status as a refugee. In other cases it is very difficult. The second gate opens up for most foreign citizens who have continuously been living in Finland for two years, by getting a permanent residence permit. In this way most of the rights of a citizen are acquired. It is possible to pass through the third gate after five years, or even earlier if you are a citizen of a Nordic country or married to a Finn.

Lepola's study is about the debate in Finland on immigration and foreign residents during the period between 1988 and 1999 and what this debate tells about Finns' perceptions of Finland and Finnish identity and about the relationship between the state and different cultures. During the 1990s multiculturalism became the buzzword in policy regarding foreign residents. In practice multiculturalism has been considered to be an issue directly related to immigrants: firstly as being a consequence of their presence, and secondly as giving them the responsibility to learn Finnish customs and the Finnish language while preserving their own culture.

On the basis of this research, the conceptual boundary between a Finn and a foreigner appears to be virtually insurmountable. Immigrants are fundamentally left outside of the idea of a Finnish identity, with the exception of the Ingrian Finns. Whether foreign residents in Finland will ever actually be regarded as Finns will depend on whether Finnish identity stresses ethnic origins or Finnish citizenship, residence in Finland and participation in the Finnish society. The term Finn (suomalainen) seems to contain both meanings and Lepola ponders the possibility to create a new term instead of Finn, like the Swedish term 'finländare', that applies to all people living in Finland, while 'finne' means a Finnish speaking Finn and 'finlandsvensk' a Swedish-speaking Finn.

The media plays an important role in shaping stereotypes and attitudes towards immigrants and foreigners. Raittila and Kutilainen (2000) studied how the Finnish press wrote about racism and ethnicity in the autumn of 1999, while Anna Meurman (2000) made the same kind of analysis of the Swedish press in Finland.

The studies show that foreigners/refugees/ethnic majorities are mostly represented through statements from authorities. Thus, authorities to a great extent define what will be said when talking about minorities. The Romani people were well represented, mostly in connection with Romani from Eastern Europe seeking asylum in Finland. The Saami people was only represented in the newspaper from Lapland (where the Saami live). They always represented themselves in the texts, while other immigrant groups often served as examples in a more general discussion about immigrants or minorities.

Especially the Somalis were seldom actually in the centre of the text in which they were described. Thus, references were often made to the Somalis when discussing immigration in general and only occasionally did they speak in their own voice in the texts. Russians and Estonians were represented in very different contexts, but a substantial part was related to criminality.

What was lacking in the press was articles that would tell about immigrants’ and minorities’ social problems or about special traits in their culture and religion and possible problems in connection with these. Another feature was the lack of political parties and their representatives in texts discussing ethnic minority questions. Finally, while the police and administration had a voice in the texts, the ethnic groups themselves did not get their voices heard very often.
There were some differences between the Finnish and Swedish newspapers. Positive stories about immigrants were more frequent in the Swedish press, headlines were more directed towards the 'tolerance theme', while the Finnish press more often took up matters of legislation and relations between the Finnish society and minority groups.

In a study comparing how Finland and the Netherlands present themselves as nation states, Pasi Saukkonen found some interesting differences between the two countries. Comparing text-corporuses of semi-official presentations on Finland and the Netherlands and literature on national character and contemporary intellectual discussion on national identity, Saukkonen found that Finland is commonly perceived as a homogenous, distinct and ancient unit, enclosing political, territorial, genealogical (ancestry) and cultural components. The Netherlands, in contrast, is usually defined as internally heterogeneous, as externally relatively similar to adjacent nations and as a product of political and historical development.

As regards the public opinion, Magdalena Jaakkola has carried out several studies since the 1980s. In a summarising article she concludes that attitudes towards foreigners are more positive than during the deepest part of the recession. The attitudes towards foreigners were more negative during the time of widespread unemployment in 1993 than before this time (1987) or afterwards (1998-99). Good economy and good education seem to be two important factors connected with more tolerance towards immigrants. Also, contacts with immigrants correlate with more positive attitudes.

Those with little education, pensioners, the unemployed, men, supporters of the Centre Party and those living in rural areas had more negative attitudes. In 1998 more than a third of the young men living in the countryside supported the actions of skinheads against immigrants. According to the 1997 Eurobarometer, Finns consider themselves very racist somewhat more often (10 %) than the average (9 %) in other EU countries. Also, while an average 34 % of all Europeans felt they were not racist at all, only 22 % of the Finns felt the same way. Finally, 2 % of the Finns fully accepted skinheads' activities against foreigners in 1998, while 7 % partly accepted their actions.

It may be noted, though, that no extreme right wing-groups have been able to register themselves as parties, due to lack of support. This certainly is a positive fact in comparison with many other European countries. But although the attitudes of regular Finns have become more positive, Finland too has seen the number of racist crimes double between 1997 (194 cases) and 1998 (414 cases) (Sisäasiainministeriö, 1999). The experience with the more positive attitudes against refugees from Kosovo suggest that large amounts of information about the background of the refugees, the situation in their country, about their distress and need for aid, combined with political leaders’ stress on Finland’s international obligations, may have positive effects on the opinions towards refugees.

Foreigners are generally welcome as tourists, experts, scientists, students and language teachers, but not as 'economic refugees' and neither are they very welcome as musicians, restaurant owners or jobseekers. On the other hand, attitudes towards jobseekers are more positive now than earlier during the recession.

As regards refugees, the Kosovo refugees accepted in 1999 were accepted with much more positive attitudes than other quota refugees were. A reasonable hypothesis is that the information about the war in Kosovo made people regard them as 'real' refugees to a larger extent than otherwise.
As regards attitudes towards different groups, there seems to exist a Nordic or Western ethnic dimension, with mostly favourable attitudes towards Norwegians, Ingrain Finns, and English, Danish, Swedish and American citizens. Mostly, negative attitudes are directed towards Somalis, Arabs, Russians and Kurds.

A comparative study of Kurds in England and Finland by Östen Wahlbeck (1999) describes the Kurdish communities abroad as diasporas. Despite the large differences between England and Finland, Wahlbeck finds many common features, like the Kurds’ wish to return, their feeling of displacement and various psychological problems owing to their refugee experiences. All refugees also created and maintained transnational social networks. These networks included contacts with Kurds in Kurdistan and in the world-wide diaspora. These features were found in all Kurdish refugee groups regardless of their country of origin or country of exile.

As for the country of settlement Wahlbeck found further important differences as well. Wahlbeck argues that neither country has fully understood the specific nature of refugee migration, although they approach the issue from totally different perspectives. The UK adopts a traditional communitarian and multicultural approach, while in practice Finland has a more assimilationist resettlement policy.

There were notable differences between the two countries in terms of practical problems experienced by refugees. In Finland, the official resettlement programmes and the structure of the welfare state greatly diminished the practical problems related to housing, education and income support. The refugees in Finland even experienced fewer problems connected to language than the refugees in England. In London, however, the strong Kurdish communities and the Kurdish social networks were important resources for the refugees. The refugees were more isolated and their associations were less well organised in Finland than in England. The ethnic labour market in London was often able to facilitate the refugees’ employment. However, the only jobs available were poorly paid jobs with bad working conditions. In Finland, the severe unemployment situation in practice excluded refugees from the labour market. Xenophobia and racism were also more visible features of society in Finland than was the case in the multicultural environment of London.

