



Finland

## “Feeding in” and “Feeding out”, and Integrating Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities

A Study of National Policies

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The Second Semester Report 2006 analyses the consideration of the social inclusion challenges in the Lisbon National Reform Programme (section 1) and the implemented policy and challenges regarding the integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities (section 2).<sup>1</sup>

## 1. Links between Finnish social inclusion and the Lisbon strategies

### *Summary*

*'The Lisbon Strategy for Growth and Jobs – the Finnish National Reform Programme 2005-2008, Annual Progress Report'<sup>2</sup> (further: NRP) does not make but one explicit statement about the link with the social protection and social inclusion process. Notwithstanding the employment policy goals are practically the same in the NRP and the 'National Reports on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion – Finland'<sup>3</sup> (further: SI/SP NSR) and this is what brings the two together. To increase the employment rate by reducing unemployment and by making working life longer at both ends is an explicit goal stated in both the NRP and the SI/SP NSR. The aim to increase public sector productivity is another link, given its implications for maintaining the welfare state. It is expectable that the employment policy of the NRP contributes indirectly to social cohesion through various measures aiming at the reduction of unemployment. Furthermore, the NRP's education policy measures should be able to prevent youth unemployment. All in all, however, the creation of new jobs benefits groups at particular risk of poverty and social exclusion only partly.*

### 1.1 'Feeding in': addressing social inclusion challenges in the NRP

#### 1.1.1 Stakeholders' consultation in the NRP

The Finnish Lisbon National Reform Programme has been coordinated by the Ministry of Finance. The process has involved a steering committee where the Permanent Under-Secretaries of State from all relevant ministries have been represented and an additional group of contact persons consisting of the ministries' senior advisors who both had several chances to influence the report.<sup>4</sup> According to the Annual Progress Report (NSR), the drawing up of the programme was done in consultation with both government officials and a wide range of stakeholder delegates and representatives of NGOs (though the latter are not specified). Two seminars were held before the programme was finalised, where government delegates presented the planned contents of the reform programme. The first seminar was designed for the social partners, local government representatives and the science community, and the second was addressed to NGO delegates in the environmental and social sectors. Labour market organisations as well as the Science and Technology Policy Council of Finland which addresses all crucial innovation policy position papers and policy stands have also been consulted. Meetings were arranged also with representatives of collective organisations, the business sector and the Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities (central organ for local government) so they could express their views on the programme. In addition, the draft reform programme was reviewed by the Economic

<sup>1</sup> The only major policy development since the "assessment report" submitted in September 2006 is the accepting of the Government's Immigration Political Programme in October, reported in section 2.

<sup>2</sup> The Lisbon Strategy for Growth and Jobs – the Finnish National Reform Programme 2005-2008, Annual Progress Report. Economic and Economic Policy Surveys 3b/2006. Ministry of Finance, Economics Department.

<sup>3</sup> National Reports on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion – Finland. Publications of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2006:24.

<sup>4</sup> Information received by phone 26.10.06 from Ms Meri Obstbaum, a Counsellor in the Ministry of Finance. The contact person of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health has been Mr Juho Saari, and the contact of person of the Ministry of Labour Ms Hillevi Lönn.

Council, where members from all main interest groups and key economic agents were present, and further commented by the Labour Council.<sup>5</sup> Parliament participation in the Lisbon Strategy process was ensured through extensive handling of government communications in special committees.

### *1.1.2 The links of the social protection and social inclusion processes*

On its opening page, the NRP makes an explicit statement about the link with the social protection and social inclusion process: "The reform programme is fully in line with Finland's Stability Programme. Moreover, the programme and forthcoming strategy on social protection and inclusion, due to be published in autumn 2007, will also complement and lend support to each other" (p. 3). This is, however, the only explicit reference to the SI/SP National Strategy Reports (i.e. SI/SP NSR). Nevertheless, the employment policy goals are practically the same in the NRP and the SI/SP NSR, and this is where the two come clearly together.

To increase the employment rate by reducing unemployment and by making working life longer at both ends is an explicit goal stated in both reports. In its chapter on employment policy, the NRP even mentions "the prevention of social exclusion" as a purpose of certain measures a few times, but without an explicit reference to the SI/SP NSR. The most important SI/SP strategic targets are the reduction of long-term and structural unemployment, the productivity of work and the extension of working life.<sup>6</sup> As stated in the SI/SP NSR, in the Finnish case "the cycle of social exclusion is often launched by either long-term unemployment or, in the case of young people especially, difficulties in entering the labour market" (p. 16). A number of measures in the NRP target these problems. Nevertheless, the main focus of the NRP is an overall increase in employment and economic growth, which is expected – in-directly – to support also the employment of the vulnerable groups.

To increase public sector productivity and to curb public spending is another link, due to its implications for the future of the welfare state. The cutting of public spending is more a theme of the NRP, but its importance is acknowledged also in the SI/SP National Strategy Reports (with more explicit referring to the Lisbon process by the latter than the other way round). The NRP underlines the importance to reduce public spending as preparations for population aging, but also because of its implications for securing the welfare services. The SI/SP National Strategy Reports is more explicit: "A key future challenge is to safeguard long-term sustainability of the public economy in a way that makes it possible to maintain an extensive social protection system and to reduce social divisions" (p. 12). An unresolved challenge remains, however, how to increase the efficiency so that the cuts do not simply translate into decreasing quality and/or more restricted access to the welfare services.

## **1.2 SI/SP and the NRP: analyses per employment guidelines**

The analysis focuses on the employment guidelines due to their centrality in bringing the SI/SP and NRP goals together. This section provides answers for the questions in the guidance for this report.

*GL17 Implement employment policies aiming at achieving full employment, improving quality and productivity at work, and strengthening social and territorial cohesion*

In terms of 'the three overarching objectives' the Finnish NRP puts the emphasis on increasing the employment rate (thus 'full employment') and improving productivity through promoting innovative and

<sup>5</sup> NRP, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> National Reports on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion – Finland. Publications of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2006:24.

entrepreneurial economy. Social cohesion is addressed through measures related to employment and education. In the Finnish context reducing unemployment is regarded as the most important measure preventing social exclusion. This includes supporting education and the labour-market entry of the youth, thus protecting them from falling into unemployment and thereafter even into a cycle of exclusion.<sup>7</sup> The Finnish approach thus follows the core idea of the EU policy aiming to bring more people into quality employment and this way enhance their economic and social opportunities, and consequently social cohesion.

#### *GL18 Promoting a lifecycle approach to work*

The Finnish NRP explicitly promotes a lifecycle approach to work in a way fully consistent with the SI/SP process. Work careers are aimed to be extended by three sets of measures at both the entry and exit of labour market employment. Firstly, there are measures to support the graduation of young people and to facilitate their placement in the job market by means of both education and counselling. Special attention has been paid to ensuring smooth transition into further education for every age cohort leaving basic education and to minimising dropouts, which is fully in line with the SI/SP NSR on increasing the coverage of education and consequently preventing unemployment and increased risk of social exclusion at a young age. Secondly, older people are encouraged to remain at work by means of pension-policy measures and by supporting employers who hire older people. The latter is targeted for employees of older people (above 54) in low-paid jobs (less than 2000 EUR per month gross). Thirdly, various training, rehabilitation and development programmes and new labour and social legislation is introduced to promote well-being at work and to strengthen the qualifications and working capacity of adult employees.<sup>8</sup>

Employment rates for younger (below 25) and especially for older people (above 54) have increased and their unemployment rates came down since 2005. Employment among older people has been accelerating for some time, but the improvement seen in the situation of young people is a more recent phenomenon. The retirement age is expected to increase over the next few years. These are welcome trends. Nonetheless, the reforms are still too recent to assess their impact reliably.

The NRP and the SI/SP NSR both approach the Finnish social protection system from the point of view of measures needed to sustain its quality. The requirements of increasing the productiveness of healthcare services and increasing the employment rate are noticed in both policy papers. The measures indicated in the NRP are consistent with the SI/SP NSR.

The reconciliation of work and family life is not addressed in the NRP.

#### *GL19 Ensuring inclusive labour markets*

The NRP includes a number of measures promoting an inclusive labour market, above all aimed to combat structural unemployment, which has been a persisting problem in Finland. As much as almost one-half of all people who are out of work are classified as 'hard to employ', i.e. they are the long-term and recurrently unemployed, those returning to unemployment from subsidised measures or repeat users of subsidised measures. Recently the number of hard-to-employ job applicants has been in decline (by more than 10,000 in 2005). In addition to the positive influence of economic growth this

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<sup>7</sup> Territorial cohesion is being addressed only indirectly through the ongoing (unaccomplished and much debated) project to reform the municipal and service structure, aiming to increase productivity in service provision. On plans, see NRP, pp. 26-27.

<sup>8</sup> NRP, pp. 47-52.

suggests success of the implemented reforms. Nevertheless, the question remains to what extent this success is "statistical" and due to placements through labour-market measures and to what extent these people have been employed in the open labour market.

Inclusive labour market is promoted by activation programmes aiming to improve the labour market skills of the unemployed in order to reduce structural unemployment. First of all, employment offices have upgraded their service structure and provide now for the 'hard to employ' through a network of 38 dedicated service centres. These aim to provide clear pathways towards employment. Their work is helped also by reform of the labour market support system from the beginning of 2006 and simplification of employment subsidies – a stick in addition to the carrots. Secondly, during the 2000–2006 term the emphasis in the allocation of ESF funding has shifted increasingly towards the promotion of employment and skills and competencies. Thirdly, since 2005 there exists a measure called 'social guarantee for young people' whereby young unemployed people (under 25 years) are offered training or a workshop place within three months of unemployment. In 2005 the average monthly number of young people covered by the social guarantee scheme was 8,200, while the total number of unemployed youths averaged 30,500. The primary objective of the scheme is to get unskilled youths into training and education. All in all, Finland conducts an active labour force policy. Recent research suggests that the most effective tools at all stages of unemployment are vocational labour market training, apprenticeship contracts and subsidised employment – this is also the course of action taken in drawing the measures. The activation measures are consistent with the SI/SP objectives.

It should be noted, however, that the NRP does not address the eradication of poverty in itself. The aims to reduce unemployment should contribute to decreasing poverty indirectly.

*GL21 Promote flexibility combined with employment security and reduce labour market segmentation, having due regard to the role of social partners*

Tax reform making work pay include cuts in earned income taxes focused on the lower and middle income brackets by means of an earned income allowance in municipal taxation. The allowance decreases as the amount of income increases and is granted on earned income but not on social benefits, providing thus an incentive to employment. The most significant change in the benefit system has been the activation of labour market support, which took effect from the beginning of 2006. This reform, which has rather the character of a stick than a carrot, was designed to encourage local organisations and municipalities in particular to take rigorous action for the management of employment. As from the beginning of 2006, passive labour market support for long-term unemployment (more than 500 days) is funded on a 50/50 basis by central and local government. At the same time a special period was introduced during which people who have been unemployed for extended periods are more actively offered work or labour-market measures. The criteria for eligibility were so revised that long-term recipients of the subsidy who decline to accept a job offer or labour market measures lose their right to labour market support.

The NRP does not include plans made to increase the adaptability of labour markets for instance through enhancing employment flexibility combined with security. From my point of view, this is a deficiency since employment contracts have been increasingly made for a specified period instead of "for the time being". Considering this, if the target is to increase employment, it would make sense to facilitate arrangements that would enable more flexible use of support measures *combined with* taking temporary or part-time jobs as an attractive alternative to being 100% unemployed.

The measures promoting an inclusive information society include the government's broad band strategy and the introduction of digital television. In the former the government's strategy is to promote

competition within and across all communications networks. Furthermore, the aim is to increase service provision in networks, to promote broadband demand, and to further pursue with special efforts boosting demand in commercial broadband services in cases where demand is currently low. For the time being around 50 per cent of households in the country now have broadband connections and the geographical coverage of fixed line broadband is around 95 per cent of all households. The NRP does not, however, see any special measures on how to ensure that a "digital divide" will not emerge as a new mode of exclusion for those in the worst positions. Another measure is the changeover to digital television broadcasting that will be completed by the end of August 2007.

### *GLs23-24 Expand and improve investment in human capital, Adapt education and training systems*

The NRP's education policy measures aimed at facilitating young people's education choices, improving their access to education, reducing study times and promoting employment in the labour market, have been implemented according to plan. Special attention has been paid to ensuring smooth transition into further education for every age cohort leaving basic education and to minimising dropouts.

The aim is that by 2008, at least 97 per cent of those completing comprehensive education move on directly either to upper secondary school, vocational training or voluntary additional basic education.

Several measures have been introduced to reduce dropout rates and study times. Furthermore, a development project is currently underway to improve mechanisms of study guidance and supervision. The joint application system for upper secondary education will be upgraded with a view on improving the application and admission processes. The new electronic application system will allow for real-time monitoring of the application and selection process and make it easier to fill any vacant student places. Steps are also being taken to increase and intensify the use of voluntary additional basic education and to develop tutoring and counselling for those leaving comprehensive school planning to take up vocational training. These measures are extensive and they are in line with the SI/SP National Strategy Reports.

### **1.3 'Feeding out': impact on achieving social inclusion objectives**

The creation of new jobs is benefiting groups at particular risk of poverty and social exclusion only partly. The number of vacancies posted at employment offices has – relatively speaking – increased more rapidly than the number of people out of work has decreased and the filling of job vacancies has slowed down, which indicate an imbalance between demand and supply in the labour market. Yet Ministry of Labour figures positively indicate that structural unemployment is on the decline in terms of the increased employment of the so-called 'hard-to-employ' job applicants, many of whom belong to the risk groups of poverty and social exclusion. An assessment of one vulnerable group, the immigrants (in section 2), shows, however, that despite their significantly increased employment, the unemployment of those of foreign nationality remains more than three times that of the whole population. This suggests that the positive trend of increased employment reaches the risk groups, but does not abolish their relative disadvantage.

Moving into work does not necessarily mean moving out of poverty. The emerging employed poor are a topic of societal debate in Finland currently. Those in the professions with the lowest wages, and especially those working on temporal or part-time labour agreements, cannot necessarily support themselves with their income from labour but have to rely on social assistance. This problem is most apparent in the largest cities with the steepest rents (housing prices), especially in the Helsinki metropolitan region. The low level of fixed benefits (e.g., labour-market subsidy) and last-resort benefits (housing benefit and social assistance) remains also an issue, as stated in SI/SP NSR (p. 5).

The definitions of growth policy in the NRP, i.e. structural reforms to promote competitiveness and productivity (innovativeness, entrepreneurship, product market functioning, infrastructure networks), are not targeted in the way that they would particularly aim to support social cohesion, and their effects in this respect are not particularly clear.

Income differentiation has increased considerably since the mid-1990s. The incomes of all quintiles (i.e. the population divided to 20 per cent brackets by their income level) have increased, but the growth of income has been more extensive for the wealthiest. The main reason for this has been the increase in capital income channelled to the latter group in particular.<sup>9</sup> There is no reason to expect that this trend would reverse in the foreseeable future. Therefore, it is most likely that the economic growth will benefit the wealthy the most and increase the relative income inequalities, yet at the same time increase more moderately also the income levels of other groups, including the (relatively) poor.

Despite these critical remarks, it is to be expected that the employment policy is contributing to social cohesion through various measures aiming to reduce unemployment. Furthermore, the NRP's education policy measures aiming to improve access to education and reduce dropout rates should be able to prevent youth unemployment. Due to the recent application of many of the measures, their longer term success needs to be evaluated later on. It remains clear, however, that even with the possible success of the recently introduced measures, high structural unemployment remains a problem.

## 2. Integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities

The phenomenon of immigration is very recent in Finland; the number of immigrant population has increased significantly only since the early 1990s. Finland is currently in the process of abandoning its rather conservative and restrictive immigration policy. The main emphasis in the Government's Immigration Political Programme, accepted 19<sup>th</sup> October 2006, is on promoting work-based immigration. Nonetheless, as the implementing measures of the programme are still being prepared, this analysis concentrates on the policy measures applied for the time being. The focus of the section is on recently arrived immigrants, although Finland's "historical" ethnic minorities are also covered.

### 2.1 Immigration: general background information

#### 2.2.1 *Immigration in numbers*

The share of the immigrant population has long been very low in Finland. Historically, Finland has been more a country of emigration than of immigration. In fact, the number of immigrants has exceeded the number of emigrants only since 1981. Moreover, until the late 1980s the immigrants were mostly Finns returning from Sweden. Although the absolute number of immigrants in Finland is still low compared to most EU countries, the relative change, presented in Tables 1 and 2, has been dramatic since the early 1990s. The number of foreign citizens living in Finland was around 115.000 inhabitants, i.e. 2.2 per cent of the population, at the end of 2005. The population speaking a foreign language (i.e. other than Finnish, Swedish or Sámi, the official languages of Finland) as their native language comprised 2.7 per cent of the whole population of Finland. Regarding regional distribution, almost half of the foreign population in Finland live in the Uusimaa Region (i.e. the Helsinki Region), and 27 per cent of them in the capital city Helsinki. Respectively, 4.1 per cent of population in Uusimaa Region has a foreign

<sup>9</sup> Pajunen, A. (2005) *Tuloerot Suomessa vuosina 1966-2003* (Income differentiation in Finland 1966-2003). Hyvinvointikatsaus 1/2005.

nationality and 5.6 per cent of the population speaks a foreign mother tongue. The biggest immigrant groups are the Russian, Estonian, Somalian and (ex-)Yugoslavian groups.