Resettlement policies were widely different. The Finnish policy was to resettle refugees in small groups dispersed all over the country, while in Britain almost all Kurds lived in London. This led to notable differences in the social networks and types of social integration. As regards discrimination and racism, no large scale monitoring has been conducted in Finland. The UN committee against racial discrimination has criticised the authorities in Finland for not taking racism seriously (Komiteanmietintö, 1997). However, monitoring studies of the press have been conducted since then (Raittila & Kutilainen, ibid., Meurman, ibid.), and there is a rapid development in other fields as well. A study by Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti (1997) showed that 51% of the immigrants in Helsinki felt an increase in discrimination in recent years. Furthermore every third immigrant in Finland has experienced different forms of discrimination in their immediate environment, every fourth has experienced it at work and every fifth when receiving service. The negative attitudes of Finns came through as teasing and insults in the street, bad service and in difficulties finding a job. Also, the mistrust that immigrants feel towards the Finnish authorities was surprisingly common.

There has also been direct racial violence in Finland. There have been attacks against refugee centres and migrant homes, and Jewish gravestones have been turned over (Jaakkola, 1996).
This year a small report based on data from NEON (National Equal Opportunities Network) analyses the complaints that have been sent to them on the basis of experienced discrimination. With a few exceptions they concern mistreatment of immigrants and members of ethnic minorities. Most complaints are from the persons who themselves have experienced mistreatment. Those cases are, of course, only a fraction of all cases. Also, they describe experiences of discrimination and racism from the victim’s point of view.

Most complaints are by men (87%). The people involved in the cases represent a wide range of different nationalities and ethnic groups. The largest group that has experienced discrimination themselves and reported their case consists of Africans. The documented cases show discrimination in Government departments, by residence authorities, owners of rental accommodation, educational establishments, the police and service providers.

Most of the cases concern foreigners that have been treated unfairly by the authorities. Usually, the individual in question has felt discriminated by the way that the authorities have handled his/her case (40%). Harassment in general has also occurred in many of the cases (23%). The third group concerns cases where physical violence has occurred (10%). A big amount of the incidents have happened in public, in the street: harassment, insults, threats or even violent acts. Also, many cases have occurred in relation to the Directorate of Immigration, the police and other authorities. Some cases have occurred on the labour market or in private companies. A few cases have occurred in relation to education and involve teachers or other pupils.

Karmela Liebkind, Juha Haaramo and Inga Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000a) discuss negative attitudes towards immigrants in certain professions. They refer to the fact that several studies have shown that the police is more prejudiced and authoritarian than the public in general (see for instance Pitkänen & Koukki, 1999). They studied authoritarian attitudes and attitudes towards immigrants among the police, doctors and health personnel in the Helsinki region.

The results showed significant differences between the professions. While attitudes among female doctors and nurses did not differ very much, female police were much more prejudiced. Male policemen, however, did not differ very much from male doctors. As regards authoritarian attitudes, men were more authoritarian than women, and male policemen were more authoritarian than male doctors. Also, there was a correlation between authoritarianism and prejudices. Contacts with immigrants did not by themselves diminish prejudices, but deeper contacts, i.e. having immigrant friends correlated with less prejudice.
3 Employment and the labour market

Without any doubt, the situation on the labour market is a very serious problem for many immigrant groups and for the Romani population as well. Asylum seekers started to arrive in Finland in larger numbers during a period of heavy recession and extremely high levels of unemployment. Even today the unemployment rate is as high as around 10%, but for many immigrant groups it is considerably higher.

The labour market is also considered the main arena in the government’s programme for integrating immigrants into the Finnish society.

3.1 The Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum Seekers

A new Act on how to improve the integration of immigrants was enacted on May 1, 1999. The purpose of the Act is to promote the integration of immigrants, to help them get along economically and socially, and to promote basic human rights. A three-level policy is pursued when implementing the integration of immigrants:

1. National integration policy. The government will include a section dealing with immigration policy in its annual report to the parliament.

2. A municipal integration programme and integration plan. In their immigration policy programme and integration plan, individual municipalities, or neighbouring municipalities together, define the aims and measures, resources and co-operation issues relating to the integration of immigrants.

3. Integration plans for individuals and families. Such plans include the measures (e.g. language instruction, daily routines, drawing up a plan for studies or employment, practical training, vocational training and social contacts) that contribute to the integration of the immigrant, control of his/her own life and co-ordination of the new country’s and his/her own culture. After the immigrant has committed himself/herself to the plan, he/she is regarded as a subsistence client and his/her subsistence will be secured by an income-bound integration support that equals to a co-ordinated social security.

Immigrants who register as unemployed, or apply for social assistance, are entitled to an integration plan drawn up in co-operation with the local authority and the employment and economic development centre. An integration plan must be drawn up no later than when the immigrant has been employed for five months or received social assistance for the same period. Immigrants are entitled to an integration plan for a maximum period of three years after being first entered in the population data system of their home municipality.

The integration plan may be an agreement on providing support for studies in Finnish or Swedish, labour market training, self-motivated education or training, vocational counselling and rehabilitation, practical training, preparatory education, and the integration of children and young people. Immigrants are not entitled to labour market support during the three-year period, except for integration support. They are entitled to integration allowance if they a) are in need of financial support and b) observe the integration plan. In other words, immigrants are required to
participate in the compilation of the plan. The Act, in other words, focuses on promoting employment among immigrants.

3.2 Unemployment figures

When immigration started to rise in the early 1990s, Finland experienced a very heavy recession. The recession hit the foreigners harder: the unemployment figures were about twice as high. In 1996, the rate among foreigners was still 48 %, but in 1998 it was a little lower, 41 %.

This year the figures are the highest among refugees from Iraq and Iran, with more than 80 %. Among the biggest immigrant groups the unemployment rate is 69 % for Somalis, 47 % for Russian/Soviet citizens and 30 % for Estonians. The rate among Swedish citizens – as for all immigrants from Western Europe – is considerably lower, only 11 %. For all foreigners the number is 34 %, while the figure for the whole population is 9 %. The figures for the Somalis are in fact higher than at face value, since they are not seeking jobs as actively as the average unemployed. In fact, one can conclude that very few Somalis are employed. The figures are connected with the fact that Somali women often stay home to take care of their children and that a large proportion of Somalis are undergoing education. The Somalis who do have jobs have short-term jobs with low pay and an unsecure future. The well-educated Somalis haven’t got good jobs either, not even if they have taken new exams in Finland. Most employed Somalis can be found in the public sector and in education and social work for other Somali refugees. (Forsander, 1999).

There is, of course, every reason to take these figures of unemployment seriously, despite the fact which Annika Forsander (2000) emphasises, namely (1) the recession at the beginning of the inflow of immigrants, (2) the short time since when the immigrants started arriving and (3) the lack of networks of compatriots who could have helped the newcomers and also provided them with jobs. These factors may explain the figures to a certain extent and lately there have been signs of improvement. Nevertheless, the figures are still quite alarming and there are also other important factors behind the figures, for instance the attitudes among the employers.

3.3 Attitudes

In a recent study, Paananen (1999) showed that employers tend to function as ‘gate keepers’ assessing the skill of foreign recruits on the basis of their ‘Finnishness’. Paananen studied different key actors, such as those working with foreign labour market recruits (social services and employment exchange staff) and recruiting personnel of the sorting office of Finland Post Ltd.

The core question was how key players on the labour market assess the skills and employability of foreign recruits. The results show that the ‘gate keepers’ assess the skills of foreign recruits via ‘Finnishness’. An example is that they put much weight on the ability to speak the Finnish language even when no connection seems to exist between it and the tasks involved. Paananen concludes rather pessimistically that the weight put on Finnish values tells of the persistent nature of the discrimination in the labour market, since the values attached to language and nationality are slow to change. Therefore, in Paananens mind, the labour market would not seem to be a particularly favourable arena for social integration. Pitkänen & Kouki (1999) also found that there was a tendency among employees at the authorities to prefer to see immigrants in jobs requiring less education, for instance as cleaners or taxi drivers.
3.4 Types of jobs

A recent study by Annika Forsander & Anne Alitolppa-Niitamo (2000) deals with the employment of immigrants. The study covers immigrants that have been clients of employment offices and were employed on the open labour market, as well as employers. Interviews were carried out to get a picture of the experiences among employers and employed immigrants.