There are three main reasons behind the rapid growth of foreign populations in Finland since the early 1990s. Firstly, Finland started to receive more refugees only since then. The new groups that arrived thus included in particular asylum seekers from Somalia and former Yugoslavia. Altogether, Finland has received 26,615 refugees 1973-2005. The number includes quota refugees, asylum seekers who have received a positive decision and persons received through the family reunification programme. The number of asylum applicants has remained at the level of 3000+ yearly since 1999. The Finnish refugee quota has been 750 people since year 2001. These are relatively low numbers compared to the EU 15 on average.<sup>10</sup> Secondly, at the time when the Soviet Union was collapsing, a minority in the Soviet Union with Finnish origin, the Ingrian Finns, was given the special status as 'return migrants' in Finland after a statement by President Koivisto in 1990. Until now, altogether 25,000 Ingrians have come to Finland from both Russia and Estonia. The share of the Ingrian returning migrants of all ex-Soviet immigrants was 70 per cent around the millennium; the main attraction in Finland for them is better living standards.<sup>11</sup> There are still some 15,000 returnees and their family members from Ingria queuing for a returnee's permit of residence.<sup>12</sup> Thirdly, the share of the other foreign population has been increasing also connected with the increasing internationalisation of all types of societal activities in Finland during the last decades. Tables 1 and 2 show how immigration from all continents has grown steadily. In the 1990's and 2000's, the main reasons for immigrating to Finland have been family ties (60-65%), refugee status (approx. 15%), immigration of returnees from the ex-Soviet area (approx. 10%), work-based immigration (approx. 5-10%) or other reasons (approx. 5-10%).<sup>13</sup>

**Table 1.** Foreigners in Finland and the Uusimaa Region by nationality, 1990-2005

		1990	1995	2000	2005
<b>Finland</b>	Foreign nationalities altogether	26,255	68,566	91,074	113,852
	EU 25 (excluding Finns)	12,410	23,674	29,541	37,923
	... Sweden	6,051	7,014	7,887	8,196
	... Estonia	0**	8,446	10,839	15,459
	The rest of Europe	5,696	22,729	33,470	37,376
	... Former Yugoslavia*	75	3,335	5,202	5,538
	... Russia	0**	9,720	20,552	24,621
	Africa	1,247	6,970	7,600	10,710
	... Somalia	44	4,044	4,190	4,704
	Americas	2,246	3,072	3,638	4,299
	... USA	1,475	1,844	2,010	2,086
	Asia	2,676	9,943	14,597	21,665
	... Afghanistan	3	40	386	1,833
	... Iraq	107	1,341	3,102	3,267
	Oceania	285	397	551	556
	<b>Uusimaa Region (i.e. Helsinki Region)</b>	Foreign nationalities altogether	12,381	33,988	44,254
EU 25 (excluding Finns)		5,182	11,374	14,628	19,047

<sup>10</sup> Eurostat database, <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/>

<sup>11</sup> Kyntäjä, E. (1999) Muuttopaineet Venäjältä ja Virosta Suomeen – satua vai totta? (Migration pressure from Russia and Estonia to Finland – fact or fiction?) Siirtolaisuus – Migration, 1999: 1, 4–10.

<sup>12</sup> Immigration Issues in 2005. Ministry of Labour. [http://www.mol.fi/mol/en/99\\_pdf/en/04\\_migration/toimintaen.pdf](http://www.mol.fi/mol/en/99_pdf/en/04_migration/toimintaen.pdf)

<sup>13</sup> ibid.

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...Sweden	1,696	1,945	2,235	2,327
...Estonia	0**	4,892	6,343	8,986
The rest of Europe	2,835	9,658	13,536	14,836
...Former Yugoslavia*	45	867	1,846	2,297
...Russia	0**	4,037	7,785	9,017
Africa	712	4,890	5,791	7,461
...Somalia	17	3,115	3,603	4,036
Americas	1,161	1,737	2,030	2,404
...USA	740	1,019	1,097	1,190
Asia	1,568	4,998	6,953	10,841
...Afghanistan	1	25	145	462
...Iraq	48	432	952	1,415
Oceania	133	200	293	295

\*Including nationals of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro and 'Former Yugoslavia'.

\*\*Not calculated as their own nationalities during the Soviet era.

Source: Statistics Finland, population statistics (<http://www.stat.fi/tup/tilastotietokannat/>)

**Table 2.** Foreigners in Finland and Uusimaa Region by mother language, 1990-2005

		1990	1995	2000	2005
<b>Finland</b>	Foreign language as a mother tongue	24,783	65,649	99,227	144,334
	...Estonian	1,394	8,710	10,176	15,336
	...Somali	0	4,057	6,454	8,593
	...Russian	3,884	15,872	28,205	39,653
<b>Uusimaa region</b>	Foreign language as a mother tongue	13,653	35,064	52,310	76,306
	...Estonian	689	4,711	5,686	8,622
	...Somali	0	3,130	5,638	7,650
	...Russian	2,167	7,798	12,401	17,210

Source: Statistics Finland, population statistics (<http://www.stat.fi/tup/tilastotietokannat/>)

### 2.2.2 A new phase ahead: the Government's new immigration political programme

Finland's immigration policy is currently being revised: a rather conservative and restrictive approach is shifting towards a more promoting approach, welcoming immigrants in greater numbers. A milestone in the change is accepting the Government's Immigration Political Programme on October 19<sup>th</sup> 2006.<sup>14</sup> Its main emphasis is on *promoting* work-based immigration, motivated by the anticipated shortage of labour due to the rapid aging of Finnish population. Other central themes include creating a guidance system for all immigrants, increasing the efficiency of the integration system for immigrants, improving ethnic relationships as well as the refugee and asylum policy. The aim is to promote the development of a pluralistic, multi-cultural and non-discriminatory society and this way to create preconditions for increasing immigration. The political programme comprises 34 policy definitions most of which demand further preparation. The responsible actors (mostly ministries) to carry out the preparation are already defined in the programme.

In addition, the 2007–2013 ESF-programme now under preparation identifies employment-based immigration as a special priority area. Various acts and bills passed and submitted during 2006 have

<sup>14</sup> Hallituksen maahanmuuttopoliittinen ohjelma (the Government's Immigration Political Programme). 19.10.2006. [http://www.tyoministerio.fi/mol/fi/99\\_pdf/fi/06\\_tyoministerio/06\\_julkaisut/10\\_muut/mamu\\_ohjelma19102006.pdf](http://www.tyoministerio.fi/mol/fi/99_pdf/fi/06_tyoministerio/06_julkaisut/10_muut/mamu_ohjelma19102006.pdf)

also provided greater clarity to the tasks of monitoring and implementing the terms of employment and working conditions of foreign workers.

### 2.2.3 *The legal basis of ethnic equality and the equality bodies*

The main provisions pertaining to discrimination on the basis of racial and ethnic origin have been laid down in the Constitution, the Equality Act and the Penal Code. In addition to these, there are more than a dozen individual acts, which deal with for instance labour life, and which prohibit discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin in their particular sphere of application. Finnish legislation does not explicitly deal with multiple discrimination, but this does not pose any major problems because most anti-discrimination provisions explicitly prohibit discrimination for a wide variety of grounds and contain a clause according to which discrimination based on other personal characteristics is prohibited as well. International human rights treaties to which Finland is a party are part and parcel of the national legal system and may be invoked and applied directly in courts. This adds further protection from ethnic and racial discrimination. International human rights provisions are also to be taken into account when interpreting the domestic law.

The Equality Act (2004) and the Non-Discrimination Act (2004) are the main instruments adopted in order to transpose into national law the year 2000 EU directives on equal treatment. The acts provide extensive protection from discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin, but covers also discrimination on the basis of, *inter alia*, national origin, language, religion and belief, disability, sexual orientation, age and nationality. The principle of equal treatment has been strongly anchored in the domestic law for quite some time however. The approach of the more recent legislation, the Equality Act in particular, is more detailed and specific in nature, with precise definitions of discrimination, scope of application and legitimate exceptions. In this way, the Equality Act only complemented the old legislation. The Finnish anti-discrimination law covers a wide ground. The primary thrust of the Constitutional prohibition of discrimination is to ensure equal treatment in the exercise of public powers.<sup>15</sup>

The office of *the Ombudsman for Minorities* was established in 2001 in order to promote the realization of equal treatment irrespective of ethnic origin. The Ombudsman functions mainly as an expert body, providing advice and instructions to victims of ethnic discrimination. The Ombudsman may also provide legal aid in exceptionally significant cases. Most of the cases of ethnic discrimination in which the Ombudsman's office has been contacted have dealt with discrimination in recruitment, social security or education. The office has also often been contacted in matters relating to racial harassment and violence. Upon encountering discriminatory practices the Ombudsman shall, by way of advice and instructions, aim at their discontinuation. He shall also issue recommendations and come up with initiatives aimed to improve ethnic relations and the status of ethnic minorities. A victim of discrimination may request the Ombudsman for Minorities to conduct conciliation proceedings.<sup>16</sup>

The Ombudsman or the victim of discrimination may also take the case to *the Discrimination Board*, established in February 2004. The Board may confirm a settlement between the parties, and prohibit the continuation or renewal of a discriminatory practice. The Board may also order a party to fulfil its obligations under the penalty of fine. The Board may issue statements regarding the correct interpretation of anti-discrimination law upon the request of one or both of the parties, the Ombudsman for Minorities, a court of law, a public authority or an NGO.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> For an extensive overview, see Makkonen, T. (2004) *Finland country report on measures to combat discrimination*. [http://ec.europa.eu/employment\\_social/fundamental\\_rights/pdf/legnet/firep05\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/fundamental_rights/pdf/legnet/firep05_en.pdf)

<sup>16</sup> Makkonen, T. (2004) Executive Summary: Discrimination based on Racial or Ethnic Origin, FINLAND, p. 4. [http://ec.europa.eu/employment\\_social/fundamental\\_rights/pdf/aneval/race\\_fi.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/fundamental_rights/pdf/aneval/race_fi.pdf)

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

A victim of discrimination may also file a complaint to *the Parliamentary Ombudsman* or *the Chancellor of Justice* in case discrimination has taken place in the exercise of public powers. These bodies may not amend or annul a particular decision but may bring legal action against an official and/or issue their opinions of the correct interpretation of the law. The concrete significance of these bodies is thus twofold: first, they oversee the legality of the use of public power, and second, they provide guidance on the way in which legislation is to be interpreted, especially in matters having a bearing on human rights and fundamental freedoms.<sup>18</sup>

#### 2.2.4 Main principles of Finnish immigration policy

The general objective of the Finnish policy is to efficiently prevent the aggravation of cultural conflicts and to promote the inclusion of all ethnic groups. The target is a balanced society where welfare is not bound to cultural background.<sup>19</sup> The main aim of the Finnish immigration policy is to support independent life management of immigrants with measures by various administrative sectors. The integration programmes put an emphasis on education and training. It is commonly considered that the most important condition for integration is learning a national language, either Finnish or Swedish. Participation in the labour market and non-discrimination at work and in education are important with respect to the inclusion of all ethnic groups and the integration of immigrants. At the same time, however, policies recognise the need for retaining the immigrants' own language and culture; forced assimilation is not pursued. Another aim is inclusion in the welfare society; all permanent residents enjoy equal rights to the extensive welfare services and are covered by the national social insurance. The idea is that services for the immigrants should be arranged in the "normal course" of service provision. Due to this principle, the particular immigrant services often have advisory or assisting character and they are only complementary to the "normal course" of service provision. What the particular immigrant focused services include depends much on the local municipality. When relevant, this report largely uses the arrangements in the Helsinki region as an example.

#### 2.2.5 The integration plan

Due to acceleration of immigration only recently, the Finnish integration policy has so far focussed on first generation immigrants at their arrival stage. These measures to promote immigrant integration are contained in the Integration Act (Act on the integration of immigrants and reception of asylum seekers, 1999, updated 12/2005). The Act seeks to promote the integration, equality and freedom of choice of immigrants through measures supporting attainment of the principal skills and knowledge required in society. The Act defines integration as the individual development of an immigrant with a view to participating in working life and in the functions of society at large, while preserving the immigrant's native language and culture.

The main measure or more rightly a collection of measures has been the integration plan. The integration plan is an individual scheme of measures to support a particular immigrant, and possibly the immigrant's family, in acquiring the skills and knowledge that are needed in working life and in Finnish society at large.

The integration plan is targeted only at immigrants who are unemployed (registered as unemployed job-seekers) and eligible for labour market subsidy – they have the right to the personal integration plan and

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> National Reports on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion – Finland, p. 35. Publications of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2006:24.

the services agreed in it. The immigrant integration plan incorporates an agreement between the local authority, the local employment office and the immigrant. The plan obliges public authorities to arrange and finance the measures agreed in the plan. The immigrant is entitled to such a plan and has a duty to implement it. The immigrant integration plan must be prepared before the client's unemployment or subsistence benefit claimant status has continued for two months.<sup>20</sup> An immigrant continues to be entitled to an integration plan for a period not exceeding three years reckoned from the date on which the immigrant was first entered into the Finnish domicile register. The timespan of the integration plan can be expanded to five years under certain conditions, e.g. in order to acquire literacy or complement basic education.

The Integration Act guides the content of immigrant integration plans by listing arrangements for Finnish or Swedish language studies, employment policy adult education training, voluntary immigrant training, vocational guidance and rehabilitation, on-the-job training, immigrant integration support for children and young adults, and other comparable measures that may reasonably be considered to support immigrant integration. Immigrant integration is an individual process that involves many concerned participants, and is often time-consuming and dependent on various individual life situations. This means that measures promoting immigrant integration, which also promote the employment of immigrants, may be highly diverse in character. The idea is that the skills and expertise that immigrants already possess upon arrival in Finland are identified at the earliest possible stage, and that pathways to integration and employment are then based upon them.<sup>21</sup>

Immigrants who are employed in fulltime work or self-employment of permanent character, or who have embarked on full-time studies leading to professional or academic qualifications are not entitled to an immigrant integration plan.

Local authorities have particular responsibility for preparing and implementing immigrant integration plans for persons outside the labour market, such as those under 17 and over 64 years of age and housewives. In the recent amendment to the law (in December 2005) the right to an integration plan was expanded to include children and young people less than 17 years of age, while previously immigrants under 17 years of age were in most cases only included in the family integration plan.

Under the Integration Act, income support during the implementation of an immigrant integration plan is arranged as integration benefit. Integration benefit is a form of financial support intended to secure the income of an immigrant during implementation of an immigrant integration plan, and seeking to promote and enhance the conditions for access by beneficiaries to working life and further training, and their prospects of functioning in Finnish society. Immigrants remain ineligible for labour market subsidy paid in any form other than the integration benefit referred to in the Integration Act for a period of three years reckoned from their first date of entry into the domicile register.

#### *2.2.6 More broadly targeted measures needed*

As hinted by its full name, the motivation to draw the Integration Act has been in particular to clarify arrangements related to the increasing number of refugees.

The integration measures defined in the Integration Act do not apply for those immigrants who manage to get employed quickly, because only the unemployed are eligible. For the time being, the employed immigrants or those having a business of their own, and their family members, are usually excluded

<sup>20</sup> Decreased from five months in the recent (12/2005) amendment to the Act.

<sup>21</sup> Finland's National Action Plan for Employment 2004, p. 34.

from (fully subsidised) measures provided via the integration plan. Their counselling as a part of integration into working life is left largely to the employers' responsibility and these immigrants are expected to be more active themselves in terms of acquiring information on Finnish society, for instance using the government material on the Internet. The exclusion of those actively using employment opportunities but not necessarily making a big income (for instance being employed as a cleaner) is short-sighted. On the positive side, the new Government's Immigration Political Programme acknowledges this deficiency and that all immigrants, independently of the basis on which their residence permit was granted, are in need of information and counselling to operate successfully in the Finnish society. The planned measure is a counselling service covering all immigrants (pp. 17-19).

## 2.3 Employment Issues

The Finnish experience of immigration is special, because it has not been connected to labour markets until recently. None of the main immigrant groups in Finland who arrived in the 1990s came mainly in search of jobs. Instead, the increase in foreign population even coincided with a deep economic recession in the early 1990s, leading to a high level of unemployment of immigrants. At worst, half of the immigrant labour force was unemployed in the mid-1990s. Importantly, the immigrant employment situation has gradually become better since, but still 26 per cent of the immigrant labour force is unemployed, more than three times the unemployment rate of the whole population (8%).<sup>22</sup> The range among different nationalities is 9 to 75 per cent. Concerning the main groups, Somalis are at the high end with 62 per cent unemployment, Russians above average with 38 per cent, whereas the unemployment rate of Estonians is fairly low at 13 per cent. Due to their as of yet small share of the population, foreign citizens altogether form only two per cent of the total labour force in Finland.

### 2.3.1 *Employment opportunities*

Increasing employment among foreigners is helped by the fact that there is a demand for labour in the service industries, and that more and more employers now have first-hand experience of immigrant employees. This has lowered people's resistance to hiring immigrants, and immigrants have come to be regarded as a resource, especially in sectors experiencing a shortage of labour. This trend has been supported by the increased inclusion of immigrants in active measures, and joint procurement projects of vocational training, implemented together with employers, which have also included Finnish language training. The effects of the Integration Act are apparent in the form of more rapid labour market placement of persons covered by immigrant integration plans. Immigrant employment has also been promoted by employment projects financed by the European Social Fund, in which it has been possible to give greater consideration to the individual service needs of immigrants.

Given the heterogeneous background of immigrants it remains hard to conclude simply what kind of jobs are available for them. Immigrants can basically be found from all societal ladders, though more from the service industry than white-collar professions.

Labour market discrimination of immigrants persists as a problem. Tuula Joronen, who has conducted a number of studies on immigrant employment in Helsinki, points out that despite the Somali population's diligent educating of themselves, their employment rate has grown less than expected. Her conclusion is that the only explanation left is the employer prejudice. The highly educated Russians neither have

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<sup>22</sup> Estimate of the Ministry of Labour as of 31.5.2006 (MOL webpages)

attained a position equal to their skills in the labour market.<sup>23</sup> Discrimination and elimination from working life generally occurs before the job interview or initial visit to the workplace. Many of the highly educated Somalis who are employed work in the public sector in professions connected with immigration services.<sup>24</sup>

In the eve of encouraging work-based migration, more attention should be paid to integrating the immigrant labour resource Finland already has. There is an apparent risk that immigrants educated in Finland but facing the prejudice in the Finnish labour market are leaving the country for the gain of other countries in the international competition for educated labour force. This risk is particularly emphasised in the case of the Somalis.

The basic conditions of immigrant employment include adequate mastery of the Finnish or Swedish languages and vocational skills. Research into immigrant employment and the results of immigrant employment projects indicate that it is difficult for immigrants to find placements on the open labour market that correspond to their vocational skills and resources without work experience procured in Finland. Moreover, the labour market position of immigrants has been concluded to be less secure than Finns, part-time and temporal work agreements being more prevalent than among Finns.<sup>25</sup>

While people who have moved to Finland in recent years have often been fairly successful in finding work thanks to the integration plans, unemployment continues to be at a high level for ageing immigrants with a lack of training, who often have a background as refugees. Some of them have not found work at all, or they may find only short fixed-term jobs. At the end of 2003, one in five foreign unemployed jobseekers had been unemployed for over a year.<sup>26</sup>

(In addition to the real problems it should be mentioned that the high unemployment rate of foreigners is partly a statistical issue. In contrast to the situation in other Nordic countries, the custom in Finland is to register newly arrived refugees as jobseekers immediately, and not after an initial period of integration. However, the immediate employment prospects of these immigrants lacking in language skills are poor. Moreover, those who arrive as quota refugees have often spent long periods in refugee camps and been through traumatic experiences, meaning that the immigrant integration process may well take years and involve significant rehabilitation measures. About 10 per cent of adults entering Finland as refugees are illiterate. Many must undergo comprehensive training, including learning a new language, before their employment becomes realistically possible.)