The industrial, catering, cleaning and care branches appeared to be the key employers of immigrants. Particularly catering and cleaning businesses provide the immigrants with so-called entry jobs, i.e. the first job on the Finnish labour market.

Immigrant groups with lower education are often found working in restaurants, in cleaning agencies and in the metal industry. The Chinese are often in the restaurant business or in technical branches. Russians can be found working in health care, but like the Estonians also in the transport sector, in cleaning and in commerce. The lowest employment figures can be found among the Somalis (49%) and especially among Somali women (26%). It seems that where a person is educated (in the Nordic countries or in western Europe) is more important than the length of the exam.

3.5 Downward mobility

It seems rather difficult for immigrants to find jobs on the basis of their professional skills and resources without any earlier work experience in Finland. In fact, any work experience abroad was not very much appreciated by the Finnish employers.

A sufficient ability to speak Finnish (or Swedish) is the basic condition for employment, according to both the employers and the employed immigrants. Also the so-called informal eligibility, i.e. the attitude, cultural and social readiness required in the Finnish working-life, played a central role as far as finding jobs to match ones professional skills were concerned.

Through their personal efforts and by using their mutual contact networks, immigrants succeeded in finding entry jobs on the labour market, but most of them still need some social support in order to become promoted in their careers.

The labour market situation appeared to be very delicate for immigrants, not just because of the economic situation, but also because of the changes on the Finnish labour market. A characteristic of this situation is that employment opportunities are very strongly affected by economic fluctuations. During an economic upswing, immigrants have better chances of finding jobs, and not just the entry jobs, but also jobs more in accordance with their competence.

3.6 Unequal treatment and discrimination

A study by Timo Jaakkola (2000) deals with the recruitment of ethnic minorities and their experiences in working life. He studied both immigrants and the Romani. Reasons were sought for the ethnic minorities not getting recruited. One aim of the study was to find out whether ethnic minorities are treated unequally in the recruitment process and to find what criteria are used in the recruitment.

The sample included the following groups: Russians, Estonians, Bosnians, Iraqis, Somalis, Vietnamese, Americans, Britons and Romani. The average unemployment rate for the selected groups was 52.4%. The sample contained 125 persons who had not been employed in Finland and 176 persons who had been employed at some point during their stay in Finland. Most of the immigrants considered the Employment
Office or personal contacts among Finns the most effective means to get a suitable job. One third regarded the Employment office as the most effective and one quarter thought that Finnish friends were the most effective means. About 14% had got their job by a spontaneous contact with the employer, while contact through newspaper ads was most common among college graduates.

Most immigrants, 84%, thought that their lack of employment was mainly caused by the high unemployment rate and the severe competition in Finland, but three quarters also felt that their foreign work experience was not valued in Finland or that they lacked the Finnish skills required by the employers.

As many as half of the Romani and 20% of the immigrants reported unequal treatment by the employers. In most cases, however, the immigrants thought that they were well treated. According to the employers, there is nothing that prevents the recruitment of immigrants, especially not when it comes to manual work. On the other hand, they did not find any particular reasons for employing immigrants or minority members. The author ends up with the notion that the only thing that college-educated Westerners have in common with less educated immigrants and refugees from Third World countries, is that they are all aliens in Finland.

Tuula Joronen (1997) studied Africans in the Helsinki region, how they look for and find jobs, how they get along at work and what they think about discrimination on the labour market. Many of the problems that foreigners meet stem from the incompatibility of the demands of employers and the skills of the employees. But many also said that they had been downright discriminated when applying for work. Yet, Joronen’s assessment of the present situation was not altogether pessimistic. There are ways of advancing in your career even for immigrants.

A small, qualitative study by Petra Ekberg-Kontula (2000) deals with African women in the Helsinki region and their views on education and work. She concludes that too little research has been focused on the situation for women among immigrant groups in Finland. Her main findings showed that all women thought that education and training was essential in order to get a job, and that they did not have a chance to get the job they wanted without such training. They thought they would have to work harder than Finns, because of the employers’ attitudes towards black Africans. Work within the health sector or with children was the kind of work that many would have liked to have. The women assured that their men were positive toward their aspirations to find work. However, many women with small children did not like to work full-time.

Another study by Catharina Visapää (1997) concerning the situation for the Somali youth showed that the unemployment among Somalis also creates problems for the youngsters. Adult Somalis feared for the future of the young Somalis, since the latter lacked proper role models. Very often their parents were unemployed and lived on social security benefits. (Besides, Finnish culture was regarded too individualistic and Finnish youth culture as a threat for the development among young Somalis).

3.7 Entrepreneurial activities

A study by Joronen, Salmekangas & Ali (2000) comprises ten municipalities in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area and focuses on entrepreneurial activities among the immigrants in Finland. It was found that the extent of immigrant business entrepreneurship was greater than expected. It was assumed that the number of immigrant entrepreneurs was a few hundred, but the number turned out to be between 1600 and 1700.
Their businesses also came as a surprise. Although the most typical immigrant sectors, restaurants and retail trade, played a significant role, the actual centre of emphasis was in wholesale trade, agency operations and business services – that is, in the very sectors that are central to the regions’ business structure in general.

Neither did the immigrants’ businesses differ fundamentally from the region’s other businesses in terms of size or age. Like other businesses, the immigrants’ enterprises where overwhelmingly so-called microenterprises employing four or fewer persons. In terms of turnover too, the greatest portion of immigrants’ businesses fell into this small-business category. In terms of age, the immigrants’ businesses were slightly newer than the average, but even in this regard they did not differ fundamentally from other businesses in the region.

A third surprise was the broad range of nationalities and high educational level found among immigrant entrepreneurs, who came from all continents and from 74 different countries, even if the largest portion came from neighbouring countries and Central Europe. Despite the fact that the best-educated persons were probably most active in responding to the survey, one can assume from the results that a very large proportion of immigrant entrepreneurs in the Helsinki region are well educated. (This, again, indicates that entrepreneurship is not available as a general solution for immigrants, regardless of social background).

All in all, it seems that entrepreneurship among immigrants appears similar to Finnish entrepreneurship. Since immigration is such a recent phenomenon, immigrant entrepreneurs seldom appear in old, stagnant sectors, since most businesses started in the 1990s and aimed for the current growth sectors.

Finland’s small market and the small size and heterogeneity of the immigrant population also account for the similarities with the native population’s business activities. Since the so-called ethnic market is small, immigrant entrepreneurs are largely forced to operate on the same terms as small Finnish entrepreneurs.

Hyrsky & Ali (1998) carried out interviews with a small group of immigrants and two public servants in and around the city of Vaasa in Osthrobotnia. This study also showed that most businesses were young and that entrepreneurs were often highly educated and had previous experience in their current field of endeavour, as well as a family antecedent in business. Problems were related to getting credit for start-up and difficulties with the Finnish language.

Achievement, opportunity and blocked mobility were found to be the strongest motivation factors for starting a business. Motives included the need for independence, control of one’s own destiny and providing family income. The perceived personal strengths were the ability to deal with different kinds of people, hard work, determination to succeed, perseverance and education. The personal weaknesses included lack of managerial and entrepreneurial skills, trying too hard and being unable to follow through. The authors conclude that there is a need for special business training programmes for immigrants, in order to help them to overcome practical problems encountered in the start-up and development stage of the company.