### *2.3.2 Measures to decrease institutional racism*

Compliance with the Non-Discrimination Act in employment relationships and service relationships is supervised by Occupational Health and Safety Authorities (työsuojeluviranomainen). The authority may carry out on-site inspections and upon encountering discriminatory practices it must report the case to a public prosecutor. Indirectly, most important are the measures supporting immigrants' position in the labour market, in particular those that add to an increase in first-hand experience of immigrant employees and may thus decrease prejudice. Extensive training and awareness programmes have been implemented in support of the implementation of the Act. In this instance, the ESF product

<sup>23</sup> Joronen, T. (2005b) Työ on kahden kauppa – maahanmuuttajien työmarkkina-aseman ongelmia (On the problems of immigrants' labour market position). In: Paananen, S. (ed.) Maahanmuuttajien elämää Suomessa, pp. 59-82. Helsinki: Tilastokeskus.

<sup>24</sup> Sutela, H. (2005) Maahanmuuttajat palkkatyössä (Immigrants employed). In: Paananen, S. (ed.) Maahanmuuttajien elämää Suomessa, pp. 83-109. Helsinki: Tilastokeskus.

<sup>25</sup> Sutela, 2005.

<sup>26</sup> Finland's National Action Plan for Employment 2004, p. 33.

development project of the Ministry of Labour, the MoniQ project (2003-2006), deserves to be mentioned. The MoniQ project collects positive learning experiences obtained in immigrant-related projects, makes an operational models out of them, and disseminates these good working practices. The MoniQ project network entails aspects of training, support measures for workplaces and recruitment procedures, the local employment office services and the services for persons difficult to integrate into and retain in working life. The aim is that the models thus developed will continue as normal activities even after the conclusion of the project.<sup>27</sup>

### *2.3.3 Monitoring*

Given the central aim of labour market integration in the Finnish immigration policy, the employment issues of immigrants are under constant monitoring by the public authorities involved, i.e. the Ministry of Labour, the local municipalities, and the T&E Centres. The labour administration pays particular attention to persons entitled to the integration benefit and to the extent to which such persons are out of work and not engaged in employment training, on-the-job training or other labour administration measures. The integration programme stipulates the duties of the local authority and the local employment office to continuously monitor the status and situation of various immigrant groups. T&E Centres have monitored the preparation and approval of integration programmes. The Statistics Finland has established a national database that enables monitoring of such factors as immigrant employment, duration of unemployment, income and geographical relocation. The government has tried to closely monitor expressions of racism and act accordingly, developing programs aiming at promoting good ethnic relations.

### *2.3.4 Measures supporting migrant entrepreneurship*

The immigrants who are willing to start a business of their own have equal services to indigenous first-time entrepreneurs. The most important support mechanisms are counselling free of charge by business incubators, usually maintained and financed by municipalities (for employment policy purposes in general), and start-up grants provided for first time entrepreneurs by the Ministry of Labour. The business incubator is a good starting point to clarify matters connected to establishing one's own business and doing business in Finland. The advisors help their customers to evaluate their business idea with thorough calculations needed. They can also help their customers to apply the start-up grants as well as to arrange bank loans and arrange other establishment procedures. For instance in Helsinki, the city maintains and finances the NYP Business counselling centre, which provides business counselling, courses in entrepreneurship and even incubator office facilities. The NYP arranges also a particular 'Entrepreneurial Training Course for Immigrants'. This is labour market training for the unemployed and it is organized together with the Employment and Economic Development Centre (TE-keskus). The course is targeted at immigrants interested in establishing company.<sup>28</sup>

There is no system of facilitated access to banking and micro-credit designed particularly for migrant entrepreneurs, but they may use the same possibilities available for other Finnish residents. The aforementioned business incubators can transfer the knowledge about these possibilities. Finnvera plc, a financing company owned by the Finnish state, provides loans for women entrepreneurs, micro loans as well as micro-enterprise guarantees to facilitate obtaining a loan.

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<sup>27</sup> [http://www.mol.fi/mol/en/99\\_pdf/en/13\\_research\\_and\\_development/05\\_plans\\_and\\_projects/21\\_moniq/moniq\\_internationalism\\_en.pdf](http://www.mol.fi/mol/en/99_pdf/en/13_research_and_development/05_plans_and_projects/21_moniq/moniq_internationalism_en.pdf)

<sup>28</sup> See <http://www.nyppi.net/NYP%20in%20English.htm>

### *2.3.5 The (missing) link to corporate social responsibility programmes*

In Finland corporate social responsibility is discussed mostly from the viewpoint of the globalisation of the economy and the internationalisation of companies, concerning international investment and multinational enterprises, coordinated by the Ministry of Trade and Industry. Discussion about the positions of the migrant labour force in Finland has not been included in the discussions on corporate social responsibility, perhaps due to their minor share as of yet.

## **2.4 Education and Training Issues**

Education and training are in a central position in the Finnish policy targeted to help integrate immigrants by means of providing them with resources for their personal life management in the Finnish society. A particular emphasis is on language instruction since an adequate competence in an official language is considered as a prerequisite for successful integration. For the purpose of clarity the assessment below is divided into the education and training of adults and that of children and young adults.

### *2.4.1 Education and training of immigrants of adult age*

Immigrants who do not have employment at the moment of arrival or cannot acquire it quickly, and register as unemployed job seekers, are entitled to the personal integration plan (see 2.1.4). The integration plan is an individual scheme of measures, above all education and training, to support a particular immigrant in acquiring the skills and knowledge that are needed in the working life and in Finnish society at large. In addition to studies of Finnish or Swedish, the educational content may include employment-policy adult education training, voluntary immigrant training, vocational guidance and rehabilitation, on-the-job training, and post-secondary training to support integration.

In case of unemployment after the integration plan has expired, the unemployed immigrant as well as an unemployed Finn, is further entitled and even obliged to employment-policy adult education training aimed at supporting one's labour market position and consequently acquiring a job in the open labour market. Some of the provided courses are designed particularly for the purposes of the immigrants.<sup>29</sup>

Last but not least, the overall Finnish education system, tuition provided free-of-charge from the basic until the doctorate level, offers plenty of choice for the immigrants in the same way as for the indigenous population. This is a particularly valuable opportunity for the second generation.

A severe point of criticism concerning adult education is that even if acquiring Finnish (or Swedish) language skills are heavily emphasised in the immigration policies, adequate supply of language instruction is not arranged. Even in the Helsinki metropolitan area where the number of immigrants is the greatest, the language courses are not available so that they would ensure a smooth path for those motivated to learn the language.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> For illustrative examples, see e.g. the MoniQ website

[http://www.mol.fi/mol/en/99\\_pdf/en/13\\_research\\_and\\_development/05\\_plans\\_and\\_projects/21\\_moniq/moniq\\_internationalism\\_en.pdf](http://www.mol.fi/mol/en/99_pdf/en/13_research_and_development/05_plans_and_projects/21_moniq/moniq_internationalism_en.pdf)

<sup>30</sup> Information obtained from Ms Eija Kyllönen-Saarnio, a project manager of SELMA, a multicultural service centre of the Helsinki region, providing information on available language courses.

#### *2.4.2 Education and training of immigrant children and young adults*

The education and training of immigrant children and young adults is arranged as far as possible through the normal education system, yet various kinds of preparatory training is available at all levels prior to transfer to standard curricula.

The preschool education of immigrants seeks to realise the general goals of preschool education, having regard to the background and abilities of the child. The teaching of immigrants also has certain special objectives. Preschool education aims to provide a foundation for bilingualism and an opportunity for immigrant children to grow into active members of both their native cultural communities and of Finnish society.

The principal objective of basic immigrant education is for all students of school age to complete the basic education programme in full and to receive a certificate of secondary education. Immigrants of school age living in Finland are both entitled and obliged to attend basic schooling regardless of nationality. The local authorities may arrange special preparatory instruction for entry into the basic education programme, including instruction of Finnish (or Swedish) as a secondary language as well as instruction in the native language. In the city of Vantaa (a municipality within the Helsinki region) for instance native language instruction was arranged for 30 different languages. The contents of the preparatory instruction are defined by the National Board of Education. The preparatory instruction may last 1-3 years and it seeks to provide the immigrant youth with the skills necessary to manage the transfer to the basic education programme. A further aim is to promote the balanced development of immigrant children and young adults and their integration into Finnish society, yet also to advance mastery of their native languages and understanding of their native cultures. It is noted that the success of young immigrant adults at school is often linked to the age at which they came to Finland and were admitted into the Finnish school system. A sound basic education is considered a fundamental means of preventing the risk of social exclusion and marginalisation of young immigrants.

Preparatory training for secondary education – vocational or senior high school – may be arranged because the immigrant youth recently arrived cannot be expected to have obtained a sound enough basis to succeed in the education curricula without additional support in languages, mathematics and all-round education. For instance in the city of Vantaa, such training lasts 1-2 years, and includes the contents of the three last years of basic education. Some vocational institutions also provide courses for immigrants, which include both preparatory general courses and vocational training. The vocational objectives of immigrant vocational training are the same as the corresponding objectives for other students.

The basic and senior high school education programme provides remedial instruction to immigrant students in various subjects, including Finnish or Swedish as a second language and the native language of the student. The immigrant students are entitled to such remedial instruction in the basic and senior high school education programme within their first three years in Finland.

An immigrant student may study Finnish or Swedish as a second language in basic education, high school education and vocational basic instruction. The aim of Finnish or Swedish language instruction and instruction in the student's native language is to optimise the student's functional bilingualism. Command of one's native language is a fundamental condition for learning. The increased competence in the native language also facilitates learning Finnish or Swedish. The specific study materials for immigrants include above all textbooks in Finnish as a second language, various kinds of dictionary and resources for managing in Finnish society.

### 2.4.3 Validation of education previously acquired

If an immigrant has obtained a degree in an institution of higher education outside the EU and the EEA, he/she can request the equation (*rinnastaminen*) of the foreign degree to a Finnish degree from the Ministry of Education.<sup>31</sup> If the degree was obtained within the EU or the EEA, he/she can request the recognition (*tunnustaminen*) of the degree.<sup>32</sup> The equation and recognition of degrees are subject to a fee.

According to the legislation, only degrees of higher education may be recognised. For qualifications of other levels, the National Board of Education may provide advisory statements. Such statements compare the qualification with the closest corresponding Finnish qualification. The advisory statements are formal expressions of opinion by an expert body but do not give eligibility for a public sector post or position in Finland. The fee charged for an advisory statement depends on the amount of work involved.

In addition, the right to practise a profession in Finland is needed in certain fields such as health care. The right to practise a profession with a foreign qualification is granted by the respective authority that is generally responsible for granting permits to practise the profession in question in Finland.

In general, the eligibility requirements for civil service posts and positions in Finland may include a qualification at a certain level of education, a qualification of a certain title, or certain specified studies, for example. Private sector employers evaluate the competence that foreign qualifications give independently. A decision of recognition from the NBE is not usually required, but may prove helpful.

If an immigrant wishes to continue his/her studies in Finland, credits can be transferred from foreign degrees towards some or all of the basic studies in a Finnish institution. Higher education institutions decide independently on the eligibility that foreign qualifications give for further study and how foreign studies are recognized as part of a degree.

## 2.5 Housing and related issues

### 2.5.1 Measures supporting access to decent housing

Immigrants' access to decent housing is secured in larger cities in particular with the supply of social rental dwellings. Social rental dwellings in Finland are owned by municipalities and several public utility organisations. The main subsidy for the tenants is that rents are based on capital costs and management expenses, which keeps them reasonable. Moreover, means-tested housing allowances are available for low-income households. There are income and property limits for applicants.

Resources permitting, immigrants may find accommodation also from private rental and owner-occupied sectors similarly to the indigenous population. The housing allowances are available also for private rental accommodation. (An important difference has to be noted here, however: the low-standard private rental market which is home to a less-affluent immigrant population in many European cities (including Bruxelles) does not exist in Finnish cities anymore.<sup>33</sup>) Regarding home-ownership the mortgage interests may be deducted in personal taxation. State guarantee is available for first-time buyers to

<sup>31</sup> Equation: <http://www.oph.fi/english/pageLast.asp?path=447;490;4951;16041;16553;16559>

<sup>32</sup> Recognition: <http://www.oph.fi/english/pageLast.asp?path=447;490;4951;16041;16553;16556>

<sup>33</sup> Korhonen, E. (1999) *Kenelle jää Musta Pekka asumisessa: Helsingin asuntopoliittikan ja -markkinoiden tarkastelua* (Who's the worst off in housing: examining the Helsinki housing policy and market). Helsingin kaupungin tietokeskuksen keskustelualoitteita 1:1999.

reduce the down-payment to 15% of the price of the dwelling. Resident-permit holders qualify for all housing policy measures independently of their nationality.

No recent data is published on this issue, but statistics from the end of 1997 show that 44 per cent of the foreign households in Helsinki lived in social rental dwellings and only 18 per cent lived in owner-occupied dwellings. Corresponding figures for the total population were 20 and 50 per cent. Most of the remaining households in both groups lived in private rental dwellings.<sup>34</sup> These statistics show that social housing is a much more common alternative for foreigners than for the indigenous population, but not the only alternative. Differences exist though within the sub-groups of foreign population. Since the research on housing and population distribution of immigrants is best available for Helsinki (metropolitan area) I shall concentrate on it concerning the geographical issues.

### *2.5.2 Geographical concentration of immigrant population*

The housing policy of the city of Helsinki has been for more than 30 years characterised by the principle of social mixing, which means active intervention in the development of residential patterns in order to prevent (high) segregation. Large-scale ethnic segregation has been regarded as something to be avoided. The importance of ethnic communities and networks is, however, acknowledged and small-scale concentration is therefore not considered harmful. The city is a big land-owner which has enabled a strong intervention through planning and spatial dispersion of housing stock. The concentrations of social housing cannot be seen in terms of the general quality of the urban environment.

Analysing the development in the 1990s on "the beginning of immigrant settlement in the Helsinki metropolitan area" Kauppinen has shown that on the whole, the spatial distribution of foreigners in the Helsinki metropolitan area did not differ markedly from the distribution of the total population in 1999. The differences between the spatial patterns of different immigrant groups blurred the total picture. In the examination of distribution of the foreign population by dividing their country of origin to high-, intermediate- and low-GNP countries, differences could be seen. Especially immigrants from poor countries were clearly associated with social housing in their settlement patterns, even after adjustment for socio-economic and demographic differentiation. New immigrant groups were housed in the neighbourhoods where public housing was available at the time. Regarding the main groups, the spatial distribution of the Somali refugees was clearly connected to social housing and recently-built housing. Social housing had a similar but slightly weaker association to the distribution of Estonians and a significantly weaker association for Russians. The clearest difference between these two groups and Somalis was in the explanatory power of recently-built housing. The explanation is that large Somali households with many children have got dwellings from new social housing where their demand for large dwellings is recognised better than in the older housing stock. Common to all three groups is settlement in low-income areas and areas with high proportions of children. Despite the dependence, neither immigrants from low-GNP countries in general nor from the particular countries were highly segregated, which is probably because the social housing sector is not very marginalised.<sup>35</sup>

A recent study by Vilkkama shows that despite the spatial dispersion policy, the immigrant population continues to be concentrated in the eastern, north-eastern and north-western suburbs of Helsinki. The spatial pattern of concentration has not changed much from the beginning of the 1990s when immigration to Finland suddenly peaked. The concentration of the immigrant population has continued in the same areas in the beginning of the 2000s. Dispersion to new areas has mainly taken place within

<sup>34</sup> Ulkomaalaisten elämää Helsingissä (The Immigrants Living in Helsinki). Helsingin kaupungin tietokeskuksen tilastoja 22:2000.

<sup>35</sup> Kauppinen, T.M. (2002) The beginning of immigrant settlement in the Helsinki metropolitan area and the role of social housing. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 17, 173-197.

the eastern and north-eastern parts of the city or in the adjacent areas. Due to social mixing and spatial dispersion policies, ethnic segregation in Helsinki has so far remained fairly small-scale, concentrated in particular housing blocks. The number of residential buildings with a high share of immigrant population is very modest. However, the number of such buildings has doubled between 1996 and 2002. The concentration of the immigrant population concerns mainly the social housing units.<sup>36</sup>

In this context one innovative practice is worth mentioning: Municipalities in the Helsinki metropolitan region have employed 'housing advisors' with an immigrant background to help immigrants with very different backgrounds to settle in social housing as well as to prevent cultural clashes between groups with different understanding of residential culture in blocks-of-flats. The immigrant tenants have been encouraged to become involved in the housing management of social housing units through the resident committees.

## 2.6 Social Services

Following the general principle that services for immigrants should be arranged in the "normal course" of service provision and that immigrants are entitled to all the same social and health services that the indigenous population is, the content of immigrant services is mostly to provide counselling and assistance in attaining those services and understanding the operating principles of the Finnish system. The expenses of public health care are covered to a large extent by the national social insurance system (KELA). All permanent residents are within the scope of the system.

For instance the Social Services Department of the City of Helsinki has a particular information desk for immigrants, where they can get counselling in their native language. The advisors in the office speak Finnish, Estonian, Russian, Somali, Arabic, English, Bulgarian, Turkish and Kurd and if yet another language is needed, interpretation service will be used. The office provides counselling concerning housing, the labour market, education, residence permits, social security, health services and other issues of daily life. The office serves also as a starting point which provides information on how a particular service can be attained. The office does not make decisions on behalf of other departments, but may explain a decision felt unclear by an immigrant in his/her native language. The counselling aims to facilitate the independent life management of the immigrant in his/her new home country.