To sum up the situation on the labour market one can say that since the foreign population is so small, one can speak of two kinds of foreigners on the labour market. One consists of well-educated people from the West, in many cases recruited as experts by multi-national companies. This group, of course, has no problems. The other group consists of immigrants, especially refugees and asylum seekers. This group has a very high level of unemployment and meets many difficulties on the Finnish labour market.
The unemployment figures for refugees from the Middle East, Somalia and citizens of the former Soviet Union are all very high. The industrial, catering, cleaning and care branches appeared to be the key employers of immigrants. Particularly the branches of catering and cleaning provide the immigrants with so-called entry jobs, i.e. the first job on the Finnish labour market. Immigrant groups with weaker education are often found working in restaurants, in cleaning and in the metal industry. Many immigrants have problems with the Finnish language and other competence related to the Finnish culture. They also have difficulties in getting their exams and experiences from abroad to be appreciated to their value. Also, direct prejudice and discrimination is at hand. The consequences are, besides the high level of unemployment, that many of those immigrants who are lucky enough to get a job experience downward mobility, getting jobs under their formal competence and jobs which are insecure, if economic conditions get worse. The situation is also bad for one minority group, i.e. the Romani.

3.8 The Romani

The characteristic element in the Romani culture is that of independence (Grönfors, 1995). The most valued occupations among Romani in the past were horse-trading for men and fortune telling for women. Their nomadic lifestyle has often been associated with criminality, both among the general public and among law enforcement agencies, although the empirical evidence is weak (see Grönfors, 1979).

Old traditions are still in evidence in the occupations among contemporary Romani: buying and selling racing horses, used cars, farm products, antiques, second hand furniture and collecting scrap metal. The entertainment industry has also attracted some Romani. However, on the whole this does not solve the employment situation, and many Romani are dependent on welfare security benefits. The overall situation for the Romani population is weak, owing both to their low education and to general prejudices and discrimination.

With the modernisation of the Finnish society, the traditional occupations of the Romani could no longer guarantee them a sufficient standard of living. Insufficient education and vocational training, high unemployment in general and the special lifestyle of the Romani, together with discrimination, have made the situation on the labour market difficult for the Romani.

According to a project in 1995, 56 % of the Romani were unemployed (cited in Suonoja & Lindberg, 1999, page 127). The majority of the unemployed wanted vocational training. One reason for the difficulties on the labour market is insufficient education. Since the Romani feel discriminated in all fields of living in the Finnish society, discrimination probably also has an important role to play on the labour market. Unfortunately, there doesn’t seem to be any reliable data available for making it possible to assess the seriousness of the discrimination.
4 Housing and environment

This is an area where more investigations ought to be made. There is a lack of detailed and comprehensive data about housing and environment. It is known that immigrants are concentrated to the southern part of Finland, to the county of Uusimaa, and especially to the Helsinki region. On a local level, there is knowledge about the residential patterns of immigrants, and by taking a look at Helsinki, not only will we include a large amount of the immigrants, we will probably also end up with a recurring pattern for the entire larger Helsinki area.

Helsinki has around 25,000 foreign citizens (around 28% of all foreign citizens in Finland). Here we will pay special attention to Russian, Estonian and Somali citizens. In Helsinki proper, the eastern areas have the largest number of immigrants. Of the seven big districts of Helsinki, the eastern one has 6,700 foreign citizens (26% of all foreign citizens in Helsinki).

Already in 1984 a correlation was shown to exist between the GDP of the country of origin and the spatial distribution of immigrants in Stockholm (Andersson-Brolin, 1984). The same goes for the immigrants in the Helsinki area (Kauppinen, 2000). (The greater Helsinki area consists of the three cities of Helsinki, Vantaa and Espoo.) Two thirds of the foreign citizens in the Helsinki area live in the city of Helsinki proper, whereas Espoo has a slightly bigger share of immigrants than Vantaa.

Foreigners coming from countries with a high GDP are evenly distributed in the area, but they tend to live in the high status areas in the south and southwest. Immigrants from countries with a medium or low GDP tend to be concentrated to the eastern and northeastern parts of Helsinki. The Somali group is the most segregated one. Half of the population should have to be redistributed in order to obtain the same residential pattern as the total population. For Russians, Estonians and Somalis the segregation has diminished between 1995 and 1999, but slower for the Somalis. Roughly speaking, the segregation is strongest among the Somalis, and almost as strong among the citizens from the former Soviet Union. Next we find the Asian groups, while the residents from Western Europe show the lowest degree of segregation. The segregation is especially high in the groups that consist mainly of refugees. This pattern is in accordance with the general trend in European cities: the central parts of the city have the highest social status. The immigrants from the richest countries live closer to the city centre than the other groups.

The immigrants mostly live in low-income areas. Estonians, Russians and Somalis also live in areas with many children. Western immigrants show a very different pattern, living in areas with high income and few children. The residential pattern of Somalis and immigrants from other poor countries seem to be connected with the availability of so-called Arava-apartments, i.e. apartments owned by the city and subsidised by the state. The correlation is weaker for Russian and Estonian immigrants.

A large part of the immigrants in the Helsinki area arrived in the 1990s, but no group is extremely locally concentrated. Also, there are no signs of increasing segregation. One could say that the immigrant groups in the Helsinki region are so small that real isolation from the Finnish population is impossible. However, the figures show that at least in Helsinki, a big part of the immigrants live in areas dominated by low-income households. While immigrants from the West predominantly live in high status areas, the rest of the immigrants live in areas characterised by split families, social problems and dependence on social aid.
For the city of Helsinki alone, we have the following data: around 60% of the foreign citizens live together with other foreign citizens or by themselves, while the rest — about 10,000 — live together with a Finnish citizen. The typical pattern for foreign citizens is living in a family. Only 10% live alone, whereas the corresponding figure for all people living in Helsinki is as high as 25%. The average household of foreign citizens consists of 2.4 people, while the figure for the average Finnish household is 1.9 people.

Most foreigners rent their apartment. While 49.6% of the people living in Finnish households own their house or apartment, the figure for foreign citizens is only 18.2%. The rented apartments are of two kinds: the city-owned apartments (Arava-apartments) and private ones. Foreign citizens rent private apartments more often than other inhabitants. Lately around 1,500 households with foreign citizens have applied for Arava-apartments and 300-400 applications have been approved. In the late 1990s the number of foreign applicants has increased and their share of all applicants is more than 10% today. While 30% of the applicants get an Arava-apartment, the figure for foreign applicants in 1998 was only 22%.

Foreign citizens more often live in cramped conditions. While the average space per person in Helsinki is 31.9 m², the corresponding figure for foreign citizens is only 23.7 m². An apartment is considered cramped if there are more than one person living in each room, kitchen excluded. While the total figure of people living in cramped conditions is 13%, the figure for foreign citizens is 31.3%.

To sum it all up, there are tendencies of segregation and a concentration of refugees in areas with low status. The pattern is different for immigrants from the West. The distribution of cheap apartments for rent seems to explain much of the differences as regards residence. The groups are still too small to form closed communities, isolated from the majority of the population, but refugees and immigrants from poor countries tend to live in areas with low income and social problems, i.e. together with Finns who tend to hold the most negative attitudes towards immigrants. Since the policy in Finland has been to incite people to own their houses and apartments and since prices are high, especially in the Helsinki region, the residential patterns of refugees and immigrants from the Third World will hardly change substantially as long as unemployment and dequalification is common.

4.1 The Romani

There are no official statistics that show how the Romanis live, since it is considered discriminatory to register ethnicity. However, several studies have been made. According to an assessment made in the 1970s more than half of the Romani population was living in bad conditions or lacked a permanent home altogether (referred in Suonoja & Lindberg, 1999, page 79). A special law passed in 1976 aimed at awarding the Romani people the same standard of living as the population in general. In 1976-81 the law led to better housing conditions for about 600 Romani households. It was estimated that the percentage of Romani living in bad housing conditions would shrink to 10% by 1981 thanks to the new law. Eventually, this appeared to be too optimistic. Those living under the worst conditions were not affected by the law as much as intended (Niemi, 1981). Other methods have been used since, but no final solution has been devised. Despite subsidies offered by the state, the municipalities have not shown very much interest in improving the housing conditions of the Romani.
In the early 1990s there were again some special measures directed towards this problem. At that time about 20% of the Romani lived under poor conditions. In 1995 an estimation was carried out among all those who had applied for state subsidised Arava rental apartments. One third of the Romani applicants were considered to be in immediate need of an apartment (Suonoja & Lindberg, ibid.).

Generally, the municipalities and house owners are not interested in letting apartments to unemployed people or people dependent on social welfare aid. This already is a problem for many Romani families. In addition to that comes ethnic discrimination. As always, the amount of discrimination is hard to assess in numbers, but a lot of evidence from single cases is available.

Despite better housing conditions than before, the situation could still be better. There are also some special problems with rental houses for the Romani. Due to cultural rules, Romani families cannot live above or beneath each other on different floors. According to another rule, the family will want to change apartment quickly if a family member dies. These are just a couple of examples of many situations when the Finnish society and the cultural rules of the Romani people are hard to adjust to each other.
5 Education

5.1 The educational system

Education is universally compulsory in Finland. Children above the age of seven must undergo nine years of basic education or acquire an equivalent education in some other way. After that, it is possible to continue either to an upper secondary school or a secondary level vocational institute, and then on to a polytechnic or university. Schools are either Finnish or Swedish by language (also Same in the Same area) and there are some special schools which use a foreign language (English, German, French, Russian). Basic education is free, as are school meals, teaching materials, travel to and from school and pupil welfare services. At upper secondary schools and vocational institutes, school meals may be subject to a fee, and students have to pay for their own readers. Fees at the special schools, i.e. foreign language schools may be fairly high, but studying at universities and colleges is free of charge.

The basic nine years in comprehensive school is compulsory for all children living permanently in Finland, including those with foreign citizenship. Compulsory education ends when the child has completed the syllabi for basic education, or a maximum of ten years from the beginning of her basic education.

In basic education and in upper secondary school a pupil is entitled to receive instruction in his/her own religion, if there are at least three pupils with the same religion. Also, special dietary requirements are taken into account in school meals.

5.2 Upper secondary school

Four years is the maximum time allowed for completion of the upper secondary school curriculum. At the end of their studies, pupils take the matriculation exam. In this exam, foreign students can replace the Finnish or Swedish test, taken by first language pupils, by a test in Finnish or Swedish as a second language. After completing upper secondary school, pupils can apply for polytechnics and universities.

5.3 Completing basic education and upper secondary school as an adult

Mature students can also complete basic education at an upper secondary school for adults or a folk high school. In adult upper secondary schools, students over 18 can complete their basic education in the form of non-year class teaching, which takes about 2-3 years. Basic education can be completed in one year at a folk high school.

5.4 Supplementary general studies for immigrants

Foreigners in Finland tend to have very varying educational backgrounds. The education acquired may not be an adequate basis for further education in Finland. However, a special educational programme has been designed for them, as a way of supplementing earlier studies and completing the Finnish basic education. This training is intended for those over 16.
5.5 Vocational education for adults

Initial vocational training aims to provide formal competence, while subsequent training prepares the student for further or specialist vocational qualification. Foreigners can apply directly for vocational adult education. Separate vocational courses for foreigners are also arranged. These courses usually deal with employment training, so applications are submitted to an employment office.

5.6 Pre-school education

In Finland, many children are placed in day care. Pre-school education, i.e. teaching which prepares the child for going to school, is available for children aged six. It can either be given in a day care centre or in a comprehensive school and lasts one year, usually on a half-day basis. The goal is to support the first language and cultural identity of immigrant children and this may be done in co-operation with representatives of the culture concerned.

5.7 Preparatory teaching for adolescents

Preparatory teaching for adolescents embarking on further education may be given either in separate additional comprehensive school classes or other preparatory groups. They can also take supplementary general studies at adult education centres. Foreigners, too, are entitled to preparatory teaching prior to vocational training.

5.8 Preparatory teaching for immigrant children

Under certain conditions, immigrant children of school age can receive preparatory teaching before they start their basic education. Such preparatory teaching familiarizes pupils with Finnish culture and the school system. They also receive initial instruction in the different subjects taught in basic education. All foreign pupils are taught either Finnish or Swedish as a second language, in addition to their own first language.

5.9 Finnish and Swedish as the pupils second language

The aim of teaching either Finnish or Swedish and also the pupils’ first language is to make foreign children bilingual. Immigrant children can study Finnish or Swedish as a second language in their basic education and in upper secondary school. The aim of this teaching is different from that for pupils who study one of these languages as their first language.

Foreign pupils in basic education and in upper secondary school and adult upper secondary school can study their own mother tongue as their first language under the schools normal curriculum. The teaching can also be arranged in other ways, normally using special resource hours.

5.10 Immigrants and education

There are of course big differences as regards education, both within many immigrant groups and between them. A complete picture is hard to present, however.
Annika Forsander (1999) concludes that most of the Somalis in Finland come from medium-sized towns and that their average education is somewhat higher than the average in Somalia (see for example Samatar, 1998). At the same time however, the differences as regards education are big: some have university degrees while some are completely illiterate.

The aim of education for foreigners is to give them the resources to function as equal members of the Finnish society while maintaining their own cultural identity. One aim is to ensure equal opportunities, another to ensure bilingualism.

The higher school certificate (Ylioppilastutkinto) from the upper secondary school has been modified in 1996 for pupils with another mother tongue than Finnish, Swedish or Sami. Instead of the normal mother tongue test, the pupil can choose another test in Finnish or Swedish, which is intended to be easier for a person for whom Finnish or Swedish is a second language and not a mother tongue.

The immigrants in Finnish schools have about 120 different mother tongues. In the spring of 1999 there were around 22 800 foreign citizens in the Finnish schools: 51 % in comprehensive school, 22 % in vocational schools, 3 % in upper secondary school, 9 % in upper secondary school for adults, and 11 % at university level. The rest studied at the kansanopisto, which is a more free form of studying, often as a preparation for further studies. There are about 11 000 young immigrants aged 16 to 24, who in many cases will need complementary education of different kinds. Those pupils, who have passed the age of comprehensive school, constitute a big challenge for the Finnish school system. (Häyrinen, 2000).

All in all there were 31 000 foreign citizens in Finland in 1998 who had exams from an upper secondary school, a vocational school or a college, polytechnics or university. Of the foreign citizens over 15 years of age, 46 % had an exam, with about the same share for men and women. Among the foreign citizens aged 45 to 54, the examination rate was as high as 77 %. (Statistics Finland, 2000).

Kaija Matinheikko-Kokko (1999) writes that three quarters of the immigrants in Finland are of working age. Most immigrants also have a vocational degree and some work experience from their country of origin. Compared to the total population, there are more immigrants with a weak education and fewer with vocational training. On the other hand, the relative share of immigrants with higher education is the same as for the whole population.

The differences between age groups are the same for Finns and foreign citizens; i.e. the younger have a better education than the older. But there are big differences between different immigrant groups. The most educated groups come from the former Soviet Union and Russia, China and North America. The groups with the weakest education are refugee groups from Somalia, Kurds (from Iran, Iraq, and Turkey) and Vietnamese immigrants. Some 300 immigrants could not read or write when they came to Finland, and some did not know the Latin alphabet. They have presented the Finnish educational programmes with a special challenge.

Most of the immigrants in Finnish schools are in comprehensive school. Out of 12 000 pupils with a foreign mother tongue, 8000 are in grades 1-6, and nearly 4000 in grades 7-9. In vocational education we find 5000 people with immigrant background. In educational programmes for adults most are in labour market training programmes. In 1996-98 the number of immigrants in labour market training has exceeded 9000 per year. Because training and education have been the principal means for promoting job opportunities, more than a quarter of the immigrants looking for jobs are ‘students’. In 1998 the average length of the training programme for an immigrant was four months.
Marja-Liisa Häyrynen (2000) has studied young immigrants in the schools in the Helsinki region. Theoretically the educational system is the same for immigrants and native Finns, but immigrant children do have special needs. Yet, the municipalities are not forced by law to give preparatory education or to teach Finnish as a second language. The aim to increase the amount of mother tongue lessons from 2 hours a week to 3-4 hours has not yet been fulfilled.

In the Helsinki region, the education of young immigrants has become a matter of routine. Young immigrants get an average of one year of preparatory studies in Helsinki, and in Vantaa and Espoo they can even get 2-3 years, if needed. All three cities offer 2 hours of mother tongue education a week. Mother tongue education is easier if the language group is bigger. In 1998-99, mother tongue education was given in 36 languages in Helsinki, 24 languages in Espoo and 31 languages in Vantaa. In some cases, pupils can go to a school in one of the neighbouring cities in order to learn a less common language, for example Amhara, Dutch, Icelandic or Urdu.

Pupils who have finished comprehensive school often suffer from weak knowledge of both Finnish and other subjects. Those who arrive in Finland in their pre-school years have the best future possibilities, while those who arrive after the age of compulsory school are in the most difficult situation. It takes 6-7 years to learn Finnish well, but the speed of learning correlates with the educational background of the pupil, as well as with his/her mother tongue.

From 1999, immigrants get a preparatory education of 20 to 40 'study weeks' (the Finnish equivalent of ECTS or university credits), to facilitate the immigrants go to further vocational education.

In the schools teachers emphasised the need to get a better preparatory instruction in the Finnish language. There was also a need for more assistants who knew the pupils’ mother tongue. Many pupils who had passed preparatory class couldn’t follow the normal classes well enough. The pupils needed remedial instruction, and also assistance in their mother tongue. Teachers also experienced problems with some immigrants who couldn’t follow the rules and timetables of the school.

The immigrant pupils got along well with the teachers and the school staff, and had friends among themselves, but fewer friends among Finnish pupils, even though they wanted more Finnish friends. More than half of the immigrant pupils had experienced teasing by large groups. Other alarming elements were racism, disorder and bad teaching.

The pupils in preparatory classes wished that more subjects, such as mathematics, chemistry, history, biology, Finnish and English, would be taught in the pupils’ own mother tongue. They also wanted to learn more about their own culture. Somali pupils also wanted more teaching about the Koran.

According to a report by Harri Romakkaniemi (1998), special preparatory groups were arranged for immigrant pupils in Helsinki. They normally lasted for a year, depending on the development of the pupil’s language skills. After this preparatory instruction, the pupil usually joins a normal class, though with intensified remedial teaching in Finnish and other subjects. Immigrants are offered education in Finnish as a second language and instruction in their native language. Usually the share of mother tongue classes is two hours a week.

The extra 10th grade of the comprehensive school is important for many immigrants. They could be developed to focus either on future vocational education or studies in the upper secondary school. Additional 10th grades are arranged for immigrants who have completed comprehensive school in their native country or have passed the age of compulsory school, but lack the adequate degree of knowledge for further studies.
in Finland. Furthermore there are special vocational 10th grades to support the vocational choice of the immigrant pupils.

In September 1997, there were 264 immigrant pupils studying in the upper secondary vocational institutions of Helsinki. This amounts to 5.8% of the students and the number grows year by year. Since autumn 1997, it has been possible to receive instruction in Finnish as a second language in all vocational institutions.

In 1996 there were 141 immigrant pupils in the day classes of upper secondary schools in Helsinki, amounting to 1.2% of all pupils. This figure will increase substantially in the next few years. In these classes as well, immigrant pupils have a statutory right to tuition in both Finnish as a second language and their mother tongue.

Liebkind, Haaramo and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000b) write about how young immigrants adapt in school. They studied Turkish and Vietnamese pupils, aged 13 to 18. All the girls had adapted better than the boys. The girls also thought that the teachers believed more in their future possibilities. Finnish pupils had adapted even worse than the immigrant pupils, despite that immigrant boys had less self-confidence than Finnish boys.

The Turkish pupils had a stronger Finnish identity than the Vietnamese. They had also experienced less discrimination and more support from their parents in school matters.

Romakkaniemi studied young immigrants in the last (9th) grade of comprehensive school in 1997. The number of pupils was 291 and the biggest groups came from Russia, Estonia and Somalia. The pupils had arrived in Finland in 1991-1996 and, therefore, were very heterogeneous in terms of language skills. The average age was 16-17 years, but there were also some older students.

All Somalis and half of the Estonian and Russian youngsters had participated in preparatory instruction. Somali pupils considered it necessary, while half of the Estonian and Russian pupils regarded it unnecessary or taking too long. About half of the pupils thought that they needed additional instruction in Finnish as a second language as well as instruction in their mother tongue. Some thought that the language classes were too heterogeneous considering the pupils' different age and skills. Many would have needed more counselling than provided. Especially more subjects taught in the pupils' mother tongue were asked for. On the whole, the pupils were satisfied with the atmosphere in the school.

On the whole, there were remarkable differences between the nationalities regarding their choices of higher education. In the first group we find Bosnian and Vietnamese youngsters. Their transition to upper secondary school went smoothly. They were admitted to the universities and study programmes they had applied for and the number of dropouts was low. The small size of the group must be taken into account when assessing the results, but they are indicative.

The second group consists of Russians, Estonians and some other nationalities. In this group a significant part of the pupils had attained a place in upper secondary education or in the 10th grade of comprehensive school. However, the number of dropouts was higher than in the first group.

The third group consisted of Somalis. Only a small number of the applicants had reached upper secondary school or been admitted to a vocational institution. However, many were in the 10th grade of comprehensive school. One third of the young Somalis did not have any prospects for further education.

On the whole, the pupils were content with their present situation. However, Somali pupils found preparatory instruction more necessary than Estonians or Russians. Also, a majority of the pupils found the number of lessons in Finnish and in their mother
tongue insufficient. In addition, some pupils assessed the mother tongue classes as too heterogeneous, regarding age and language skills.

A significant number of young immigrants either withdrew from or dropped out of the study programme they had been admitted to. This worrying fact indicates the importance of supportive measures directed towards young immigrants, for instance the development of study counselling.

Mustajärvi (1998) reports about a project aimed at helping young unemployed immigrants. Their education was studied as well. 1 500 unemployed immigrants participated in a three-week course, during which the immigrants’ different skills were tested. One result was that only ten percent had professional skills that could be used in Finland with no further training needed. In some cases (such as metal industry and restaurant work) a short additional course would have been necessary. Some participants had professional titles that were not known in Finland. Many foreigners with less formal education, but with a long working experience abroad, experienced the Finnish system with long education programmes for almost every profession as inadequate.

Many participants with university degrees were willing to take additional courses to adapt their skills to Finnish standards. They were also willing to take a step downwards from their former duties, especially within the branches of social work and health. Especially among the Ingrian Finns, one big problem was the lack of experience of computer work and lack of English skills, for example among otherwise well educated engineers.

Such skill checks among immigrants seem to be important. One Russian man reportedly said: ‘Now I know for the first time what options I have and by what means I can try to reach my goals’.

All in all, the short period of immigration in Finland makes it hard to present a detailed picture of the educational field. Especially among young immigrants, we don’t have the final answers yet. A large study in Sweden (Similä, 1994) revealed that there were great differences between different nationalities regarding recruitment to higher education among immigrant youth. However, the social background, i.e. the parents’ education, explained much of the differences. Another important factor was the immigrants’ age at the time of arrival. Immigrant youth born in Sweden or arriving in Sweden before school age had much better chances of advancing to higher education. Such follow-up studies would be important in Finland too, as soon as enough pupils have passed through the Finnish school system.

The positive feature in the educational field is high participation, since all children participate in the school system, regardless of their background. However, as will be shown later, dropouts are common among the Romani. Educational performance is harder to assess, but the heterogeneity of the immigrant population will probably show clear differences between different groups of immigrants.

Certainly, young immigrants who arrive in Finland when they’re over 15 years old, and thereby too old for comprehensive school, will face special difficulties. As regards discrimination, it is rather more common on the labour market than in the educational system as such. However, equality is a many-folded concept. Miettinen & Pitkänen (1999) found that teachers tended to ignore the importance of immigrant pupils’ cultural background, and that they sometimes regarded features in their culture as directly negative. Thus, ‘equal treatment’ sometimes may mean that immigrant pupils are treated unequally in the sense that the importance of their culture is neglected.
5.11 The Romani

5.11.1 The Romani language

At the end of 1989 the first course in basic Romani was arranged in Helsinki. The course prepares Romani teachers for teaching Romani language, culture and history to other Romani.

The municipalities can arrange education in the Romani language, but they are not legally obliged to do so. In 1998, out of 1500-1700 Romani children in the compulsory education age, there were 220 pupils in eight different municipalities learning the Romani language. It is not possible to study Romani at university level. (Suonoja & Lindberg, 1999).

5.11.1 General education

Several older Romani have a weak education and some are even illiterate.

In comprehensive school, there are problems with dropouts in the higher grades. The classes become more demanding at the same time as the pupils become teenagers. Many Romani girls grow so quickly that they seem to find school too childish. According to Eine Lillberg and Marja Eronen (1997) most of the dropouts occur in the 7th grade. Dropouts are detrimental both for the pupils' possibilities for further studies and for vocational training. Another study made in 1995 in western Finland (referred in Suonoja & Lindberg, op.cit, p 71) shows that only 25% of the Romani pupils had an exam from comprehensive school, and many only from special classes. It seems obvious that Romani pupils need special attention that takes their cultural background into consideration.

As for upper secondary school and adult education, the following can be said. Romani youth normally prefer to come out of vocational training fast, instead of investing in a long education. Lillberg & Eronen (ibid.) found that one out of three wanted further vocational training. Vocational training has been arranged for the Romani since 1979 within traditional fields, like horse racing. Sewing courses, for making traditional Romani dresses and other things connected with Romani culture, have also been arranged. In 1979-89, 45 five-month courses were held, and they had 450 Romani participants. In the future, computers and the Internet are fields that should be concentrated on.

On the whole, continuing efforts to improve the educational level among young Romani seems to be the only way to decisively raise the Romanis' standard of living.
6 Health and health care

6.1 Finnish social security

Finland is considered a Nordic welfare state and Finnish social security is an extensive and complex system. People living in Finland must apply for social security benefits themselves. Most benefits are subject to taxation. The system includes pensions, benefits, allowances, and social services: health insurance, maternity allowance and parental allowance, maternity grant, child allowance, home care allowance, household maintenance allowance and maintenance support, housing benefits, unemployment security, subsistence benefits, study allowance, repatriation allowance, national pension, employment pension, day care, home service, service for the handicapped, emergency shelters, mental health services, legal aid, special services for persons using intoxicants and special services for foreigners.

This is the most difficult area to report on, for several reasons. One is the lack of reliable data on health and mortality among different groups of immigrants. Also, the groups are small and sometimes heterogeneous within themselves. Most immigrants are young and have only lived in Finland for a short time. Different immigrant groups differ between themselves, but also in comparison with the host population, as regards age structure, sex composition, education, employment and so forth. Therefore, plain mortality figures wouldn’t be very useful in this situation.

The whole concept of ‘health’ is also difficult to define. Naturally, it is affected by background variables like the ones listed above. Other key factors, where there can be a great variation, are how the immigrants lived before they came to Finland, poverty, torture, refugee camps and so on. A third type of factors has to do with social relations and networks in Finland, such as having to wait for family reunification, loneliness and possible experiences of racism and xenophobia. Finally, we have the present socio-economic situation where unemployment is still relatively common. This circumscribes the immigrant’s possibility to shape his/her own life and leads to the person becoming dependent on social aid. All in all, health is hard to assess and even harder to explain.

Reports on the health area deal mainly with the health service system and how immigrants and employees in the health care system have experienced each other. Hard facts about health, the use of health care and mortality are harder to find.

Raija Talvela (1999) studied the quality of primary health care for immigrants in Finland, by interviewing 172 primary health care workers and 33 immigrant clients in Tampere, Lappenranta and Kuopio (i.e. cities outside the Helsinki region). The immigrants were ‘returning migrants’ i.e. Ingrain Finns, from Russia or Estonia, with varying Finnish skills. Most of them were women with low education. The migrants had not used the health care services very much. Mostly families with children had used the services, 4 to 6 times per year. Reasons for not using the health care services were, for some instances, bad skills in Finnish or being unable to explain the problem at hand. Another reason was long waits at the health care centre and one client thought that especially physioteraphy was too simple-minded in Finland. The older immigrants, with a stronger Finnish identity, were more satisfied than the younger ones, who often identified themselves more as Russians or Estonians and were unemployed. On the whole, however, the immigrants were fairly satisfied with the quality of primary health care, but they were not happy with the attitudes that the Finnish people had towards them.
The health care personnel had both positive and negative attitudes towards immigrants. They were more positive towards Estonians than towards Russians. Half of the health care workers perceived immigrants as more difficult clients than Finnish ones, because of the clients being too demanding, not following care instructions and appointment times, language problems and because of poor integration into the Finnish society and culture. There were some problems in meeting the immigrants’ demands for self-determination, although most health workers respected these demands.

One out of six health care workers defined him- or herself as racist. Moreover, the workers’ other answers revealed some hidden racism, such as negative labelling of the immigrants. Those who labelled themselves as racist were often younger, dentists or physicians, and had worked with immigrants for a shorter time than others. Public health nurses had the most positive attitudes towards immigrants.

Raija Talvela concludes that the health quality of the immigrants can be improved by defining the obstacles in the production of health services. The most common obstacles were the lack of a common language, the personnel being unaware of or simply ignoring cultural habits, how the work was organized, lack of time, inflexibility in making appointments and unsuitable personnel. The quality was also impaired by prejudices from both sides, and by the fact that the personnel had not received enough counselling for multicultural caring.

A study made by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health (Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriö, 1998) describes the experiences among health care personnel in the Helsinki area. Special fields of interest were family counselling, care for the handicapped, rehabilitation and mental disturbances.

On the whole, the personnel felt uncertain when dealing with immigrants. Several immigrants had problems that had kept building up for some time, and they required special competence.

Immigrants, especially in the initial phase of their stay in Finland, need help with a wide range of matters. Especially among refugees, there are many handicapped and people who have experienced war, torture and living in refugee camps. The migration in itself also creates new problems that must be solved by the public sector. This is true both for the refugees in the refugee centres and for the asylum seekers and other immigrants who live in the municipalities. The need for subsistence and the ability to get on with everyday life is central. This means having an apartment, a day care centre for the children, a place to study, learning how to get around etc. The immigrant’s own identity is also challenged and the person in question often feels insecure as long as his/her application for asylum hasn’t been processed. Work, housing, health, learning a new language, children’s day care or school, social contacts and religious matters are examples of issues that form an interconnected whole and must be solved.

Lots of stress produces violence. Two difficult problems are violence in the family and disputes over the custody and care of the children after a divorce. In many cases the husband’s particular role as the head of the family came in conflict with Finnish values. The communication between the immigrants and the personnel also suffered from the lack of a common language and the weak linguistic skills of both parties. The interpreters’ skills also varied a lot.

In many cases it was difficult to create the feeling of trust needed in social and health care. The needs of the refugees, for instance a radio for listening to broadcasts from back home, were sometimes hard to grasp by the social workers. There seemed to be an uncertainty regarding the degree of the immigrants’ self-determination. In some cases the social workers felt that the problems could only be solved if the family involved switched to a totally different lifestyle.
There were also problems with cooperation between different departments in the social and health care sectors, partly because of different ways of working, but also because the rules of professional secrecy made things harder to understand.

The social and health care workers were often uncertain and felt that more teamwork would be needed. The report concludes that there is a need for further training for the personnel dealing with certain immigrant groups. In many cases there is a conflict between the cultural rules of the immigrant family, e.g. gender relations, and the ethos within the social and health care system in the Finnish society. One evident example is the view on female circumcision and infibulation.

Another difference has to do with individuality versus collectivity. Matters that are considered individual in Finland can be seen as matters for the whole family in other cultures. A third difference may appear in attempts to understand a disease. A pure medical or scientific approach may be difficult to understand from another cultural viewpoint. The biggest problems were related to a lack of knowledge, lack of teamwork, old inadequate routines and an uncertainty about new ways of handling things. Ethical questions were especially delicate to solve.

To sum it all up, it is evident that immigration has presented new challenges for the health care system in Finland.

### 6.2 The Romani

As has been said, many Romani are dependent on the welfare system and its allowances. The welfare system lacks personnel within the social and health care sectors who know about Romani culture and the Romani language. Therefore, young Romani could be educated to fill this gap.

To help young Romani children, day care centres could be developed, so that Romani children could be brought up in an environment where their own culture would be taken into account. It is estimated that less Romani children are placed in day care than other children in Finland.

Young Romani children would often need special training in Finnish and possibly also other forms of assistance if they've had any breaks in their education. Also, Finnish children could be taught more about the Romani culture to help wipe out discriminatory attitudes.

As regards health, the bad economic and housing conditions are reflected in the health of older Romani. In general, Romani have been ill more often and more seriously than average Finns. Because of the high unemployment rate among the Romani, many of them miss out on the frequent health checks that come with the job.
7 Conclusions

Finland is changing rapidly, which can be seen in the amount of reports from local and state administrative units, NGOs and academic institutions. The awareness of the changes and the new challenges related to the increased immigration is obvious. This awareness seems to have benefited other minorities as well, like the Romani and the Sami people.

It is also clear that we still don’t have enough important information. This has to do with the short time period (only ten years) since the immigration to Finland began. This naturally means that the need for studying immigration matters is new and it hasn’t come very far yet. But it also means that it has not yet been possible to study long term effects. The small number of immigrants from many different groups also makes it harder to make causal inferences on the reasons behind the differences between different immigrant groups.

As regards employment, the high unemployment rate in some immigrant groups, as well as among the Romani people, is an unsolved problem. The official policy is clearly focused on this, but much remains to be done.

Housing seems to be less problematic than employment, although housing and employment go together, so those who are unemployed tend to live in more segregated areas with more social problems.

In the educational field, there is a need for following up how children from various groups perform in school and how pupils from different groups manage to continue their studies after comprehensive school. There also seems to be a need for continued development of special support options for some immigrant and minority children.

In the health sector, there seems to be a need for assessing the health of different immigrant and minority groups, as well as their use of health services.

Conclusively, the author found a lot of unsolved problems related to immigrants and refugees. The negative opinions among many young Finnish boys should be taken seriously. At the same time, among many people in the field, there is a clear awareness of the need for further efforts to ameliorate the situation for the newcomers, and to help integrate them into the Finnish society.
Bibliography


Grönfors, M (1979): *Ethnic Minorities and Deviance: The Relationship between Finnish Gypsies and the Police*, University of Helsinki, Sociology of Law Series, No 1


37


Paananen, Seppo (1999): Suomalaisuuden armoilla. Ulkomaalaisten työnhakijoiden luokittelu, Statistics Finland, Research Reports 228


Saukkonen, Pasi (1999): Suomi, Alankomaat ja kansallisvaltion identiteetipoliitikka, SKS


Statistics Finland: Educational Structure of Population by Municipality, Education 2000:2


Sosiaali- ja Terveytsministeriö (1998): Maahanmuuttajat sosiaali-ja terveyspalvelujen asiakkaina

Statistics Finland (1999): Foreigners and international migration 1998

Talvela, R (1999): Maahanmuuttajien palvelujen laatu Suomen perusterveydenhuollossa, Kuopio University Publications E. Social Sciences 72

Statistical data from various ministries and from Statistics Finland, some from the World Wide Web.
REPORTS AND DISCUSSION PAPERS FROM THE RESEARCH INSTITUTE (FISS)

1/98
Åsa Rosengren och Gunborg Jakobsson
Äldreomsorgen i Norden – med exempel från Herlev, Jakobstad, Sandefjord och Stockholm. Nordiska modellkommunprojektet NOVA.

2/98
Gunborg Jakobsson och Åsa Rosengren

3/98
Susanne Jungerstam-Mulders
Extreme Right-wing Parties: Ideological, Protest or Racist Parties.

4/98
Kjell Andersson

5/98
Elina Vuola
Between the State and the Church – Nicaraguan Women’s Reproductive Rights and the Promotion of Human Rights in the Finnish Development Cooperation.

6/98
Jouni Pirttijärvi
Indigenous Peoples and Development in Latin America.

7/98
Lisa Laakso, Iina Soiri and Zenebework Tadesse with Konjit Fekade
In Search of Democratic Opposition Constraints and Possibilities for Donors’ Support in Namibia and Ethiopia.

1/99
Mika Helander
SSKH Notat
SSKH Reports and Discussion Papers

2/1999
Leo Granberg, Erland Eklund and Kjell Andersson
Rural Innovation and Environment: New Development Paths in the Finnish Countryside?

3/1999
Åtta studier i nya och gamla medlemrkader.
Arbetsrapport från kursen i medieekonomi vid Svenska social- och kommunalhögskolan vid Helsingfors universitet våren 1999.

4/1999
Viveca Ramstedt-Silén
Riksdagsutskott eller kvinnoförening? Det kvinnliga nätverket i Finlands riksdag.

1/2000
Silka Koskimies

2/2000
Helena Blomberg & Christian Kroll
The Support For The Scandinavian Model In A Time Of Cuts: Attitudes In Finland.

3/2000
René Lindqvist, ohjaaja Ullamaija Kivikuru
Mainonta Suomen kansallisilla kaupallisilla tv-kanavilla verrattuna lakiin televisio- ja radiotoli-minnasta.

4/2000
Mikael Blomberg
På kurs: vem, vad, var och varför? Svenskt kursdeltagande och önskemål om verksamhetens inriktning vid huvudstadsregionens vuxenutbildningsinstitut.

5/2000
Kjell Andersson, Erland Eklund & Leo Granberg
Turism, naturutnyttjande och innovationer i tre kommuner: en fältstudierapport

6/2000
Matti Similä
Migrants and Ethnic Minorities on the Margins: Report for Finland (MEMM-report to CEMES)

Five main fields of research at the Swedish School of Social Science, University of Helsinki are:

A. Journalism, Media and Communication
B. Policy Studies, Organisations and Political Parties
C. Welfare, Life Cycle and Social Service Studies
D. Ethnic Relations and Nationalism
E. Regional Studies and Environment