One clear problem area, identified also in the government report on the implementation of the Integration Act, is the inadequacy of the mental health care provided. Under conditions of an overall shortage of mental health services currently in Finland, immigrant clients can easily be disadvantaged with respect to recipients of normal services. The Helsinki Regional Expert Task Force on Immigrant Services has listed a number of challenges. There are waiting lists for the special mental health services provided to refugees and other immigrants by the Finnish Mental Health Association and the Deaconess Institute in Helsinki, and it is difficult for immigrants to secure treatment through the basic health care system. For immigrants themselves, the threshold for seeking mental health care services is a high one. Impediments include language difficulties, fears, lack of trust and possible cultural discrepancies or a negative view of psychiatric problems in the country of origin. Nursing staff have also found that they do not always possess adequate skills for treating immigrants. Cultural differences also mean that mental health problems are not recognised sufficiently well. Immigrants originating outside of western countries have not been correctly informed of the Finnish understanding of mental health, and are unaware of what is meant by treatment. Many mental health care service employees are too wary of attempting to investigate the affairs of immigrants due to linguistic or cultural difficulties. Experts indicate that

<sup>36</sup> Viikama, K. (2006) Asuntopolitiikka ja vieraskielisen väestön keskittyminen Helsingissä vuosina 1992-2005 (Housing policy and concentration of immigrants in Helsinki 1992-2005). Master's thesis, University of Helsinki, Department of Geography.

treatment would often be available through basic health care services if it was possible to investigate the matter properly. In the view of the Expert Task Force on Immigrant Services improving the skills and operation of the service system is thus needed.<sup>37</sup>

## 2.7 Integration of immigrant women

According to the Population Register, there were 56,101 foreign women and girls living in Finland permanently at the end of 2005. Female immigrants move to Finland as spouses, as migrant workers and as refugees, both with their families and alone. Many of them have integrated well, but policy analysis acknowledges the need for special encouragement in the integration and employment of immigrant women. Especially women from the third world may have remained almost entirely without education, living in families with many children where the role of women and girls does not include education and work outside the home as it typically does in Finland. Regardless of whether these women will participate in the public labour market in future, their encouragement to become participating members of Finnish society is considered vital. Furthermore, their role in raising the next generation is essential.

One specific immigrant integration challenge concerning housewives with children is that they may remain quite beyond the scope of the immigrant integration plan if they are on maternity leave or engaged in child care at home over the entire three-year period of entitlement to such a plan. The principal problems facing immigrant housewives with children are associated with inadequate language skills and isolation. A woman arriving in Finland as a family member may remain very dependent on her spouse, which tends to undermine her status.

On the side of public services, a major measure has been the education and training of social and health care professionals to increase their ability to be more sensitive to problems faced by immigrant women, cultural differences notwithstanding. One theme has been for instance their capabilities to intervene and help immigrant women who live under threat of psychological, physical or economic violence in their partnership. Another, more positive one is to help arrange childcare so that women are able to attend Finnish language classes.

The gender issues are addressed also by a number of NGOs (usually with the support of public finance).<sup>38</sup> The projects typically concentrate on supporting women's full-fledge participation in education, the labour market and Finnish society at large, support for equal opportunities to learn Finnish independently of their age, and an increase in the understanding of multicultural issues. The issues with immigrant women are addressed also in a number of ESF projects.

## 2.8 Cultural issues and societal participation

The Finnish immigration policy acknowledges the value of immigrants retaining their own language and culture, the latter within the frames of Finnish legislation. Freedom of religion is included in the Constitution. These principles are encouraged by the government most importantly in education; children are taught their native language and classes are arranged to teach the religion they profess. The larger municipalities run projects and programmes which aim to support multicultural development by providing information about various cultures and promoting the interaction of people from different

<sup>37</sup> Government Report on Implementation of the Integration Act. Government Report no 5 of 2002. Publications of Labour Administration 317 (2003), pp. 46-47.

<sup>38</sup> NGOs are particularly active in different kind of target group issues, including not only gender but also youth work issues for instance.

countries. For instance, the City of Helsinki Culture Office provides a venue space called the International Cultural Centre Caisa in the centre of Helsinki. Most of Caisa's staff has an immigrant background. The interactive cultural activities are often arranged by NGOs where immigrants (too) are involved, though often supported financially by the state or the local municipality. The awareness rising on the increasing cultural diversity is usually – in one way or another – part of all cultural measures addressing immigration issues in the public.

Immigrants are increasingly visible in popular media, the television especially. The tone is usually positive, even enlightening, underlining their role as 'one of us' or as a new phenomenon bound to remain. As one of the main groups, the Somali presence is not recognised much in popular programmes, which reflects their cultural isolation out of mainstream. Finnish TV-fiction continues to make use of the stereotypical image of 'the Russian mafia' thus indirectly supporting also certain prejudice towards the Russian minority. However, for instance Russian tourists are often portrayed in the media in a very positive tone ('supporting Finnish economy' and 'valuing many similar things as us in our country'), which decreases prejudice. Estonians living in Finland aren't particularly visible in the media, and all in all the cultural closeness of Estonia and Finland and the dense contacts between the countries at all levels of society makes their image less 'foreign' and consequently invisible due to similarity.

The immigrants' own voice has so far been thin in mainstream Finnish media. A currently on-going Mundo project, a media education and work training project for immigrants and ethnic minorities living in Finland aims to increase new cultural know-how in the media, in addition to promoting tolerance and multicultural understanding among employers and employees. Mundo is an innovative practice. Among other things the Mundo project produces short documentaries of general interest on immigration and minorities related issues which are shown weekly as a part of the regular Basaari programme on Finnish national TV channel 1.<sup>39</sup>

A relatively new phenomenon is also immigrant media – produced by the immigrants in a foreign language. Case in point is a monthly Russian-language newspaper *Spektr* (founded in 1998) and a Russian-language commercial radio channel *Radio Sputnik* (launched in 1999) that serve both Russian-speaking immigrants and Russian tourists. Another example is *SixDegrees*, an English language magazine on multicultural topics (founded in 2003), aiming to stimulate interaction between Finns and foreigners.

The political and civic participation of immigrants is gaining strength at the local level. Larger cities have some representatives with immigrant backgrounds in their city councils. There has not yet been any representative with an immigrant background in the Finnish Parliament. Immigrants are increasingly present in the integration work and consequently in the formulation of policies, yet more as the interested parties providing feedback, not those drawing the policies at the national level. The most official feedback and proposal forum is ETNO – the Advisory Board for Ethnic Relations. ETNO is a forum for discussion of common problems and is expected to propose measures for the prevention of racism and the promotion of good ethnic relations. Half of the members of the Board represent immigrants, e.g. Vietnamese, New Russians, Somalis, Kurds, Arabs and traditional minorities (see below), whilst the other half represent the authorities and NGOs, *inter alia*. Members are nominated by the Finnish Government.

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<sup>39</sup> See, <http://www.yle.fi/mundo/>

## 2.9 “Historical” ethnic minorities in Finland

In addition to recent immigrants, Finland is home to some “old”, “historical” or “national” minorities, including the Swedish speakers (not an *ethnic* minority however), the Sámi, the Roma, the Jews, the Old Russians and the Tatars. The historical ethnic minorities are small in number: The Roma in Finland number around 10,000 people (0.19% of the total population).<sup>40</sup> The Sámi are the indigenous people of Sápmi, which encompasses parts of northern Sweden, Norway, Finland and the Kola Peninsula of Russia. The Sámi consist of 75,000 – 100,000 people altogether, out of which 7,500 live in Finland (0.15% of the total population). Other groups are even smaller. The two Jewish parishes in Finland have altogether 1637 members.<sup>41</sup> The Tatars comprise approximately 800 people in Finland.<sup>42</sup> The Old Russians, comprising mainly descendants of those who fled the Russian Revolution, number around 2,500-5,000 people.<sup>43</sup>

The Finnish Government considers Finland's Roma community and the Sámi people to be national minorities under the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. The Jews, the Old Russians and the Tatars are considered cultural minorities, yet the individuals of these groups are fully integrated into the Finnish society.<sup>44</sup>

The Swedish speakers, or the Swedish-speaking Finns (290 000 people or 5.6% of the population) are not an ethnic minority – the official Finnish position even is that the Swedish-speaking Finns are not considered a minority as such but rather a *de facto* linguistic minority. Finnish and Swedish are, under Finnish law, national languages of Finland, and as such they are dealt with on an equal basis. The status of the Swedish language is extensively protected in administration, education and subsidies to culture including the national media. The Swedish speakers are often referred to as an “advantaged minority” given their good economic and social status on average as well as certain advantages the language brings, including for instance somewhat easier access to university education in Swedish speaking institutions or through a specific language quota. The Swedish speaking Finns are concentrated on the Helsinki and Turku regions as well as the South-Western coastline.<sup>45</sup>

The current policies addressing the Roma and the Sámi are described below. Broadly speaking, Finnish policy concerning these minorities started to change in the late 1970s. The assimilation policy of the early part of the century was abandoned with the enactment of the first anti-discrimination legislation and special measures were introduced to improve the economic, educational and social position of the Roma and the Sámi. In 1995, an amendment to the 1919 Constitution guaranteed the Roma and the Sámi along with other minorities the right to retain and develop their own language and culture. By the same token the state was obliged to support such activity.

<sup>40</sup> Finland's Romani People – Finitiko romaseele. Brochures of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2:2004. <http://www.stm.fi/Resource.phx/publishing/store/2004/06/aa1118753049117/passthru.pdf>

<sup>41</sup> <http://www.jchelsinki.fi/seurakunta/historia.htm>

<sup>42</sup> Wikipedia (fi.wikipedia.org).

<sup>43</sup> Horn, F. and Niemi, H. (2004) National Minorities of Finland. Virtual Finland, June 2004. <http://virtual.finland.fi/netcomm/news/showarticle.asp?intNWSAID=26470>

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> For the reason that the Swedish speakers are not an ethnic minority, their position is not further described in this report. For further information, see Horn and Niemi (2004).

### 2.9.1 *The Roma*

The Finnish Roma have maintained a strong commitment to their traditions and cultural values, which differ from those of the majority population. This has to some extent been a burden to them and they continue to suffer from economic and social problems, including marginalisation. The Roma continue to face discrimination in every-day life, for instance, in the search for employment or a flat, or access to restaurants etc. Unemployment is a major problem due to their generally low level of education, but also because of the widespread prejudice. The government measures to support the Roma have focussed on housing, education and support for the development of the literal Roma language and general awareness of the features of the Roma customs and culture.

The living conditions of the Roma were generally poor until the government arranged a separate allocation in the state budget for the acquisition of homes for the Roma in the 1970s. Today the majority of the Roma resides in social rental dwellings. On average their standard of accommodation is the same as that of the majority population living in the same type of housing. The Roma still face discrimination in the private rental housing market given the prejudices and their weaker economic position. It is particularly difficult for young adults to get accommodation in the cities.

In supporting education, the focus has been on the linguistic development and cultural identity of the Roma children to help them attend primary education. The Roma children continue to have difficulties in school more than average Finns. The Finnish spoken in Roma homes is often a mix of Finnish and the Roma language, which is why the Finnish vocabulary of a Roma child is often limited compared to other children of the same age. Such inadequate linguistic tools are a particular problem and make the Roma children vulnerable to social exclusion. Pre-schooling and teaching of the Roma language and culture in school have been identified as important means to overcome this matter. However, according to a survey carried out by the Roma Education Unit of the National Board of Education, just two percent of Roma children attended preschool in 2002, even if the labour market participation of young adult Roma females has increased. Roma children have been able to learn the Roma language in some comprehensive schools since 1989, initially only at evening classes, but nowadays also as part of the daytime school curriculum. Nonetheless, according to the survey, only 8.5% of the total of 859 Roma pupils had the possibility of studying their own language in 2002. Their share had even declined compared to 1998, partly explained by budget cuts at the municipal level. An obstacle is also the lack of qualified kindergartners and teachers of the Roma language, even if the strict formal qualifications have been bypassed. On the positive side, the increasing number of minority pupils especially in urban areas seems to provide a novel framework to address also the linguistic needs of Roma children starting basic education.

Roma matters are addressed at the state level by the Advisory Board on Roma Affairs, which has been operating since 1956 (permanent body since 1989) under the auspices of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. Half of its members are representatives of various government ministries, the other half being representatives of the most important Roma organisations. The Board coordinates co-operation between Roma and the authorities and launches initiatives and proposals that may lead to legislative and administrative reforms. It has developed into an advocating body which looks after the interests of the Roma minority and has acquired the position of an expert on Roma issues.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> The section is based mostly on Horn and Niemi (2004) and Finland's Romani People (2004).

### 2.9.2 *The Sámi*

The Sámi have their own language, of which there are several variations, and their own culture, way of life and identity. Common history, traditions, livelihoods and customs unite the Sámi living in different countries (Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia). Traditional Sámi livelihoods, reindeer herding in particular, constitute the essence of Sámi culture. The majority, some 4,000 persons of about 7,500 Sámi in Finland, still live in their native area, known as the Sámi Homeland, which is constituted by the three northernmost municipalities of Finland, namely Utsjoki, Inari, and Enontekiö plus the northern part of the municipality of Sodankylä. Overall, the Sámi constitute approximately one third of the residents within the Sámi Homeland, while two thirds are Finns. This area is of relevance for the implementation of the Sámi Language Act as well as the Act on the Sámi Parliament.

A separate Act on the Sámi Language was first adopted in 1991. It applies mainly to the Sámi Homeland. The Act aims at guaranteeing the rights of the Sámi to judicial impartiality and good governance and it promotes more effectively the use of the Sámi languages by strengthening the right to use these languages before courts of law and other authorities as well as the access to services in Sámi. For their part, the authorities in the Sámi Homeland are obliged to use Sámi in their written communication with individuals and when disseminating information to the general public. Place names in both Finnish and Sámi appear on road signs. Sámi is considered a regional minority language in the sense of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

Sámi-language education can be divided into teaching in Sámi (Sámi as a language of instruction) and the teaching of Sámi (Sámi as a subject to be taught). Teaching in Sámi has been provided in some comprehensive schools since the mid-1970s. The first legal provisions on Sámi as a language of instruction date back to 1983. Since that year the Sámi language has also been taught in some comprehensive schools as part of the subject known in Finland as 'mother language'. Teaching of Finnish forms the other part. Since the beginning of 1999, Sámi children who live in the Sámi Homeland and speak Sámi are entitled to receive the main part of their basic education (until age 15) in the Sámi language. The Educational Centre of the Sámi Region, established in 1977, offers basic vocational education in various fields, using Finnish and Sámi as languages of instruction. In addition, several open colleges, particularly in the Province of Lapland, offer regular courses in the Sámi language and culture. The University of Oulu has the main responsibility for the teaching of the Sámi language in Finland. It also provides teacher training for Sámi-speaking students. The only Sámi University established in Kautokeino, Norway, in 1989, admits students also from Finland.

The constitutionally guaranteed cultural self-government of the Sámi is exercised through the Sámi Parliament, established in 1973. The Sámi Parliament consists of 21 Sámi members and four substitutes elected by the Sámi themselves. The Sámi Parliament is responsible for maintaining the Sámi languages and culture and for certain duties pertaining to the status of the Sámi as an indigenous people. The Sámi Parliament decides how money set aside in the national budget for the benefit of Sámi culture and Sámi organisations is to be distributed. The amount of this appropriation in 2003 was EUR 197,000. Moreover, the Sámi Parliament may launch initiatives, make proposals and issue statements on matters concerning Sámi languages, culture and the status of the Sámi as an indigenous people. As these topics are given a broad interpretation, they cover such matters as mining claims, social planning, the leasing of state land in the Sámi Homeland and the establishment of nature reserves.

The Advisory Board on Sámi Affairs was founded in 1960 as a consultative body, with representatives of central government ministries, the Province of Lapland and the Sámi Parliament, for the improvement of

the social, cultural, educational, economic and legal situation of the Sámi. Administratively, the Board is affiliated to the Ministry of Justice.

The survival of the identity and way of life of the Finnish Sámi is being threatened by competing forms of land use in the Sámi Homeland. The Sámi Parliament has repeatedly criticised the national Government for not being willing to grant the Sámi special rights to land and natural resources in the Sámi Homeland, a strategy which the Sámi Parliament considers to be the only way to effectively protect the traditional sources of Sámi livelihood, especially reindeer herding, and thus the Sámi culture. This land dispute between the Sámi and the Finnish state remains unsettled.<sup>47</sup>

## 2.10 Emigration

As stated at the beginning of section two, historically Finland has been more a country of emigration than of immigration and it is only since 1981 that the number of immigrants has exceeded the number of emigrants.

Traditionally Finns emigrated, mostly to Sweden and the US, in search of a financially more secure life. Characteristic for the emigrants was a relatively low level of education and occupational status. Today this kind of emigration is limited. The impressive growth of the Finnish economy and the consequent rise in the standard of living has decreased pressure to such emigration. While people with limited occupational or linguistic capacities face increasing difficulties to find employment in Finland, they are often even less likely to find a sufficiently paid job abroad. Contrary to the situation a few decades ago, today the emigrants are mostly people with higher education who emigrate temporarily – or intend to do so originally at least. Instead of acquiring subsistence, the contemporary causes for emigration include acquiring education, increasing knowledge of a foreign language, moving up the career ladder, acquiring new life experiences, and –last but not least– personal relationships. In sum, the typical Finnish emigrant today is either someone marrying a foreigner and therefore settling abroad or someone for whom living abroad is only one natural phase of life.<sup>48</sup>

**Table 3:** Migration from/to Finland 1980-2001.

To / From	Emigrants: All	Emigrants: Finnish citizens	Immigrants: all	Immigrants: Finnish citizens
Nordic Countries	116 037	105 659	140 274	121 658
The rest of Europe	54 778	41 694	97 355	22 816
Asia	6 813	4 386	26 730	3 722
Africa	2 518	1 238	11 786	1 482
North-America	13 763	10 692	11 658	6 576
Latin America	1 346	986	2 879	974
Oceania	3 189	2 579	2 712	1 728
Unknown	1 656	301	3 837	2 598
<b>Total</b>	<b>200 100</b>	<b>167 466</b>	<b>297 231</b>	<b>161 554</b>

Source: Population statistics ([www.migrationinstitute.fi](http://www.migrationinstitute.fi))

The migration from and to Finland 1980-2000 is broken down to numbers in Table 3. It shows how the majority of migration waves are formed by Finnish citizens moving back and forth – the temporary emigrants. It shows too that the Nordic countries, in fact mostly Sweden, continue to be the major

<sup>47</sup> The section is based on Horn and Niemi (2004) as well as Saamelaiset (the Sámi), a web publication by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health <http://pre20031103.stm.fi/suomi/tao/julkaisut/omakieli/saamelaiset.htm>

<sup>48</sup> Korkiasaari, J. (2003) Suomalaiset maailmalla – katsaus suomalaisten siirtolaisuuteen kautta aikain (Finns abroad – an overview of emigration of Finns during the centuries). <http://www.migrationinstitute.fi/db/articles/art.php?artid=3>

destination of emigration but an even greater source of immigration, which reflects the wave of Finns returning from Sweden. Finnish women emigrate slightly more often than men. All in all, the net migration of Finnish citizens was -5,908 and all nationalities +97,131 in Finland during 1980-2001.

There are currently 310,000 people born in Finland living abroad. The first and second generation Finnish emigrants number 630,000 people. More than half of these live in Sweden and one third in the US.<sup>49</sup> The number of foreign citizens living in Finland in 2005 was 113,852.

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid.