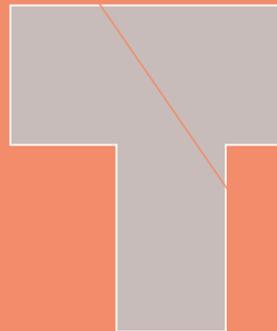
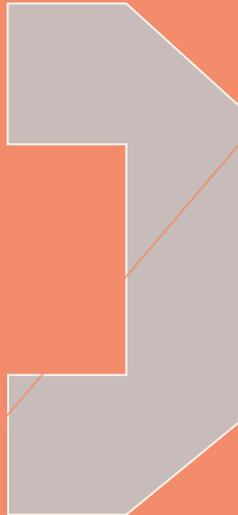
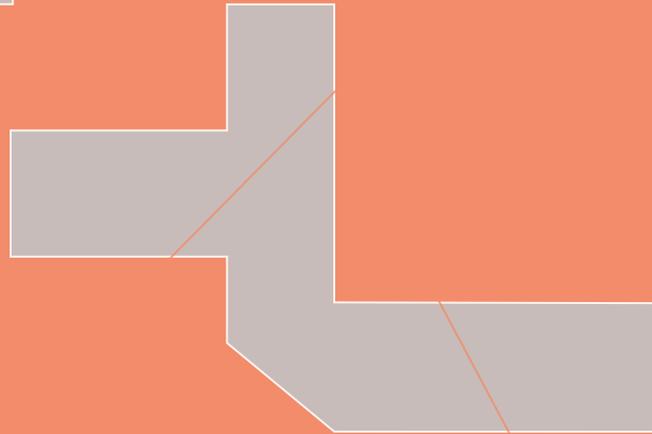
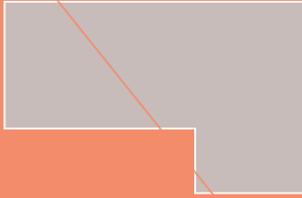
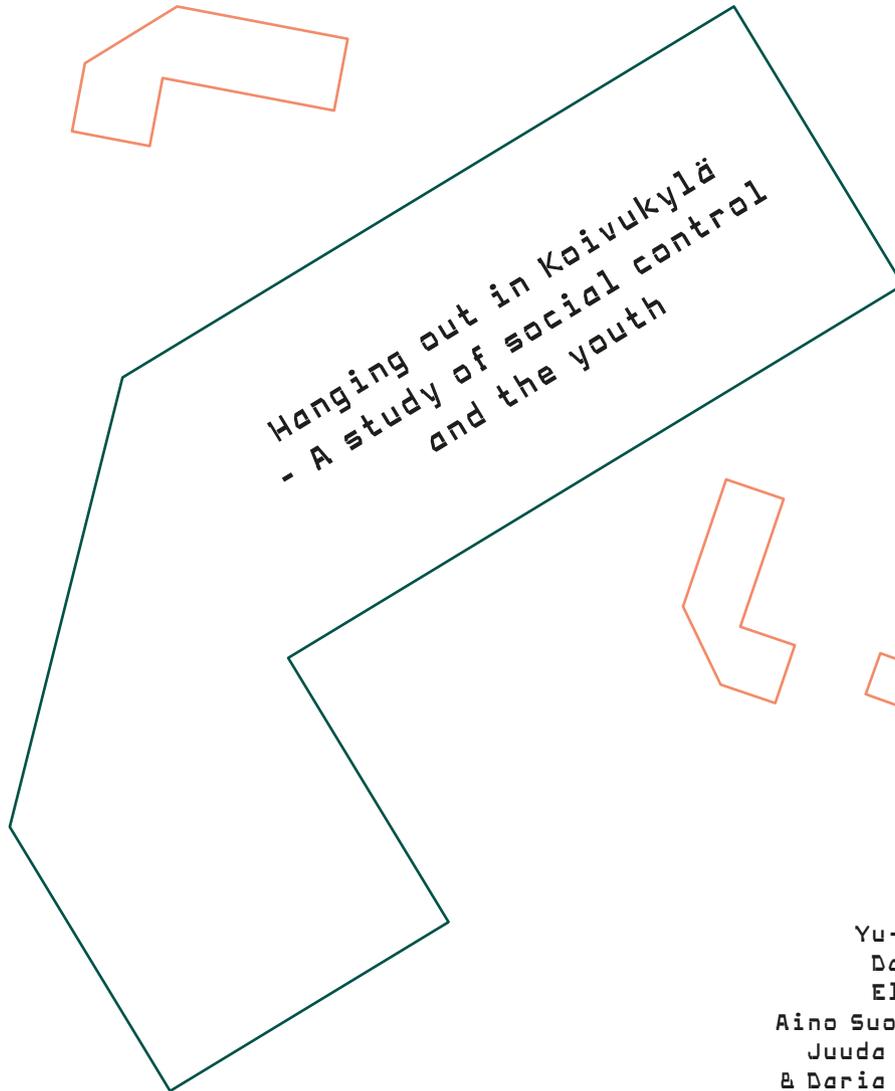


# Chapter 4

U R B A N  
S T U P I D  
P L A N E S & I N G





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## Introduction

One of the dominant topics in contemporary urban research in western countries is segregation (e.g. Musterd et al. 2015; Andersson et al. 2010). Since the beginning of the 21st century there has been active discussion on, and growing concerns about, segregation in the Helsinki metropolitan region. Several notable pieces of research have been conducted to understand the reasons behind this development (e.g. Kortteinen & Vaattovaara 2000). Attention has been drawn to the neighborhoods with accumulated socioeconomic disadvantages, the so-called “pockets of poverty” (Vaattovaara 1998) or “internal urban peripheries” (Musterd et al. 2015). In the Finnish context, these areas are mostly the old suburbs with a large number of apartment buildings from the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s (Kortteinen & Vaattovaara 2000, 120).

Research on segregation is relatively recent in Finland but the concern about the suburbs, and about the people living there, has been present since the early history of urban studies (e.g. Kortteinen 1982). Early studies focused on the aftermath of the so-called “Great Move.” During the industrialization in Finland after the World War II, large suburbs were built to accommodate the large population moving from the rural areas to the cities (Gronow et al. 1977, 478). The frame of study has changed; the problem is not about the rootless people of the Great Move anymore, but is rather the socioeconomic inequality and the new urban poverty, meaning social problems and disadvantages and poverty related to urban life, which is framed as segregation. In any case, the geographical focus of the study remains the same; the interest is still in the same suburbs. Thus, in a way, our research is travelling to the roots of the early ways of studying a Finnish suburb and its social relations. As presented by Matti Kortteinen (1982) in *Lähiö: Is there a problem with suburbia (lähiöongelma) and if so, what is this problem? Furthermore, how is the problem or how are the problems, presented and*

handled at the neighborhood level, among the neighbors in their everyday lives?

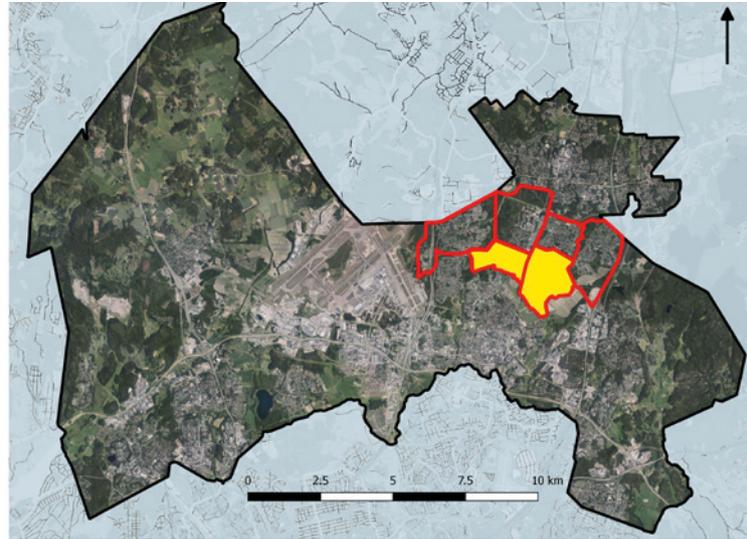
Inspired by the earlier urban research, we decided to concentrate on one neighborhood. Koivukylä, known as “Koivis” by the locals - is a neighborhood in eastern Vantaa. Based on earlier research and on current population statistics, Koivukylä appears to be one of the least socio-economically advantaged neighborhoods. Paradoxically, it has also been interesting to urban researchers because of its conventionality as a typical Finnish suburb built in the 1970s, quickly built from concrete, far away from the city center, to respond to the needs of the mass move (e.g. Kortteinen 1982). We have not been strict when defining the borders of our research area. First, we defined the area by using the postal code, which includes both the Koivukylä and Havukoski districts. We soon realized, however, that at a mental level, the locals, such as our interviewees, refer to only Havukoski when talking about Koivukylä. In other words, the neighborhood, as experienced by its residents, has borders that are more flexible than the administrative borders.

Our study focuses on the local young people. By “young people,” we refer to a social category based, generally, on their age. This means that we do not specify the age groups in our research, except in the parts of research that require quantitative data. Based on previous studies, we can assume that socioeconomic inequality, and thus segregation as its spatial manifestation, has an especially strong effect on children’s and young people’s lives and social relations (e.g. Hakovirta & Rantalaiho 2012). Furthermore, children are especially sensitive to neighborhood effects because of their ongoing social development process (e.g. Bernelius 2011). One reason for this is that young people tend to be more localized than adults. The main reason for this is the Finnish regional school principle, meaning that most children go to school in the neighborhood they live in.

Our research questions are: (1) What is the role of local actors in implementing social control among young people in Koivukylä?; and (2) How is segregation reflected in



the experience of the neighborhood and in the behavior of the local youth? We are seeking to understand the different forms of social relations of the young people in the suburban context, paying special attention to relations between young people and local authorities. These relations will be studied by using social control theories, which are one way to explain society. Taking social control theory to urban space, by using the concept of “hanging out,” offers us an opportunity to look at the local reality as part of a larger phenomenon such as segregation.



## Construction of Koivukylä-Havukoski from the 1960's

### Koivukylä-Major Region

The study area small regions (pienalueet), Havukoski and Koivukylä, are part of the Koivukylä major region (suuralue). The Koivukylä major region is located in eastern Vantaa, and is surrounded by the major regions of Korso, Tikkurila, Hakunila, and Aviapolis. There are five small regions in the Koivukylä district: in addition to Koivukylä and Havukoski, Ilola, Asola, Päiväkoski, and Rekola are

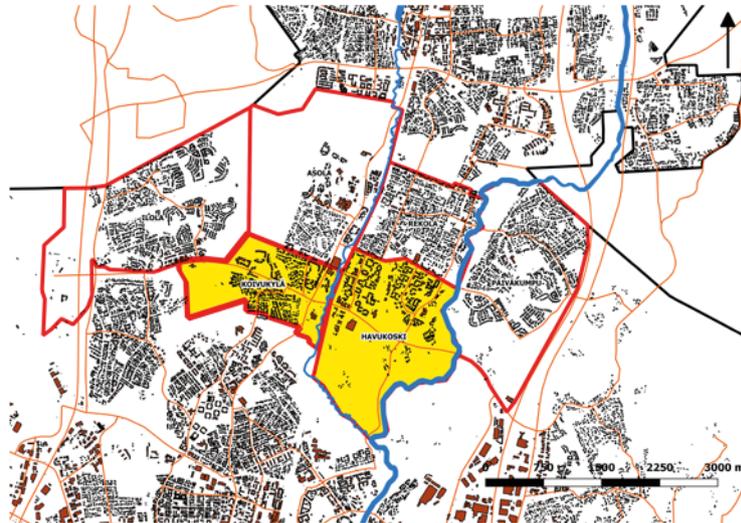


Figure 1a-b. Small areas of Koivukylä major region and the study area of Koivukylä and Havukoski highlighted with yellow.



also located within these borders. The location of our study area is visualized in Figure 1a-b, in which Koivukylä and Havukoski are highlighted in yellow.

Hanaböle village was historically located in the Koivukylä major region, and the oldest notes on Hanaböle are from the 1500s. However, the area was most likely populated earlier (Vantaa alueittain... 2015, 175). The small center of Koivukylä is divided into three small regions - Koivukylä, Asola and Havukoski.

Koivukylä's major region is mainly a residential area. Job self-sufficiency in Vantaa is lower only in the major region of Korso. These days there are 28,062 inhabitants in the Koivukylä major region (Vantaa alueittain... 2017). The number of inhabitants has increased by about 11,000 people since 1980. The original plan in the 1970s was to develop the Koivukylä major region as one of the regional centers of the Helsinki region with 50,000 inhabitants living nearby by the year 2000 (Vantaa alueittain... 2015, 179).

The center is not very well connected because the center is divided by the railway track and a small riverbed, Rekolanoja. Intense development of the center eventually resulted in better commercial services, but the residents had to wait for over 30 years. A small shopping center was built in the late 2000s on the border of Asola and Koivukylä, with a K-Citymarket acting as the anchor tenant. These days there are several grocery stores and some specialty stores in the center as well.

### **Havukoski Small Region**

Havukoski is located east of the main railway line (Helsinki-Tampere). The northern part is the densely built Koivukylä-Havukoski suburb, whereas the southern part is filled with open Hanaböle fields, as well as Keravanjoki and Rekolanoja running through those fields (Vantaa alueittain... 2015, 194-195).

Havukoski suburban planning started in 1967 (Vantaa alueittain... 2015, 194-195). The first inhabitants moved there in 1972. Havukoski is a good example of the 1970s era

in Finland and it is the first totally preserved suburb in Vantaa. The entire apartment building area is protected by the master plan. The Havukoski suburb is a unique model in the field of suburban construction (Vantaa alueittain... 2015, 195). In order to construct a socially successful suburb, the planning process included experts from various fields, such as sociologists and psychologists working alongside architects. The area was planned to be very efficiently built and it was advertised with the slogan: "A compact city is a contact city". The building style is typical for the 1970s era. High-rise buildings are over ten stories high, and between those there are three- and four-story buildings as well. Row houses were built on the periphery of Havukoski. Thousands of new apartments were built in Havukoski in the 1970s, but far less than the number that had been planned. Parts of the construction plan were postponed and changed; for example, buildings were built lower than originally planned. Sato and Haka acted as construction companies and they only built apartments, though they had the opportunity to build service centers as well. Since the 1970s, quite a few apartments have been built in Havukoski (Vantaa alueittain... 2015, 194-195).

Havukoski has one of the highest concentrations of apartment buildings in Vantaa. There were fewer than 100 inhabitants in 1971, but by 1980 there were already 10,530 inhabitants. Today there are 8,163 inhabitants in the Havukoski small region (Vantaa alueittain... 2015). By the end of 1990s, the Havukoski suburb was one of the neighborhoods in Vantaa supported with the help of the European Union's (EU) "Project Urban." Project Urban aimed to create better living environments, and in the Havukoski area the environment and properties were renovated. In addition, the area was developed with different social and cultural actions. The old village of Hanaböle and its environment, as well as Keravanjoki shore, are the most important areas for recreation (Vantaa alueittain... 2015, 194-195). Along Keravanjoki, there are wide green spaces, swimming places, and carpet laundry places.



### **Koivukylä Small Region**

The small area of Koivukylä is located on the southern side of Asola, and on its eastern side there is the main railway line, and the Havukoski small area. Two busy roads, Asolanväylä and Koivukylänväylä, pass through Koivukylä (Vantaa alueittain... 2015, 178-179). The name Koivukylä comes from the birch tree that prevails in the area. Woods are strongly presented in the names in the area, because most of the areas are named after tree species. On the western side of Koivukylä there are wide uninhabited green spaces, which lead far away to the north and south. Simonsillan korpi with its old thinned clump of spruces is partly located in Havukoski. This forest is suitable for outdoor activities, and the residents of Havukoski have this great recreation opportunity only a few minutes away from home.

There are 4,075 inhabitants in the Koivukylä small region. The settlement of Koivukylä is divided by an old detached housing area and a newer apartment building area (Vantaa alueittain... 2015, 178-179). The detached housing area, located on the east and southern side of Leinelä, has been built slowly over time after the wars in Finland, and the area has been condensed until today. The busiest time for apartment building in Koivukylä was in the 1980s. A group of high-rise apartment houses was built beside the train station, which is part of the Koivukylä center. Construction of apartment houses in Kinesmanpuisto began in the 1980s, and the last buildings were completed in the 1990s.

There have been fewer families in the Koivukylä small region since the 1990s, and the number of single inhabitants has also increased since then. Koivukylä is growing because of the Leinelä dwelling area. Leinelä is a new housing area located in northwestern Koivukylä and has been developing since 2008. The area is named after an old farm named "Leile." The first inhabitants moved there at the beginning of 2011, and at the same time, Leinelä's nursery was opened. The Ring Rail line from the Helsinki center to Leinelä improved the accessibility of the area.

## **Earlier Research and Theoretical Background**

Our theoretical framework has been constructed by using social control theory (e.g. Cohen 1985; Innes 2003). First, we approached social control at a general level, and then we explored the social dynamics of a neighborhood through the concept of collective efficacy. Finally, we used the concept of hanging out to explore social control in urban space. These theories help us to approach both the young people and the neighborhood-level social relations.

It has been recognized that at a local level (suburbs), social organization is usually constructed by different groups, such as middle-class groups and disadvantaged groups (Anderson 1999). In the suburban public space, social control and power is negotiated constantly through each group's culture and lifestyle. The way social organization is constructed affects habitability, by causing tensions between different groups, for example (Anderson 1999). From the perspective of social control, it is relevant to ask which local group is able to determine the boundaries between appropriate and unsuitable behavior, and maintain those boundaries?

### **Social Control Theory**

One way to interpret social behavior is social control theory. It usually refers to norms which create frames for social life. Social control is an unspoken rule for the behavior of individuals, while it is embedded in institutions operating in society (Innes 2003). Social control refers to society's response to deviant behavior, or it can be the factor determining why one does not show deviant behavior (Black 1976). The frames of social control have taken their form throughout the history of a society, and they change as society changes (Cohen 1985).

Stanley Cohen (1985) distinguishes two



forms of social control - hard-edge and soft-edge. While hard-edge social control refers to forceful intervention in the behavior of individuals, soft-edge social control is conciliatory. When soft-edge social control takes place, psychological methods are often used to resolve the possibly problematic situation. When young people show signs of possible deviant behavior, soft-edge social control is used to create more of a therapeutic situation, rather than an "authority against the individual" - type of situation.

Cohen (1985, 78-79), who has studied social control in Western Europe, described the role of family and schooling as a "hard or soft penetration in social body." However, in the Finnish context, this could be expanded to a concept of the education system, practiced by the state and the society, targeting the young. The adults involved in hobbies and free-time activities take part in the education process of a young person, and thus practice social control. According to Cohen, the soft approach includes teachers, social workers, and psychologists "picking up" on the deviant behavior and trying to encourage them to change it. Hard social control is practiced more through punishment, for example detention and isolation of the child from society. From this description it is possible to say that the Finnish education system practices and prefers soft-edged social control, at least in relation to underage individuals.

Even though social control is ambiguously present in everyday social relations, there are some social situations it can be especially detected within. As a matter of fact, some actors are consciously performing social control. For example, the police are authorized by the state to perform social control on individuals of any age (Innes 2003, 64). Some actors are not as clearly connected to social control as the police. Nevertheless, it is a norm in most societies that adults perform social control over the young. Within the frame of this study, we explore social control, which is used by authorities towards young people, in Koivukylä.

All in all, social control is a way to

use power during social interaction. Martin Innes (2003) especially concentrates on the means of social control within everyday interactions. Society rests on these standardized "interaction rituals" (Innes 2003, 53). This is exactly the case of our study of local authorities in relation to young people. These social dynamics, which take place within one neighborhood, have an impact on overall neighborhood cohesion.

### Collective Efficacy

Collective efficacy is a concept introduced by Robert Sampson (2012). Collective efficacy is a part of social processes in neighborhoods. These social processes are linked to residents' well-being and disadvantage. Neighborhoods have repeating cultural and social mechanisms that have long-term effects on phenomena at a neighborhood level. According to Sampson (2012, 369), collective efficacy affects individuals' reactions, such as experiences and pre-expectations of crime and disorderly behavior. Shared perceptions and trust are therefore important for cohesion in the neighborhood; similar shared views of the social control often form a safe and active neighborhood.

Collective efficacy has two mechanisms: social cohesion and shared expectations for control. Informal social control takes place in public space, such as watching children's play or groups of youths. According to Sampson (2012, 152), for social control to work, it does not need always to happen in the closest relationship, and neighbors do not have to be particularly close in order for social control to take place. In addition, social infrastructure, such as resident committees, is important for the construction of well-being in residential areas. Neighborhood organizations, such as resident committees or clubs, provide the opportunity to improve the collective efficacy and population activity, and hence the wellbeing of the entire residential area. These organizations may be formal or informal (Sampson 2012, 181).

If the area has a high collective efficacy, residents often experience greater well-being than a passive neighborhood;



there is clearly less crime, and health overall is better. According to Sampson (2012, 368), the effects of collective efficacy are not dependent on ethnicity or the wealth of the area; the phenomenon is detected everywhere.

#### **Youth “Hanging Out” and Social Control**

It would be misleading to discuss young people in Koivukylä, and forms of social control which affect their everyday lives, without addressing the topic of hanging out. Hanging out can be understood as a form of participation in the public arena, in which young people claim spaces for informal, but meaningful engagement with peers and everyday surroundings. Noora Pyyry (2015, 7-8) calls these momentary hangout homes, in which the youths appropriate public space in order to actively do nothing, and thus escape the purposive and goal-oriented seriousness of the adult world. She argues that the playful improvisation of unsupervised hanging out is especially important for young people because it is in stark contrast to the otherwise highly scheduled and structured life of family, school, and organized hobbies (Pyyry 2015). Places such as shopping malls and gas stations become social playgrounds which transcend their original function as places of consumption and transitory movement. In fact, hanging out can directly challenge and disrupt these functions to the point that even the act of doing nothing becomes an act of disobedience. The term often given to this unruly behavior is loitering, and many semi-public spaces explicitly deny the right to do so.

Several years ago, a mall in Lahti attempted to deal with the problem of loitering by installing a high frequency noise maker that could not be detected by most adults but would drive young people away (Lähdetluoma 2009). The general manager of the shopping mall said that she did not want to expel the youth completely because they are good customers, but that she hoped to end loitering because of customer complaints about young people misbehaving. In other words, consumption would legitimize their presence and use of the premises, but

because hanging out does not intrinsically involve consumption, their presence is seen as unacceptable. To control the situation, many public and semi-public spaces employ security guards to manage the practicalities of enforcing rules. They are, in essence, the instruments of social control.

Recent studies have shown that both police and security guards practice higher levels of social control on young people than ever before, despite the lack of a corresponding rise in youth delinquency or use of alcohol (Saarikkomäki 2017, 17). This is part of a much wider trend in which the privatization and commercialization of public space has restructured the politics of public space and surveillance (Low & Smith 2006), and given rise to the rapid increase of private security forces. On the other hand, there is not much evidence to support the view that young people would be more antisocial or violent than they were before. For example, Venla Salmi (2008; 2012) has compared Finnish self-reported youth delinquency between 1962 and 2006 and between 1995 and 2012, and found that there had been very little change. It is unclear whether increased policing has had an impact on deterring delinquency or not.

The underlying socio-economic element to social control practiced by the police and security guards is of particular interest. Elsa Saarikkomäki (2017) found that police and security interventions are socially selective among youths in Finland. Although delinquency and heavy drinking were found to be strong predictors of both police and security guard encounters, social factors increased the likelihood of intervention (Saarikkomäki 2017, 61-66). In fact, youths from lower social classes and non-nuclear families receive a disproportionate amount of attention, even when considering varying levels of delinquency.

It can therefore be argued that segregation has causal effects among young people living in poorer neighborhoods, in the way local policing target them compared to their peers living in wealthier and better educated neighborhoods. Whether this is due to corresponding levels of youth delinquency is still debatable, but what is certain is that



Finnish youths experience increasing levels of social control when hanging out in public spaces.

## Scaling Segregation: Helsinki Metropolitan Region, Vantaa and Koivukylä

If we assume that spatial segregation sets the framework for local social life, as presented earlier, scaling with spatial units will help us to gain more knowledge on the linkages between the structural level development and the neighborhood level social life. This approach is also required due to the scattered spatial pattern of Finnish segregation development.

Research done at the beginning of this century in Finland and especially in Helsinki, has revealed the mosaic-like pattern of the concentration of socio-economic disadvantage (e.g. Kortteinen & Vaattovaara 2000). This is due to a strong social mixing policy in housing development which was originally meant to prevent the development of segregation. However, since the 1990s this policy, together with the latest changes in the Finnish economic and demographic structure - such as the decline of heavy industry, the growth of knowledge-intensive sector, and international immigration - has given this unique pattern to the spatial differentiation.

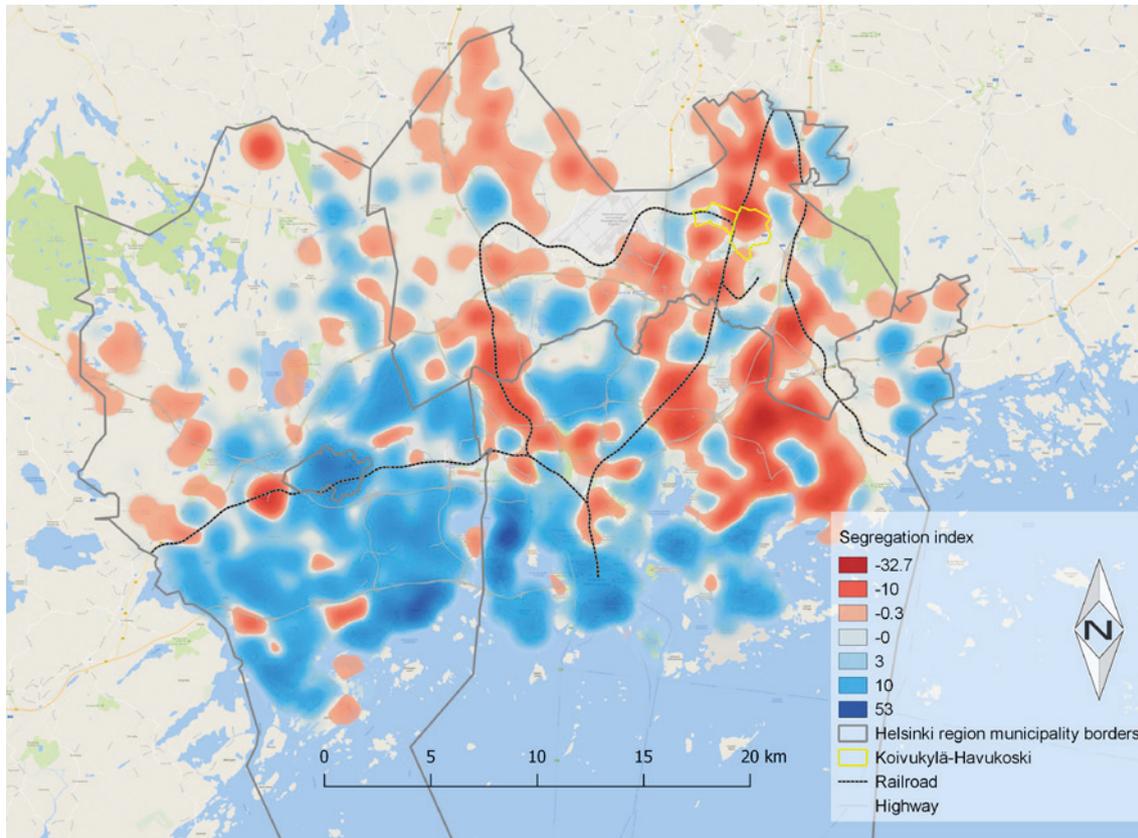
To visualize the spatial structure of segregation, we have created maps (Figures 2,3) by using a segregation index which combines two factors: income and education. The maps are based on standardized values of non-educated adults and individual-level income (mean=0 and standard deviation=1). The higher values indicate a higher income level and lower share of non-educated adults, while the lower values indicate a smaller income and higher share of adults with no education. The information is based on YKR

Urban regions spatial data (2016). Income and education are commonly used factors in segregation studies. Education, especially, is often seen as the “primus motor” of well-being (e.g. Pisa 2015.. 2017). The higher the parent’s educational level, the fewer economic problems the children tend to have in their family life (Lammi-Taskula & Salmi 2010). Earlier research has shown that income inequality affects how children form social relations and their ability to cope in social situations, both at school and outside school, especially social relations between children and inside their families (e.g. Hakovirta & Rantalaiho 2012).

The heat map (Figure 2) shows the general situation with the segregation index in the Helsinki region. As the map shows, segregation hotspots form a mosaic and are somewhat scattered across the region. However, there are some spatial patterns present. Southern parts close to the coastline are almost entirely on the positive side of the index. As many of the previous studies have shown, there are more disadvantaged spots on the eastern side of the region (e.g. Vaattovaara & Kortteinen 2000). A second pattern of negative hotspots can be found by following the rail line northeast.

The Koivukylä-Havukoski area is a good example of mosaic-like segregation in a closer level analysis (Figure 3). Despite the proximity of the Koivukylä and Havukoski small regions, these two areas are quite different in regard to population and housing structure. Figure 3 reveals the pockets of socio-economic disadvantage in grids that measure 250 by 250 meters. The division between Koivukylä and Havukoski is clear; there are more grids on Havukoski’s side of adults with lower income levels and no education. The average income per person in Koivukylä is 30,937 euros annually, while in Havukoski it is 23,532 euros, which is over 20 percent lower (Appendix A). Similarly, the unemployment rate is over 19 percent in Havukoski, which is over seven percentage points higher than in Koivukylä (11.3%), and noticeably higher than the average unemployment rate in Vantaa (10.3%). In addition, the proportion of foreign-language speaking population in Havukoski (30%) is more than





*Figure 2. Segregation in Helsinki Region (Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa, Kauniainen) by using segregation index (education and income) (Statistics Finland 2016).*

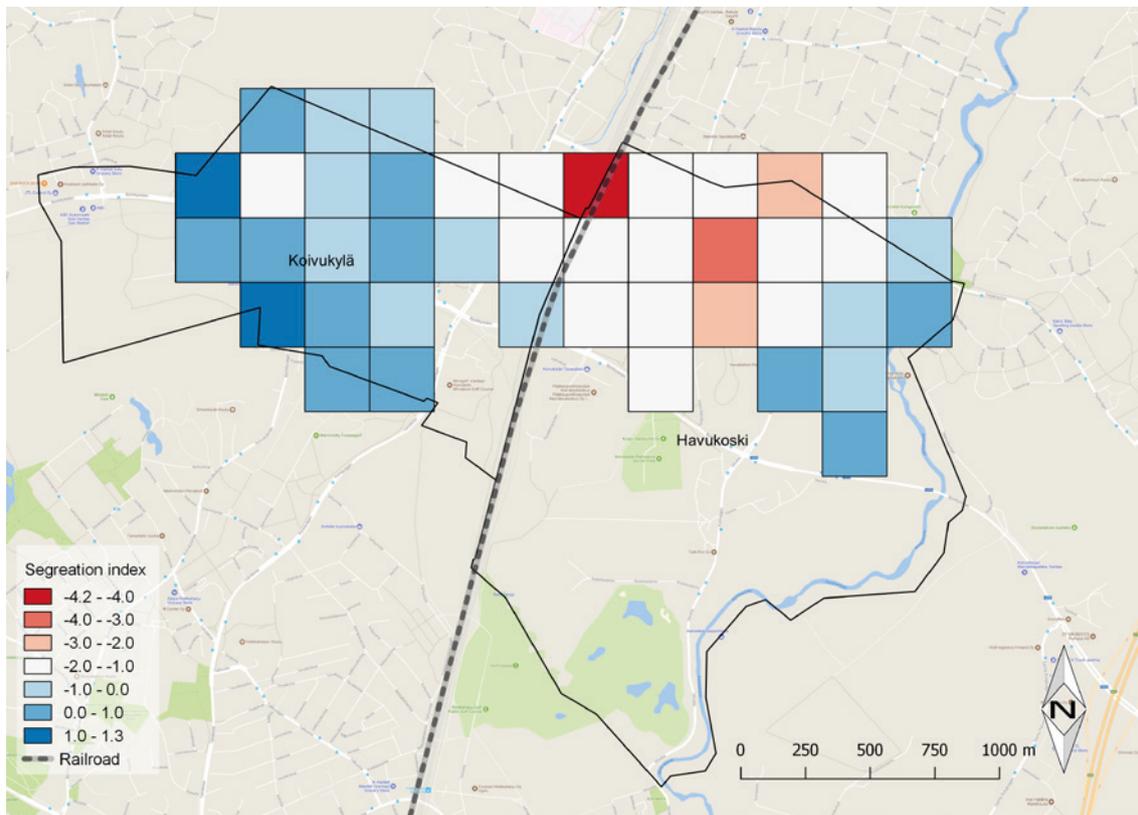


Figure 3. Segregation in Havukoski and Koivukylä small areas by using segregation index (education and income) in a 250 meter by 250 meter grid (Statistics Finland 2016).

twice as much as in Koivukylä (13.6%). In other words, Havukoski has simultaneously an accumulation of population with a lower income level, lower educational levels, and with immigrant backgrounds.

One explanation for the differences in the population strata between the areas is their differences in housing structure and tenure type. In earlier research on segregation in the Helsinki region, the negative consequences of the phenomenon tend to concentrate on the neighborhoods with high-rise blocks, rental housing, and small flats (e.g. Kortteinen & Vaattovaara 2000). Cultural stigmatization of social housing has also decreased the popularity of these types of areas (Kortteinen et al. 2006). Havukoski is the most apartment-building-dominated area in Vantaa, thus it has a high population density; whereas Koivukylä is mainly dominated by detached houses, ownership housing, and recently built apartment housing (Appendix B).

## Methodological Framework

In this study, we used a mixed methods approach. The approach combines both qualitative and quantitative research, as well as data from a research study. Mixed method research is based on the idea that all methods have bias or weaknesses and with the collection of both types of data, these weaknesses can be neutralized (Creswell 2013). The use of different kinds of data completes the understanding of the research problem and improves the reliability of the research analysis. In our study, two major datasets have been used: youth survey data and expert interviews. In addition, we have observations and visual supports, such as the rich picture of Koivukylä.

The members of our research group have their educational background in social sciences, geography and the arts, which has

allowed us to experiment with the options of using different research methods to understand the complexity of social relations in a suburban neighborhood, and in this way to suggest new openings to the segregation discussion. In the meantime, we also wanted to argue that there is a need for classical neighborhood-level research even if we seek to understand the large phenomenon of urban development.

### Expert Interviews

We conducted semi-structured, theme-based interviews with five experts working in the Koivukylä area. These experts work with the youth in Koivukylä in different capacities, but they also have a professional understanding of Vantaa in general. We provided them with complete anonymity in order for the interviewees to include more sensitive topics about their work. We chose individuals that have been working in Koivukylä for a long time and therefore possessed a thorough understanding of the situation in the neighborhood.

In our interviews we wanted to find the particular local conditions in which wider themes such as social control manifest themselves. In this way we hoped to contextualize our research questions. Whereas the survey data we analyzed was not designed for our specific research questions, the semi-structured interviews were, and we were able to ask the local experts about topics which would otherwise remain hidden.

### Survey Data

To avoid the overrepresentation of adults and the institutional perspective in research, which after all studies the youth demographic, we used survey data which were collected as part of a project coordinated by The Centre for Educational Assessment at The University of Helsinki (Metropol-tutkimusohjelma 2010). The project sought to study learning and wellbeing of young people in the Helsinki metropolitan region, and the survey measures young people's attitudes to the future, school, and their neighborhood.

The survey data set allows us to give



a voice to young people's own experiences of the quality of social life in their neighborhood, and also to understand social control from their perspective. We are interested in their response to the social control practiced by authorities, as well as the indirect indicators such as social networks, and levels of trust and fear, which are the key elements of social cohesion. However, the survey data were not used as the principal data set in our research. The original survey design has a strong focus on education and children's learning, and this does not directly respond to our needs in this research. Thus, we chose only a few key variables based on our theories, and our focus on social relations and control, and we approached these variables by using descriptive statistical methods.

### **Data Description**

The survey data were collected in 2010 from 7th graders in 14 municipalities with over 8,000 respondents. For our research purposes, we concentrated on the data collected from the Helsinki region municipalities (Helsinki, Vantaa, Espoo, and Kauniainen). There were outliers especially in the age and postal code data points which we considered as clear errors, and they were removed. The survey was mostly filled autonomously by the adolescent, which might be one explanation for these data errors. In this way our sample size was 5,302 respondents in total. The age of the respondents varied between 10 and 13 years. In addition, we were also interested in the responses from people living in Koivukylä-Havukoski (postal code: 01360).

The original sampling was done by schools. This posed some challenges to our research frame as we were interested in the neighborhoods where the students are from, not the schools themselves. Most students in the Helsinki region study at their local school based on the administrative distribution of schooling areas. The schooling areas are large in Espoo and Vantaa and there is also the option to attend a school other than the local one. In other words, postal codes are smaller units than schooling areas, so there is an imbalance of the representativeness of

some postal code areas. Since we used only descriptive statistical methods, this was not a major problem and we decided to exclude the responses from the postal code areas with fewer than 10 respondents. As a result, our postal code analysis included 132 postal code areas in the Helsinki region.

### **Variables**

Two types of spatial unit have been used as background variables in our analysis: respondents' municipality of residence, and postal code. Using both variables allowed us to have a scaled approach to the data.

In addition to some basic background variables (such as parents' education level and housing type), we were mainly interested in the following variables (Table 1) about the subjective experience of young people in their neighborhood:

Based on our theoretical background, we can assume that these variables reflect the phenomena related to social control and collective efficacy: intervention practiced by adults in the neighborhood to adolescents, trust, feelings of safety, pre-expectation of crime at a local level, and adolescents' social networks. These individual variables were chosen to analyze the experience of the young people, and were parallel to the interview questions asked of adults/institutions.

The survey design posed some challenges to our research, which has been taken into account in our analysis. Firstly, the youth survey studied only 7th graders, while our research interest is "young people" in general. In other words, the group of study in the quantitative analysis is narrower than the one used in the interviews. Secondly, the smallest spatial unit of analysis used in the survey was a postal code. This unit is relatively large when considering the differences between the Koivukylä and Havukoski areas, which share the same postal code, but which are drastically different when comparing their population strata (see chapter 3). The way people experience the boundaries of their neighborhood is not the same as the way postal codes define those



Variable	Scale
K&A 6b My neighbors will notice if I misbehave and they will intervene. "Naapurini huomaavat, jos käyttäydyn huonosti, ja puuttuvat siihen."	1-5 (strongly disagree-strongly agree)
K&A 6k I can trust the people in my neighborhood. "Asuinalueeni ihmisiin voi luottaa."	1-5 (strongly disagree-strongly agree)
K&A 6m I can walk alone safely in my neighborhood after dark. "Voin turvallisesti kävellä yksin asuinalueellani pimeän tulon jälkeen."	1-5 (strongly disagree-strongly agree)
K&A 8d There is a fight or someone is being threatened or beaten in front of your house. "Kotitalosi edustalla on tappelu ja jotakuta uhataan tai lyödään."	1-5 (not at all probable-completely probable)
K&A 11b Are your after-school-friends living on walking/biking distance? "Asuvatko koulun jälkeen -kaverit kävely- tai pyörämatkan päässä?"	1-4 (almost nobody - less than half - over half - almost everyone)

Table 1. Variables.

boundaries. Since we were interested in social phenomena, such as social control, we had to pay attention to the variation within a postal code area. This was also a reason why we used mixed research methods which use different categories. In the survey, the categories were given, whereas in the interviews, they were more flexible and questioned. The expert interviewees also questioned our spatial framing since most of them referred to Havukoski when talking about Koivukylä. Thirdly, most of the variables we used were scaled from 1-5 (e.g. strongly disagree to strongly agree). This meant that the scale contains the so-called "neutral option," or option 3, which is a problematic since it does not provide much information and many people tend to choose it. Thus, we only used the extremes in our analysis.

### **Rich Pictures and Visual Ethnography**

We used rich pictures to visualize social control in different places in Koivukylä. Rich pictures can be described as a flexible graphical technique used to represent a situation, problem, or concept (Horan 2000). They were

developed as part of Peter Checkland's Soft Systems Methodology (SSM) and by the System Group at the Open University UK.

In our case, we thought they could be used as a means to gain an overview of the various forms of social control in a small geographic area, and to visualize these formations simultaneously on the same picture plane. We also hoped the images would make it clearer for readers how social control manifests itself in Koivukylä and why sites of disorganization appear in the places they do. To develop and specify the rich pictures further, we also researched the use of drawing in ethnographic observations (Kuschnir 2016), and integrated some of our ethnographic visualizations into the images.

### **Ethical Challenges**

As the study involves analysis of a wide range of qualitative and quantitative data, and given the focus on young people, a number of ethical problems were addressed. We decided that conducting a local analysis could produce more new knowledge and under-



standing of distinct phenomena than focusing solely on a societal level discourse, so naming the locality of study could not be avoided. However, because of the small size of the neighborhood we decided to avoid mentioning the names of individual stakeholders to protect their anonymity.

Regarding territorial stigmatization as a result of potential negative findings in the study, consideration was given to the discourse of naming and framing. In order to avoid from the outset framing the object of study as problem-oriented, and the “subjects of study as the ones bearing the problems,” we left the situation open at the title-level, in order to avoid naming phenomena with problem-rhetoric (Hyötyläinen 2013).

In our semi-structured theme interviews, we interviewed only adults. The interviewees were not given formal interview agreement documents to sign, however they were asked how they would like to be referred to in the study and about remaining anonymous. It was also made clear verbally that their participation was voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw any given information. Additionally, it was made clear to interviewees that they might be quoted in the paper and that this paper would be published.

As mentioned previously, we did not conduct direct interviews with young people. Instead we made use of a youth survey. This data set was anonymized and was originally conducted seven years ago by a group of academics working within strict ethical criteria. We were aware that much can change in seven years, and have taken this into consideration. When drawing conclusions, we weighed up the information from the youth survey in lieu of information we obtained from adults via our recent interviews and observations.

We have paid attention to papers by Virginia Morrow (2008) on ethical considerations when conducting interviews and surveys with children about their neighborhoods and networks, and their discussion of the social child. In this framework, children are understood as research objects with particular, diverse competencies. Morrow points out that an understanding of diversities of

childhoods is crucial.

Morrow (2008) identifies a number of areas of sensitivity including: the process of obtaining consent, children’s perspectives on the research (including being realistic about the expectations of the research and reporting back to research participants), breaching confidentiality and privacy, choosing pseudonyms, and attempts to draw out policy implications from the study. As we have used data from a study which adhered to these criteria, our main problematic issue using these data was the final point on drawing out implications from the study. In this regard Morrow says that it is possible that survey methods turn out to be harmful to the children, especially in cases in which the research seeks the gaining of public attention as one of its purposes.

We have attempted to adhere to this understanding throughout the paper.

## Results

### Interviews

Based on our interviews, there were some phenomena that local experts raised that they considered to be important. From the topics they raised, we classified some thematic subheadings. The experts described how social control is used in the context of youth in suburbs, as well as the issues requiring adult intervention, including intoxication, public drinking, antisocial behavior, and verbally- or physically-disruptive behavior. A surprising phenomenon that was also brought up by the local experts was the scheduled street fights organized by youths via social media.

From our interviews we also learned that the Koivukylä library has taken on many preventative forms of intervention, or the so-called soft-edge social control (see section 2), that are usually performed through



the functions of the youth center. A local expert described the ways in which the library is involved in the lives of the local youth, and has developed effective measures to control antisocial behavior in constructive ways.

#### **The Role of Mobility in Attaching to Wider Society and Social Networks**

According to local experts, youth is differentiated when it comes to daily mobility: some youths never exit their home district, while others frequently move around via the railway. One expert described how some young people feel shy about going outside Koivukylä, so their daily environment is quite restricted. Going one or two train stops to Tikkurila or Korso can feel too far away, whereas other young people feel very natural about traveling around Vantaa using the rail line. Also, youths spend their free time in different places doing different things: some are at the youth center, others at the library or shopping malls, and some stay at home with friends.

When youths travel outside Koivukylä, they usually go to Tikkurila and Korso to spend time with their friends. The Jumbo shopping center was also a popular spot earlier. Many interviewees mentioned that the Ring Rail line, opened in 2015, is a key factor in their mobility. With the new Ring Rail line, nowadays the youths can easily travel to western Vantaa, for example to the Myyrmanni shopping center in Myyrmäki and to Leinelä. They also mentioned that one of the positive things in Koivukylä is that the location next to the rail line makes for easy transportation.

One expert also described how some of the youths rarely travel abroad, perhaps because of their family situation. Subsequently, the youth center occasionally provides trips abroad so that youths can see different environments and get the feeling that they are part of a society. The expert saw this as very important because travelling can also prevent marginalization from society. The expert also saw that for youth, using the rail line from Koivukylä is preferable to just staying in Koivukylä in their free

time:

*[The youth house has] a lot of international action and when there are young people who have not necessarily even visited the Tallinn ship, then the situation is already quite bad [...] They don't feel that they are part of society in any way, so I feel that it is somehow worthwhile to take trips to the rest of the world and show that this is how they really live here so they wouldn't shut themselves here. So, I think that they should preferably use the train [...] Many may be quite shy in that. They experience that 'here I'm fine and I know this place.' But they don't dare to go anywhere else.*

*([Nuorisotalolla on] paljon kansainvälistä toimintaaki et sillon ku on nuoria jotka ei oo niinku välttämättä ees Tallinnan laivalla käyny ni kyllä sit sillon on jo aika huono tilanne [...]) Ei koeta että sä oot osa yhteiskuntaa välttämättä millään tavalla ni kyl mä jotenki ite nään että jotenkin kannattas joskus tehdä reissuja muuhun maailmaan ja näyttää sitä että oikeesti täällä eletään näin ettei niinku sulkeudu tänne. Että musta sinänsä mielellään mieluummin käyttävät sitä junaa [...] Moni on ehkä aika arkoja siinä. Että koetaan että täällä mä pärjään, mä tiiän mikä tää paikka on. Mut ei sit uskalleta muualle lähtee.)*

157



#### **Intervention by Local Adults**

When asked about local adults intervening in Koivukylä, one expert established a network called “Koko kylä kasvattaa,” a network of residents to “raise your own children and also others’ children:”

*They used to have this “Koko kylä kasvattaa”- “The whole village parents” [...] a really active group which organized a lot of things with the mentality that the whole village grows their own and the children of others. There was something for children and young people and for the inhabitants of the village, like something*

*for everyone in Koivukylä. It was active for many years; it's been some time since it finished. [...] They organized a lot of things. It reflects that there have been a lot of active functions and actors.*

*(Siellähän on ollu ennen sellanen Koko kylä kasvattaa [...] Tosi aktiivinen toimintaporukka mikä järjesti vaikka mitä vähän tolla mentaliteetilla että koko kylä kasvattaa niinku omat ja toisten lapset. Siellä oli lapsille ja nuorille ja kylän asukkaille tai niinku Koivukylän kaikille asukkaille jotain. Se toimi aika monta vuotta, siitä on jo kyllä nyt jo aikaa ku se on loppunu. [...] Ne järkkäs vaikka mitä. Et se kuvastaa just sitä, että se alueena on semmonen et siellä on paljon ollut vuosien aikana aktiivista toimintaa ja toimijoita.)*

The activities lasted for a few years but have ended now. The local expert described this network as an active group which organized a lot of events that offered something for everyone living in this “village” (kylä). For the expert, this network meant that the Koivukylä area had some active actors over time. However, the expert did not mention if there was a specific reason for this network to start their activities at that time, nor the success of those activities. On the one hand, this network can be seen as an example of local adult residents practicing social control, as well as building local collective efficacy on the other.

Overall, some adults in Koivukylä intervene if they see disorderly behavior, while others do not intervene. Some of the adults might be scared; others just do not bother - they think that it is not their business. According to two local experts, this lack of intervening happens especially in outdoor public spaces, such as the Koivukylä square. Residents of some houses might intervene when outsiders cross their yard, as this is not seen as suitable behavior.

#### **Scheduled Group Fights**

Two local experts mentioned group fights

(joukkotappelu). There have been some group fights in Koivukylä, in other areas in Vantaa, and in the metropolitan region as well. The year 2017 was rather calm, but one of the experts mentioned a few fights which happened that year in the Vantaa area. In previous years, experts have seen multiple group fights. There are cycles of this kind of disorder (järjestyshäiriö) to be seen: during summer and the beginning of autumn it is especially active. Experts described how sometimes phenomena go away for a few years and then come back, such as in the case of group fights.

Youths gather at a sports field or other suitable location for pre-scheduled fights. Usually the reason behind the fight is somewhat small, such as someone stealing snuff from another. One local expert described the reasons for these fights as “mythical:”

*[The fights] are quite mysterious events in themselves; they can start from a very small move, for example in Koivukylä, a year ago in autumn, many times in a row. When we were figuring out what was going on, for example one had started because somebody had stolen cigarettes from another and someone had then grabbed that cigarette. Some tiny little thing like this that gets blown out to foolish dimensions and then people are saying in advance that ‘Come with us’ and it spreads around people. ‘Let’s go to take revenge’ or ‘Let’s get my cigarettes back’.*

*(Ne ovat aika mystisiä tapahtumia sinänsä, ne voivat lähteä hyvin pienestä liikkeelle, esimerkiksi just ne Koivukylän niinku vuosi sitten syksyllä olleet aika monta peräkkäin. Ni kun sitten kun niitä selviteltiin että mikä kuvio siinä on, ni esimerkiksi yks oli lähteny siitä että joku oli pummannu toiselta röökiä ja joku oli sitten napannu sen. Joku tällänen mitättömän pieni juttu joka sit saa älyttömät mittasuhteet ja sit sitä lähetään keretomaan eteenpäin että ‘Hei lähe messiin’ leviää ihmisille, ‘Nyt lähetään kostaa sille’ tai ‘ettii tai lähetään hakee mun röökkit takas’.)*



According to this description, reasons for gathering to fight seem insignificant for adults. Youths gather, but fights happen rarely. Some of the youths that came to the scene do not actually even know what the fight was really about. Often police or other local actors become aware of these fights in advance and they come to the scene before the fight starts. After seeing the police, people disperse.

In this case, local actors are quite effective in preventing fights from starting. They get information of upcoming fights through an effective network of local actors that work closely with youths and hear them talking about fights. In other cases, they see the youth gathering and follow them to see what is going on. For local actors, social media is an effective way to investigate and get information about these fights beforehand, because youth actively publish things they see and participate in. Invitations for these fights are sent in WhatsApp groups, through a huge network of youth, and sometimes youth workers or other adults also see these messages before the fight, making it easier to intervene.

#### **Possibility of Gang Formation**

One local expert described concern about gang formation in the future. For example, there is already some evidence of gang formation in the Dixi shopping center in Tikkurila. There are some groups and interactions in Dixi which are an indication of gang formation, according to the expert. Behind these concerns are global changes and changes in Finnish society. Asylum seekers bring new patterns of behavior and most of them are young men, who might be one potential element in gang formation along with local youth.

The expert believed that gang formation is definitely a growing phenomenon, and a way to tackle this problem is to form strong networks of local actors and to educate these actors:

*It will be a challenge in the future; education for all actors must be strived for, so we could be ready to notice all extreme*

*things in time. [Gang formation] is probably constantly evolving. The events in the world and all information that comes from through the internet from elsewhere, and the more they are opened in the media, the more it will probably create the development. [...] It is absolutely a thing in the future which will surely be increased, which the authorities and actors should invest in and have their eyes open.*

*(Se on sellanen tulevaisuuden haaste kyllä, pitää pyrkiä saamaan kaikille tahoille lisää koulutusta, että pystyttäis ne kaikki semmoset äärijutut poimimaan ajoissa. Se [jengiytyminen] on varmaan pikkusen niinku koko ajan kehittymään päin. Näe maailman tapahtumat ja kaikki mitä tulee tietoo netin kautta tuolta muualta ja mitä enemmän niitä mediassa avataan ni sitä enemmän se varmaan luo kehitystä.[...] Ehdottomasti tulevaisuuden juttu mikä varmuudella tulee lisääntymään, mihin viranomaisten ja toimijoitten tulee panostaa ja olla silmät auki.)*

Currently, the police are monitoring this situation, for example in Dixi. The expert did not see that those gangs were formed from members of the same neighborhood, but instead they might be “old friends” coming from different neighborhoods.

At the moment, local adult residents do not seem to have any role in controlling this kind of behavior in public space.

#### **Importance of Hobbies**

Hobbies also play a role in social control. Everyone interviewed stressed the importance of the youth having hobbies; having a hobby protects the youth from disorderly behavior and/or hanging out with the “wrong” company. One expert explained that hobbies help to build a daily routine, attach the young people to a community, and reduce time spent on unconstructive activities. In other words, preventing the youth from engaging in disruptive behavior:

*Hobbies are definitely a protective factor*



*for young people. After all, it attaches to some kind of network and community, and then it supports keeping up a daily rhythm and the production of meaningful acts, and so it brings a lot of content to life and it is all out of the opportunity to spend it somewhere else where there is not exactly any constructive things to do.*

*(Harrastus ehdottomasti on suojaava tekijä nuorille. Se kiinnittää kuitenkin jonkunlaiseen verkostoon ja yhteisöön, ja sitten se tukee päivärytmin ylläpitämisessä ja mielekkään tekemisen tuottamisessa ja sitä kautta niinku tuo paljon sisältöä elämään ja sit se on taas kaikki pois siitä mahdollisuudesta viettää sitä aikaa jossain muualla missä ei oo just nimenomaan mitään rakentavaa tekemistä.)*

The local experts mentioned that Koivukylä has some lively sports clubs; the KoiPS football club is popular, especially among boys. This is related to traditional thinking in Finland: sports clubs have always been seen to play an important role in integrating young people and aiding them in becoming decent citizens (kunnan kansalainen) in the society (Aalto 2000). In contrast, there is a lack of arts hobby opportunities in Koivukylä. Local experts wish for more indoor space for youths, for example multi-purpose halls and cafes where youths can hang out. Experts also mentioned that parents have an important role in encouraging youth to participate in hobbies, and in having time for their children.

### **Hanging Out in the Local Library**

During our research in Koivukylä, we found several places which were popular among young people to spend time outside of their homes and schools. During our field work visits in the neighborhood, winter was setting in and temperatures were plummeting. In such a cold climate, young people tend to meet indoors in shopping centers, libraries, and gas stations. Our local experts mentioned commercial centers, such as Dixi in Tikkurila, K-Citymarket in Koivukylä, as

well as S-Market and the Lumo multipurpose center in Korso. It is in these urban spaces that the youth often come into contact with different forms of social control.

Several of the local experts mentioned the problem of juveniles drinking alcohol in public. Occasionally young people will go to the library to hang out while intoxicated. Although this has not been such a large problem recently, our interviewees did say it is a cyclical phenomenon that does occur from time to time. Surprisingly, our local experts said that the drinking had not caused disruptive behavior inside the library, and young people are generally very well behaved, even when intoxicated. Nevertheless, the library takes the issue seriously and intervenes with the problem whenever it arises. In fact, not only do the staff intervene with any antisocial behavior within the library premises, but they also do so with underage drinking that happens on the public square in front of the library, which is a typical hang out spot for youths during the summer season.

The library has become very involved in the lives of local young people. This is partly because the library is a popular hangout space, especially during the winter season. Also, however, this is because the library staff are dedicated in their support of the needs of the youths, and they go out of their way to provide space and activities for them. There is a specially-reserved room in the corner of the library which young people can access with a key provided by the staff, in exchange for a library card. We were told that this room is used every evening by up to 12 youths at a time. The room is rather small, with a TV set, a sofa, and a few chairs. Rather than being a space for specific activities, it seemed as if the room is used merely for hanging out, and spending time with peers without direct adult supervision. There are future plans to renovate the space into a band practice room. The library also organizes PlayStation and board game events twice a week, and there are many music events that are ideal for young people who are not old enough to access other music venues.

The youth center (Nuorisotalo) is also



used by many groups of young people on a regular basis. The youth center is very important in maintaining social order, and they work in close cooperation with the social workers and the police. Compared to the library, they have a lower threshold to inform parents and child welfare if young people are seen smoking or intoxicated in the youth center. Not only do the youth workers have a professional obligation to get involved, but they also make use of youth center cards (NuTa-kortti) which every young person must obtain in order to use the youth center services. This helps the youth workers check the identities of individuals, and they can phone the parents if the need arises. The library, on the other hand, does not have the means of checking the identities of the youths who use their premises.

## Survey Data

### Respondents from Koivukylä

There were 46 respondents living in the Koivukylä-Havukoski area (postal code: 01360). As background information, we are mainly interested in young people's parents' socioeconomic status. Since their income data is not available, we used the parent's education level and housing type variables as indicators. We did not do any quantitative analysis based on the respondent's gender nor ethnic background, because the study was based on location. Additionally, our group of interest is small, which does not allow statistical generalization related to gender and ethnicity.

Roughly half of the respondents answered the question about their parents' educational level. Among the ones who responded, their parents' educational level was relatively low, most of them having upper secondary education (mothers: 50%; fathers: 38%) or only basic level education (mothers: 25%, fathers: 19%) (Tables 2, 3). The respondents' backgrounds coincided with the general situation in the area where, in Havukoski, almost half of the adult popula-

tion does not have a degree. Unfortunately, when working with postal code areas, it is not possible to specify whether the respondent was from Koivukylä or Havukoski.

Most of the respondents spent a large part of their childhood in Koivukylä-Havukoski; over half of the respondents lived for more than seven years in their current house and in general, the majority had lived there for at least four years (Table 4). Almost half of the respondents lived in apartments and the other half in detached houses (Table 5).

When asked about the favorite things in their neighborhood, in a multiple-choice question, respondents most often chose: closeness to friends, closeness to services, and closeness to school (Figure 4; Appendix C). These options were chosen by over half of the respondents. A little less than half of the respondents also chose safety, friendly neighbors, and no vandalism and stealing as important positive characteristics of the area. On the other hand, people did not feel that nature, beauty, low-density, and small houses were the positive characteristics of their neighborhood. In other words, the respondents associated the positive elements of their neighborhood with the social aspects, more so than the physical elements. Interestingly, only 10 out of 46 respondents considered the existence of the youth center or hobbies as important to them.

However, multiple-choice questions give us only a general level of information, due to the strictly predefined choices and the only possibility was to either agree or disagree (leaving the option without answer). Therefore, we need to investigate more specific variables.

### Neighbors and Intervention

Next, we studied children's perceptions of potential adult intervention in their misbehavior. By examining the variable, "My neighbors will notice if I misbehave and they will intervene," children felt that adults would be least likely to intervene in Vantaa (agree or strongly agree 22%) and most likely to intervene in Kaunia-



	n	%
Basic level education	6	25.0
Upper secondary level of education	12	50.0
Lowest level tertiary education (e.g. qualification of technician engineer, diploma in business and administration, and diploma in nursing)	4	16.7
Lower-degree level tertiary education (polytechnic degrees and lower university degrees)	1	4.2
Higher-degree level tertiary education (master's degree)	1	4.2
Total	24	100.0

	n	%
Basic level education	4	19.1
Upper secondary level of education	8	38.1
Lowest level tertiary education (e.g. qualification of technician engineer, diploma in business and administration, and diploma in nursing)	4	19.1
Lower-degree level tertiary education (polytechnic degrees and lower university degrees)	4	19.1
Higher-degree level tertiary education (master's degree)	1	4.8
Total	21	100.0

	n	%
under a year	4	8.7
1-3 years	8	17.4
4-7 years	10	21.7
over 7 years	24	52.2
Total	46	100.0

	n	%
high-rise apartment house	22	47.8
detached house	24	52.2
Total	46	100.0



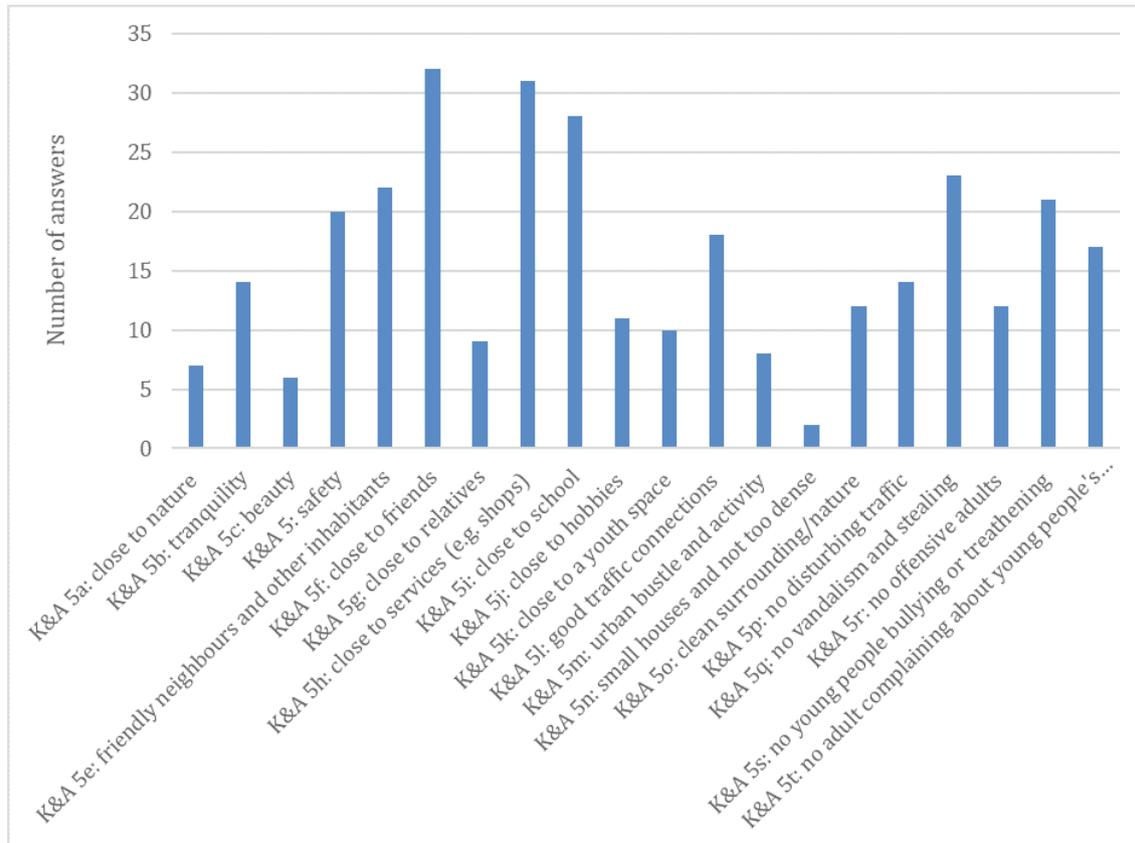
162

**Table 2.** Mother's educational level (%) in Koivukylä-Havukoski (n=24).

**Table 3.** Father's educational level (%) in Koivukylä-Havukoski (n=21).

**Table 4.** "How long have you lived in your current house?" (%) in Koivukylä-Havukoski (n=46).

**Table 5.** "What type of housing are you living in?" (%) in Koivukylä-Havukoski (n=46).



**Figure 4.** "Which of the following characteristics are the most important source of joy for you in your current neighborhood?" Answers in Koivukylä-Havukoski (n=46).



en (agree or strongly agree 38%) (Table 6). This variation between the municipalities in the Helsinki region is statistically significant ( $p < 0,001$ ).

When looking at responses in Koivukylä specifically, the majority of the respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement (Table 7). A little less than 20 percent of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, which is slightly less than in Vantaa overall. The number of people at both ends is notable and interesting in any case.

It seems that in general in the Helsinki region, children do not feel as though their neighbors are actively intervening in their negative behavior, and Koivukylä is no exception. The differences between the municipalities are significant.

#### **Trust and Fear**

Trust and fear are usually considered to be two sides of the same coin. Trust and the pre-expectations of violence are the most frequently used variables to indicate the subjective experience of fear (which does not necessarily relate to the actual risk of being attacked in the neighborhood, for example). We should not underestimate the importance of fear since it has an impact on a person's well-being and on the social relations in the neighborhood. A neighborhood which feels threatened is not a probable environment for good social relations between inhabitants (Andersen 2003).

	Municipality				
	Espoo	Helsinki	Vantaa	Kauniainen	All
1 = strongly disagree	22.4	25.0	28.8	20.0	25.1
2	22.2	22.1	22.9	12.6	22.2
3	29.5	29.3	26.0	29.5	28.5
4	18.6	15.7	14.3	29.5	16.5
5 = strongly agree	7.2	8.0	8.1	8.4	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n	1,630	2,131	1,337	95	5,193

$\chi^2=41.313$ ;  $df=12$ ;  $p < 0.001$

	n	%
1 = strongly disagree	13	28.3
2	12	26.1
3	12	26.1
4	8	17.4
5 = strongly agree	1	2.2
Total	46	100.0

	Municipality				
	Espoo	Helsinki	Vantaa	Kauniainen	All
1 = strongly disagree	4.8	6.7	5.6	4.2	5.8
2	10.5	14.7	15.3	9.5	13.4
3	29.2	33.8	30.8	34.7	31.6
4	35.0	28.3	30.6	36.9	31.1
5 = strongly agree	20.5	16.6	17.7	14.7	18.1
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n	1,624	2,116	1,323	95	5,158

$\chi^2=52.927$ ;  $df=12$ ;  $p < 0.001$

**Table 6.** "My neighbors will notice if I misbehave and they will intervene." (%) in Helsinki Region ( $n=5,193$ ).

**Table 7.** "My neighbors will notice if I misbehave and they will intervene." (%) in Koivukylä-Havukoski ( $n=46$ ).

**Table 8.** "I can trust the people in my neighborhood." (%) in Helsinki Region ( $n=5,158$ ).



	Municipality				All
	Espoo	Helsinki	Vantaa	Kauniainen	
1 = Not at all probable	19.3	19.5	22.9	21.9	20.4
2	7.5	10.2	10.1	7.3	9.3
3	9.3	12.8	12.3	10.4	11.5
4	23.3	21.4	21.9	29.2	22.3
5 = Completely probable	40.6	36.1	32.9	31.3	36.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n	1,636	2,110	1,321	96	5,163

	n	%
1 = strongly disagree	3	7
2	8	18.6
3	10	23.3
4	13	30.2
5 = strongly agree	9	20.9
Total	43	100.0

*Table 9. "I can walk safely in my neighborhood after dark." in Helsinki Region (n=5,162).*

*Table 10. "There is a fight or someone is being threatened or beaten in front of your house." (%) in Helsinki Region (n=5,163).*

The respondents from Espoo are more trusting of their neighbors than those from other municipalities in the Helsinki region (Table 8). Roughly 55 percent of the respondents from Espoo either agreed or strongly agreed that they trust the people in their neighborhood. On the contrary, only 45 percent of the respondents from Helsinki agreed or strongly agreed, which is less than the other municipalities in the region.

Similar to the previous statement about having trust in neighbors, walking in the neighborhood after dark feels the safest in Espoo, where 81 percent of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, "I can walk alone safely in my neighborhood after dark," while 74 percent of the respondents from Helsinki agreed or strongly agreed (Table 9).

To study the subjective experience about the possibility of violence, we are interested in the statement; "There is a fight, or someone is being threatened or beaten in

front of your house," to which the respondents were asked to evaluate whether they felt as though this situation would be probable in their neighborhood. More often than in the other municipalities, respondents from Espoo and Kauniainen thought that this situation was possible or likely (64% in Espoo and 60% in Kauniainen), while in Helsinki 57 percent, and in Vantaa 55 percent of the respondents thought so (Table 10).

In all three of the previous variables, the differences between municipalities were relatively small. The majority of respondents agreed that they can trust their neighbors and they felt safe in their neighborhood. In other words, it is not a question about people being absolutely afraid of each other, even if they have relatively less respondents agreeing with the statements. Those answers are more neutral than negative. What is surprising is a slight majority of the respondents in all the municipalities were thinking that an act of violence



is possible in their close neighborhood. In the regional analysis, the differences in all three variables were statistically significant ( $p < 0.001$ ).

When looking at the Koivukylä-Havukoski are specifically, the difference in the regional averages was again relatively small. Roughly half of the respondents felt that they could trust their neighbors, which was similar to the general level in Vantaa and close to the regional average (Table 11). A clear majority, 70 percent of the respondents felt it was safe to walk alone after dark in their neighborhood, which is a little below the regional average (77%) and the average in Vantaa (75%) (Table 12). However, the respondents felt more often that it was possible that violence could happen at their front door; 64 percent of the respondents from this area saw this type of situation as probable or inevitable, which is a little higher than the average in Vantaa, but close to the regional average (Table 13).

#### **Social Networks and Friends in the Neighborhood**

The question, "Do your after-school friends live within walking/biking distance?" gives us the opportunity to see how localized the young people's social lives are; do they spend their free time with other young people in the local neighborhood, or do they and their friends have to travel further away to meet each other?

	Municipality				
	Espoo	Helsinki	Vantaa	Kauniainen	All
1 = strongly disagree	1.6	3.0	2.1	3.1	2.3
2	4.6	5.9	6.5	6.3	5.6
3	12.3	17.6	16.1	11.5	15.4
4	33.2	32.0	32.9	37.5	32.7
5 = strongly agree	48.3	41.5	42.4	41.7	43.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n	1,626	2,113	1,327	96	5,162

$\chi^2=43.565$ ;  $df=12$ ;  $p < 0.001$

	n	%
1 = strongly disagree	2	4.4
2	2	4.4
3	10	21.7
4	14	30.4
5 = strongly agree	18	39.1
Total	46	100.0

	n	%
1 = Not at all probable	8	18.2
2	5	11.4
3	3	6.8
4	14	31.8
5 = Completely probable	14	31.8
Total	44	100.0

**Table 11.** "I can trust the people in my neighborhood." (%) in Koivukylä-Havukoski ( $n=43$ ).

**Table 12.** "I can walk safely in my neighborhood after dark." (%) in Koivukylä-Havukoski ( $n=46$ ).

**Table 13.** "There is a fight or someone is being threaten or beaten in front of your house." (%) in Koivukylä-Havukoski ( $n=44$ ).



The young people in Vantaa seem to have more friends living in walking or biking distance. Nearly 78 percent of Vantaa respondents have at least more than half of their friends living close, while in Helsinki this situation was shared by 70 percent of the respondents (Table 14).

The majority of the respondents from the Havukoski-Koivukylä area (78%) also have most of their friends staying close to them, and this is actually more common than the regional average (Table 15). This suggests that the social life of the young people in Koivukylä-Havukoski is localized, and the social networks are tied inside the area or between the neighboring areas.

#### **'01360' Compared to Other Postal Codes**

When making comparisons between the postal code areas, we noticed a larger variance in the survey results than when comparing the regional municipal averages. The histograms showed the proportion of the so-called "negative" responses from all the responses in the following variables by postal code areas: possibility of intervention (Figure 5), trust in neighbors (Figure 6), and friends living nearby (Figure 7). The Koivukylä-Havukoski postal-code area is colored red to show its position in the comparison.

In contrast to the result of the regional comparison where Koivukylä-Havukoski did not differ much from the regional average, the differ-

	Municipality				
	Espoo	Helsinki	Vantaa	Kauniainen	All
almost nobody	9.6	11.0	6.9	9.7	9.5
less than half	18.4	18.9	15.4	18.3	17.8
more than half	25.1	24.6	24.1	23.7	24.6
almost everyone	46.9	45.5	53.7	48.4	48.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n	1,599	2,077	1,297	93	5,066

$\chi^2=32.496$ ;  $df=9$ ;  $p=0.002$

	n	%
almost nobody	6	13.3
less than half	4	8.9
more than half	8	17.8
almost everyone	27	60.0
Total	45	100.0

	K&A 6b My neighbors will notice if I misbehave and they will intervene.	K&A 6k I can trust the people in my neighborhood.	K&A 11b Are your after-school-friends living on walking/biking distance?
Chi-Square	227.38	378.67	546.20
df	205.00	204.00	204.00
Asymp. Sig.	0.14	0.00	0.00

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

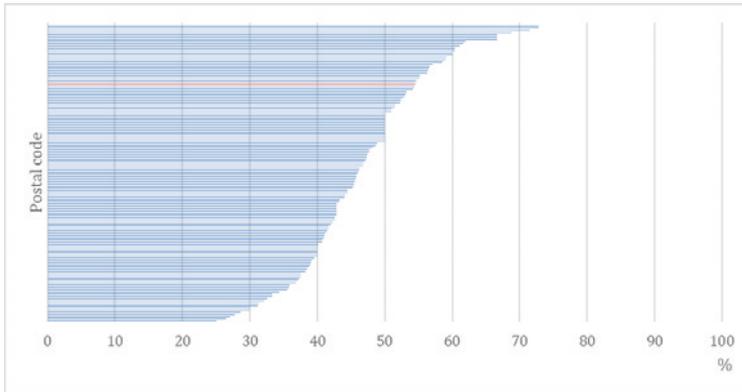
b. Grouping Variable: K&A 15 Postal code

**Table 14.** "Are your after-school-friends living on walking/biking distance?" (%) in Helsinki Region ( $n=5,066$ ).

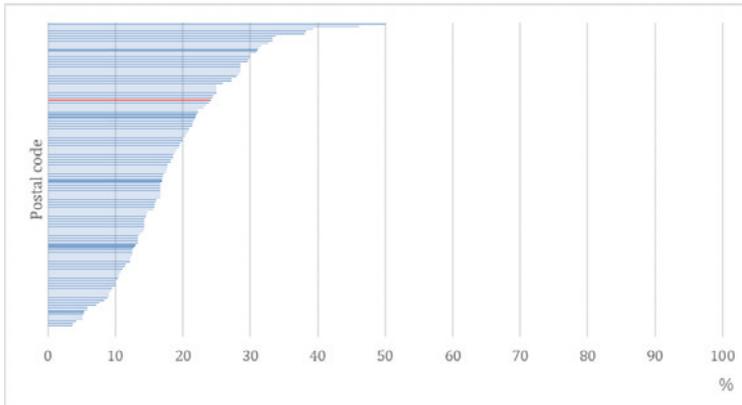
**Table 15.** "Are your after-school-friends living on walking/biking distance?" (%) in Koivukylä-Havukoski ( $n=45$ ).

**Table X.16:** Kruskal-Wallis test statistics.

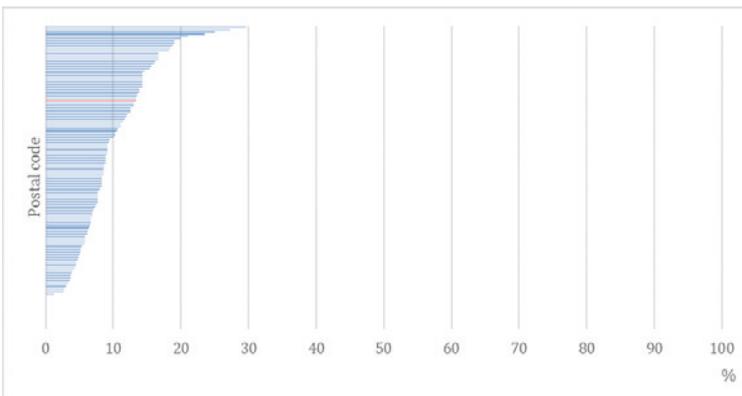




**Figure 5.** "I disagree or strongly disagree that my neighbors will notice if I misbehave and they will intervene." Answers (%) by postal code (n=5,193).



**Figure 6.** "I disagree or strongly disagree that I can trust the people in my neighborhood." Answers (%) in Helsinki Region by postal code (n=5,158).



**Figure 7.** "Almost none of my after-school-friends are living in walking/biking distance." Answers (%) in Helsinki Region by postal code (n=5,066).



ence to the other postal code areas in the region was notable, depending on the variable. The young people in Koivukylä-Havukoski feel less likely that their neighbors will intervene in misbehavior, and they trust their neighbors less than in most other postal codes in the Helsinki region. When comparing postal code areas for friends living nearby, the differences are smaller. Thus, only a small minority of young people (regardless of their postal code), do not have the majority of their friends living nearby. This might indicate the localized social life among young people in general, as noted in earlier research.

We conducted a Kruskal-Wallis test to evaluate the effects of postal code areas on the three variables used as an example: K&A 6b “My neighbors will notice if I misbehave and they will intervene”, K&A 6k “I can trust the people in my neighborhood”, and K&A 11b “Do your after-school friends living within walking/biking distance?” The Kruskal-Wallis-test is commonly used to test the answers on a Likert-scale, and it allows the comparison of means between multiple groups (Salkind 2010, 675). The test is equivalent to a one-way analysis of variance, as a non-parametric test for independent samples. Unlike a one-way ANOVA test, the Kruskal-Wallis-test does not require the normal distribution of the responses. The Kruskal-Wallis-test statistic is  $\chi^2$  distributed by  $k-1$  degrees of freedom (ibid.). Since the responses in these variables were not normally distributed, we have to use the Kruskal-Wallis-test.

This helps to decide whether to abandon the null hypothesis (that postal code has no effect) or to keep the null hypothesis (at least two postal code areas are statistically significantly different). We got the following test values (Table 16):

The Kruskal-Wallis-test showed that there was a statistically significant difference in trust between the different postal codes ( $p < 0.001$ ), and in distance to friends between postal codes ( $p < 0.001$ ). In other words, at least two postal codes are different from each other in these factors. The difference in intervention-factor between postal codes is not statistically signifi-

cant ( $p = 0.14$ ) according to the test, so we abandoned the null hypothesis in this case. In earlier analysis on the other variables about neighbor-experience, the distribution of responses inside the Koivukylä-Havukoski area gives us some level of hints about the possible internal differences inside a postal code area.

### Rich Picture and Observations

Figure 8 gives a bird’s eye view of the Koivukylä shopping center and surrounding buildings. It also attempts to highlight different examples of social control in the area. Some key places to note include the library, which as mentioned earlier, is a popular location for teenagers. Some use the computers and newspaper room, and others access a dedicated hangout room facilitated by the librarians. Also highlighted in the picture are shops with security guards (Alepa, Lidl, City Market), as we observed guards doing small patrols around the Alepa supermarket. It was also highlighted previously in interviews that guards in the K-Citymarket frequently attempt to remove teenagers from the mall if they are hanging around and not actively shopping. Other places to note include the small forest area and the market square. These areas have been highlighted as places where social control does not occur and are also places some teenagers frequent. The railway station has been identified as an unofficial line of segregation. Besides the library, there are no other places for teenagers to spend time indoors in the shopping center area. The other venues are shops, restaurants, or pubs.

We also filmed a video during our fieldwork trips to Koivukylä, in November 2017. The purpose of the video was to provide a visual context to the readers who may not be familiar with the neighborhood. The video begins with footage from the train, traveling from Helsinki to Vantaa. The video then shows some central public spaces in both the neighborhood of Koivukylä on the western side of the railway tracks, as well as Havukoski on the eastern side (Figure 1).



170

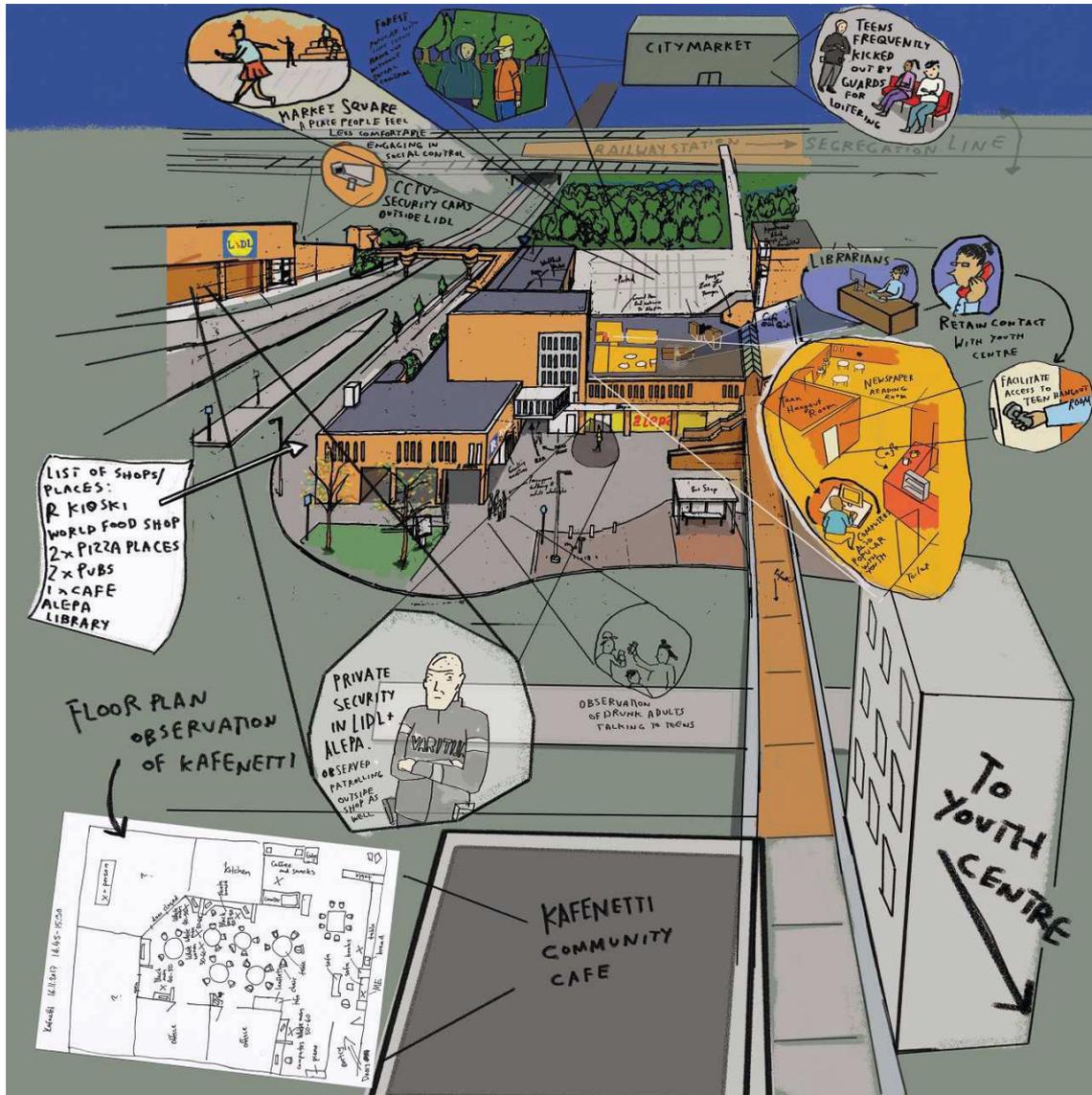


Figure 8. Rich picture showing observations of social control and group member observations in Koivukylä (image: David Kerr).

## Local Representations of Segregation and Social Control

Segregation has a connection with problematic progressions of youth. Segregation has an effect on youth by concentrating socio-economic disadvantage in certain areas. At the same time, there is fragmentation of different groups of youth and their diverging social realities. It has also been argued in earlier studies (Saarikkomäki 2017) that young people from lower social classes are more likely to experience police and security guard interventions.

### Locality and Differentiated Realities between Youth

When studying the youth survey data inside a postal code area such as in Koivukylä-Havukoski, we can see polarization of how young people experience their neighborhood. For example, we saw clear differences when examining the responses to, “My neighbors will notice if I misbehave and they will intervene,” and questions regarding trust and pre-expectation of violence. Based on the data alone, we do not know what the variables are that explain the differentiation. Also, due to the lack of information about the young people’s socioeconomic background in the survey data, we could not analyze the polarization in this survey any further. Nonetheless, by using the idea of Sampson (2012), where shared perceptions and trust are important for the cohesion of the neighborhood and thus, for collective efficacy, the differentiated realities among the young people from the same neighborhood are concerning.

Groups spending time in the library, youth center, or shopping mall are all different groups of friends. Things they do in these places in their free time also differentiate their social realities. According to Sampson (2012), with low collective efficacy in a neighborhood, social realities differentiate

more easily than in a neighborhood with a high collective efficacy. However, there are some indicators of high collective efficacy in Koivukylä in the case of “Koivukylä kasvattaa,” which was an active neighborhood organization that organized activity for all the residents in Koivukylä.

In his book Lähiö, Kortteinen (1982) noted that everyday functions are spatially differentiated, so people need to travel from Koivukylä for their free time activities. On the contrary, based on the more recent survey, at least the young people in Koivukylä are localized; their friends are nearby, and in general they are happy with the local services. In contrast to the survey data, our interviews indicated that it is common for youth to have friends outside their district, and they actively use the rail line to meet their friends and for hobbies.

If we take the survey data into account, and say that young people from segregated areas tend to live more localized lives, it could be argued that this locality in turn has a causal relationship with social control. As we learned through the interviews, many actors in Koivukylä practice social control among young people. Many of these actors have formed lasting and impactful relationships with individual youths, because the local young people spend so much of their time in the same hangout spots. On the other hand, increased mobility gives young people an increased anonymity when hanging out in public spaces, and perhaps this anonymity makes them freer from the constraints of social norms imposed by adults. Elsa Saarikkomäki (2017) found that social factors increased the likelihood of security and police intervention, with youth from lower social classes receiving a disproportionate amount of attention. Perhaps the increased social control of these different local actors may thus partly be explained by the decreased mobility of young people in segregated neighborhoods.

### Social Control in Koivukylä

A clear majority of Koivukylä youth survey respondents, 70 percent, feel safe to walk alone after dark in their neighborhood,



which is slightly below the regional average (77%) and the average in Vantaa (75%). This tells us that social order is strong in the neighborhood, despite being a relatively disadvantaged area of Vantaa. However, compared to feelings of safety, a greater number of respondents in Koivukylä responded that they nevertheless feel it is likely that violence may occur at their front door. Perhaps the relative likelihood of witnessing violence does not affect feelings of safety in the neighborhood if the respondent thinks it is unlikely that they themselves would be the victim of said violence?

In the interviews, the local experts described how local adults are quite passive in intervening in public places, but that they are possibly more likely to intervene in their own house or yard. However, based on the youth survey data, youths do not feel that their neighbors are actively intervening in their negative behavior. Based on this, we can claim that in Koivukylä, local adults do not intervene actively if they see youths misbehaving in public spaces.

On the other hand, the library is a point of interest when discussing social control among youths in Koivukylä. Perched on a hill overlooking the railway station, it is an ideal place from which to observe the life of the youths in Koivukylä. The library is attached to the shopping mall, and there are several restaurants, bars, and kiosks in the same building. From our interviews we learned that the square in front of the library is a central meeting point of different groups of people. Because of the proximity to the train platforms, drug users from other suburbs often come to make their purchases in the vicinity. Youths also tend to use the area during the summer time for hanging out, and as a place to consume alcohol.

Although the prime function of the library is not for hanging out, nor does it have authorized youth workers as employees, it has become quite involved in the lives of many youths, and in some sense, has even taken over some functions of the local youth center, because of the better location as well as the more informal social relationships the librarians have developed with the

youths. Compared to the youth center, the library is a space of soft-edge and more implicit social control. The young people are able to hang out in the area with a greater degree of anonymity, without the fear of consequences, which more explicit spaces of social control enforce.

### Characteristics of Youth Group Phenomena

Scheduled group fights were a recurring phenomenon in our interviews. Group fights are seen as a customary action happening seasonally. Based on interviews, we cannot claim that current group fights are similar to the traditional fights of the past between neighborhoods in Finland (Haavio-Mannila 1958). According to Elina Haavio-Mannila (1958), from the 1850s to 1950s in Finland, village fights (kylätappelut) were formed by tensions between inner groups and outer groups. There were groups of youths from each village against each other. Their village was a reference group for fighters to which they identified and whose honor they were fighting for. Village battles were a respected, functional institution within the village community; the fights were a sign of the common spirit of the village, whose tightness increased by fighting (Haavio-Mannila 1958, 159-164).

Nowadays, based on our interviews, group fights are comprised of mixed groups of friends from various neighborhoods. Correspondingly, gang formation is nowadays not local in the traditional way which Haavio-Mannila (1958) described; it is also youths coming from different neighborhoods. In contrast to group fights, gang formation is experienced as a growing concern.

Instead of strong local groups of youths as before (Haavio-Mannila 1958), groups nowadays are rather about different fragments forming inside suburbs: groups of youths are dispersed and some of them form subcultures. It might be that youths have differentiated realities - they are different groups that are spending their time in the youth center, in shopping centers, or at railway stations.

Based on our interviews, part of the contemporary youth culture is youth filming



their fights and publishing them to social media. According to the experts, it is not rare for youths to publish selfies with guns on Instagram. Youths think that they have to film and publish their fights - otherwise “the fights did not really happen”. This could be characterized as having a carnival-like, performative character, where violence is simulated for social media. This way of documenting fights resembles the North American culture among youth (gangs) (Patton et al. 2014). The action is rarely meant to hurt the opposite side.

One possible explanation for group fights and/or gang formation could be that youths do not have any proper reasons for the fighting - they are just bored. In addition, they might just want to have some cool material to show in their social media accounts. Also, another factor explaining gang formation could be that the youths need a sense of belonging to a community, especially if their family is not able to provide that. The need for belonging might be so strong that it is sought from gangs. Being a gang member might answer to the need for belonging to a community.

It will be interesting to see if and how these phenomena evolve. Will gang formation or group fights be growing phenomena in the future? Are these forms of violence due to a lack of proper social control by adults or institutions? How do these phenomena relate to segregation? And finally, are these patterns seen in Finland starting to resemble situations in other parts of the world (Patton et al. 2014)?

## Conclusions

All in all, it is fair to say that in the case of Koivukylä, social control is performed by various local institutions. The interviews showed that at least the police, youth workers, and the library staff perform social control. To begin with, the police, who are authorized to use hard-edge social control, prefer soft-edge social control (according to our interview). Secondly, the

youth center uses soft-edge social control, which it is publicly authorized to do. Social control performed by the youth center takes place at the youth center building, but there are also actions attempting to perform social control neighborhood-wide. Finally, although it is not even their primary mission, the library has opportunistically begun to perform social control with the youth, as the youth so often hang out in the library. According to our study, intervention in disruptive behavior of the young by neighborhood adults is not likely (at least according to the young). This highlights the importance of the three local actors.

We based our arguments mainly on interviews done with local experts, but also as much as possible with the youth survey referred to. These were the only accessible datasets, considering our limited time frame. Thus, this research design has some limitations and we are taking this into account in the analysis. Overall, this research has opportunities for continuing with the same theme, by completing the study with a stronger concentration on the young people themselves, instead of only the institutions dealing with the young population. There are signs about the differentiated neighborhood experience of young people between postal code areas, but also possibly inside an area. The latter is based only on the case study done involving Koivukylä. This could be one of the further research questions which would contribute to segregation research. For example we might ask: how does the differentiation of the neighborhood experience affect the collective efficacy in a neighborhood?

Our results also show the options for practical implementation of the social control perspective in both reconsideration of the role of different actors working with young people, and the spatial design of these institutions. This is especially in designing and developing spaces that have not traditionally been meant for young people to hang out, such as libraries. As previously discussed, libraries have recently started to recognize the potential of young people and a certain level of flex-



ibility has been introduced in the library functions. For example, in the development of the new Oodi central library, the young customers were included in the service design process (Tuloskortti... 2016). The commercial half-public spaces (mall square, grocery shop...) were also the “hot-spots” of hanging out in a suburb and in these places the authority that would practice social control is ambiguous. Is there an opportunity to support the self-determined, spontaneous emergence of social control through spatial and service design?

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	Koivukylä-Havukoski	Vantaa	Helsinki Region
Apartments (in total)	6,692	102,785	577,802
Detached houses/ small residential housing (%)	16.1	36.2	23.7
High-rise apartment housing (%)	84.0	63.8	76.3
Households (in total)	6,358	97,515	540,310
Households living in rental housing (%)	49.4	41.6	47.0
Households living in ownership housings (%)	49.0	57.2	50.8
Other types of ownership (%)	1.6	1.2	2.2

Source: Statistics Finland 2017.

*Appendix A. Area and population in general.*



176

	Koivukylä	Havukoski	Vantaa
Area (km2) 1.1.2015	1.6	2.9	240.3
Population 1.1.2015	3,435	8,141	210,803
Inhabitants / km <sup>2</sup>	2,107	2,788	877
People from Vantaa by birth (%) 1.1.2015	30.0	22.2	27.5
Foreign language speaking population (%) 1.1.2015	13.6	30.0	14.4
Foreigner citizenship (%) 1.1.2015	8.1	20.7	9.4
Unemployment rate (%) 31.12.2013	8.9	16.3	10.3
Families (%)	74.0	62.0	77.0
Population with a degree (%) 31.12.2013	71.7	57.8	67.6
Average income per person with incomes (€) 31.12.2014	30,937	23,532	31,694

Source: Statistics Finland 2017.

*Appendix B. Housing in general (2015).*

	Number of responses
K&A 5a: close to nature	7
K&A 5b: tranquility	14
K&A 5c: beauty	6
K&A 5: safety	20
	22
K&A 5e: friendly neighbors and other inhabitants	
K&A 5f: close to friends	32
K&A 5g: close to relatives	9
K&A 5h: close to services (e.g. shops)	31
K&A 5i: close to school	28
K&A 5j: close to hobbies	11
K&A 5k: close to a youth space	10
K&A 5l: good traffic connections	18
K&A 5m: urban bustle and activity	8
K&A 5n: small houses and not dense	2
K&A 5o: clean surrounding/nature	12
K&A 5p: no disturbing traffic	14
K&A 5q: no vandalism and stealing	23
K&A 5r: no offensive adults	12
	21
K&A 5s: no young people bullying or threatening	
K&A 5t: no adult complaining about young people's behavior	17
Total (n)	46

*Appendix C. Which following characters are the most important source of joy for you in your current neighborhood? (Koivukylä-Havukoski, n=46).*



## Commentary:

# Scaling segregation: Young people in the city and the neighbourhood

by Venla Bernelius

One of the key ideas in geography, and the research on urban segregation, is that everything happens somewhere. When we discuss social issues and societal change, we often think about people and phenomena in rather abstract ways: through statistics and general trends. Even extreme issues concerning only one end of the scale, such as extreme poverty, is often considered to be an abstraction, without placing it anywhere. These statistical averages and abstractions tend to hide the local variances of social issues. However, the ways people and phenomena are spatially organized between cities and their neighborhoods// affect our lives in fundamental ways.

“Where children grow up affects their outcomes in adulthood in proportion to the time they spend in the place,” state Raj Chetty and Nathaniel Hendren (2015: 80) in their extensive research on children growing up in poor neighborhoods or moving into wealthier ones. Their research draws our attention to the fact that that places matter, and that even in a wealthy city, we tend to have neighborhoods with very different everyday realities and outcomes. Segregation happens in a place, not in the statistical yearbook.

The Helsinki Metropolitan Region is typically considered to be a relatively balanced city region especially in a global comparison. Nonetheless, the differences between the neighborhoods within the region are quite marked. The income differences between the extreme ends of the neighborhoods are eightfold, and for example the proportion of adults with an academic degree ranges from around two percent to over 55 percent

(Vilkama et al. 2014). This means that the neighborhood with the highest proportion of academically educated adults is over 25 times higher compared with the neighborhood with the lowest level of education. The proportion of immigrants also varies from around two percent to around 30, and in the child population, the difference is even larger (Vilkama et al. 2014). These differences have a tangible effect on the neighborhoods and their residents: who lives there, what social problems are visible on the street, and with whom do the children meet and play in the neighborhood parks. Even if the average for the region appears wealthy and educated, there are local pockets of poverty in which everyday life looks very different.

Besides place, scale is a fundamental part of urban segregation. As dwellers in a certain city, we are all affected by multiple layers of differentiated environments. The city regions themselves are different from each other, as well as the municipalities within the region. For instance, Espoo and Helsinki have differentiating environments and urban policies within the same city region. Housing opportunities differ, as do the urban transport systems, school allocation policies and the level of local taxes. Within the municipality, other spatial layers continue to affect us. Many of the services are organized by a spatial unit larger than how we typically define a neighborhood; for example, the units for health-care and education can be geographically quite large, as well as the complementary regions of shopping malls and many leisure activities. Then, when we look closer, there are the smaller layers of the neighborhood, the block and the home itself.

Segregation may affect residents in all these different spatial layers or scales. Firstly, the differentiation of services or school catchment areas can affect the services and social interaction within these spheres. In the neighborhood, the overall level of segregation has an effect on the social life, as well as the block-level differentiation, which affects who we meet in the yard and on the street.



According to a growing body of research, children and the young are especially susceptible to the effects of segregation (see e.g. Bernelius 2013, Chetty & Hendren 2015). The effects are thought to be more noticeable due to the more localized everyday life compared with adults, whose work and social relationships are usually more dispersed in the city. Another factor contributing to the stronger effects is assumed to be the on-going process of socialization, which makes the children and the young more prone to be affected by the role models, attitudes, peer pressure and the quality of services available to them (e.g. Kauppinen 2004). For example, the local schools are important places for socialization and peer group effects, as well as places affecting the educational opportunities and attainment of the young (Bernelius 2013).

As Chetty and Hendren summarize in the quote above, the neighborhood affects children's lives in permanent ways, reaching all the way into education and earnings in adulthood. Internationally, these effects have been observed as being typically rather small, but especially marked and negative in the "black holes" of the urban social fabric; in the neighborhoods marked by high crime, extreme poverty and low-performing schools (Nieuwenhuis & Hooimeijer 2015). At the other end of the spectrum, some parts of the city offer a supporting environment, positive role models and educational opportunities even for the children whose own family might have a low level of resources and troubles coping. When we consider these effects, it is important to think about the scales of segregation: the social environment which the children and the young are faced with in the whole city, in the school catchment areas, the neighborhood and the block.

The Helsinki Region does not have the extreme black holes of the urban social fabric, as described in some international literature on urban segregation. However, our differentiated city region does have markedly different places to grow up in and to socialize with their peers. The students' text on segregation describes in detail what the different layers of segregation look

like in practice, when we carefully scrutinize the scales of segregation from the city to the neighborhood blocks. It outlines how social life is organized within the neighborhood, and how young people experience the neighborhood through its institutions and social networks.

Everything happens somewhere, and where we grow up influences what happens to us. Koivukylä in Vantaa is a place where life looks different from the way it looks in some other parts of the same city region. When we read the stories of the neighborhood and its residents, the meaning of the different layers of segregation becomes evident. Happily, we also notice that there are several strengths within the neighborhood, supporting positive outcomes and underlining the great diversity of urban life also within the geographic scales, often mistakenly seen as homogenous from the outside.

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## Commentary:

### Swapping the baton

by *Matti Kortteinen*

In 1978, I was 25, a student, and with an anxiety disorder, as J. P. Roos, professor in social policy, drove me around Koivukylä in his orange Wartburg. He pointed at this newly built high-rise suburb and said, “undertake research on that.” The attempt was to get to “people’s real life as it really is.” To make this happen, the idea was to use the “ways of life” concept together with the newly re-invented “qualitative research methods”. The attempt was funded by the Academy of Finland in a research project that was, at the time, quite avant-garde: nothing of the sort had been done in Finnish sociology in decades.

We made all sorts of methodological attempts: a small local survey, participant observation by the students, interviewing local people - but nothing seemed to work, no attempt opened the place, nor the lives of the locals, in any interesting way. Until something happened when I was again on my way to interview a local politician (with no other contacts available). It was a cold windy autumn evening, and after arriving early by train, I went to the local super-market to stay warm. I tried to think of something to buy (coming up with a comb), as I was suddenly caught in a discussion between the man in front of me in the cashier’s line and the cashier: the former had about 12 bottles of beer in his trolley and the cashier suspected that he was drunk. I was called into the dispute as the outside evaluator and I managed to state, and looking serious, that “very rarely does one see men that sober.” The guy got his beer and I found myself suddenly sitting on a rubbish bin behind the store chatting with him: we had seen each other before, neither remembered where, and I found myself confessing to the guy that I was in deep trouble

- I should have been doing interviews with the local people on their ways of life in Koivukylä but nothing seemed to work. We agreed upon an interview next week.

The interview was one of the most difficult ever. The interviewee was sober, and clearly suffering from anxiety with the odd situation. The whole point of the interview was to get the interviewee to speak freely, in his own words, about what he regarded as being important, but he didn’t get started. The answers were short, one or two sentences, sometimes almost grunts, without anything coming up or opening up during the 90 minutes it took. We were both relieved when the ordeal was over. However, I managed to agree about interviewing his wife the next day. At the beginning, for the first 30 minutes, this interview was exactly like the first one, after which the wife suddenly asked me, , after a pause: “Did my man tell you about the drink?” “No.” And then she started. On the transcript, afterwards, you could easily see how profoundly the whole interview changed: it was no more structured into questions and answers but rather into stories, told by the interviewee, starting from the drink, through a family crisis, to a story about an ovary infection, and a serious crisis, into a story about the present-day situation of the family - the pregnancy, and things settling down. All I had to do was to listen, totally involved, more or less getting sucked into the world of the stories, finding myself two hours later in the yard, after the interview, cheeks blushed, totally confused: what on earth had happened?

I tried to develop an answer by taking the different themes of family life from both of the transcripts and constructing a setting in which the utterances and/or stories of both spouses were side by side, theme by theme. A revelation: the seemingly incomprehensible utterances of the man, when framed by the stories of the woman, were suddenly informative, and in addition, they made perfect sense to me, as a man. It was as if the spouses would have had a sensible discussion on the main themes of their lives. I found myself writing enthusiastically about the revelation, and, while doing it, found that



the logic of the themes was intrinsically interlinked, and some sort of a conceptual structure emerged on this basis: it was as if it would have been more than a story of one family. What on earth had I done?

All empirical work stopped for a year, and in a three-year project this resulted in a crisis, but I couldn't help it: in order to continue I had to come to grips with what I had done. Before the Koivukylä-project I had tried for years to do my master's thesis on the basic concepts of a classic in sociology, Emile Durkheim. I focused on his work on *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893/2014), but his ended up in failure; too difficult, I could not make it. Now I realized I had used the interpretation I had implicitly developed while trying to understand Durkheim in the data of this specific family: there were the tensions set by the changing conditions of life (far away suburban living), on one hand, and the internalized cultural structures ("the conscience collective"), on the other; and people's "ways of life" were more or less seen as strategies in signification and agency in trying to cope in a setting like this. To put it simply: people's interpretations and signification of their new conditions of life were based on the previously internalized structures, and when tensions and problems arose, deliberation was used in the more or less collective problem-solving; it was through this that the ways of life developed, as new interpretations, ideas and solutions emerged. As far as the new ideas and interpretations were agreed upon collectively, with time, they became a part of the internalized structures used in the interpretations. It was framed in cultural change, in the ways of life: how it happened, through the agency, within the families.

After the year (during which J. P. Roos, my boss, totally lost his nerve, with the assistant, me, not doing the interviews I was supposed to be doing) I continued with the interviews, concentrating on one specific block of buildings, and the result came

out a book. On the basis of the pause, as I more or less knew what I tried to do, I came out with a consistent analysis on how the previously self-evident patriarchal structure of the family, in the new conditions of life (a far-away high-rise suburb with two economically almost equal providers), had ended up in a crisis; how this crisis took on different forms in the different subcultures of the block; and how the position of the working class male seemed specifically weak and prone to crisis. The whole analytical substance of the book could have been described with the figure presented above (that I, in practice, used during the writing, in coding and decoding the data) - but it wasn't as I didn't dare, for it seemed too simple (Kortteinen 1982).

However, I later found that this way to frame is quite a useful point of departure in its intuitive clarity. Of especial use, this frame has been in situations in which during the later stages of my career - I have found myself engaged in discussions with architects and planners. At its core, the frame is sociology, in one of its most traditional forms (coming quite close to the concept of "social action" by Talcott Parsons [1937]) but this is exactly the reason it contains an element that still seems to be lacking in the discussions on planning and architecture.

There are two sides to the idea. The first of these came out immediately after my book was published (or already earlier, as the manuscript went around the administration of the city a Vantaa, creating fuss, and rage): the book was interpreted as a criticism of the planning of Koivukylä, as thus of the housing policies of Vantaa; it was as if I was blaming them for the cultural crisis. As a result, I was made "persona non-grata" in the city of Vantaa for the next quarter of a century (however, I did not hear about this until the 25 years had gone, and then, only by chance). The whole interpretation, however, was a drastic mistake: the idea of the book is something like the opposite. The housing policies of the city, the planning and the architecture do not determine people's lives, the level and forms of local community life and/or well-being.



People interpret the conditions of life they are given in a way that is based on their cultural roots; there is variation and change in this, and the result is based on the signification and agency that emerges on this basis. The structures of life set by planning and policies are not insignificant but neither do they determine the result, especially in times of drastic internal migration, with the migrant population piling up in the high-rise suburbs. Thus, the high-rise suburbs of the time became the platforms and focal points of a more general change related to urbanization; it would be silly to blame a single suburb or a city.

Then there is the other side of the coin: people's ways of thought, as to their core at least, are formed during their life history, and attached to both their personalities and social relations, at least private (for instance, the adoption of patriarchal values and attitudes). They are thus intergenerational, quite firm and slow to change. All this is referred to by the concept of "culture", at least in sociology, in general. This is also the basis on which the conditions of life set by planning are interpreted, how they are signified and what kind of agency emerges as a result. With subcultural variation, differences emerge even on how the same conditions of life are interpreted; and in parts the variation was huge (depending, for instance, on whether one originated from Munkkiniemi - a bourgeois elite district in Western Helsinki - or from the peasant country side). But neither does the background determine the result: the most important thing is the fit between the internalized structures and the objective conditions of life, or the structures of life set (partly) by planning.

The frame, put forward like this, is intuitively convincing and not difficult to understand. It also contains a broad idea on planning: it could be wise to take also into account the cultural and social conditions of life, the adopted patterns in signification that the people carry - at least in the planning of housing areas. Present-day planning does take into account many structural preconditions (the space in relation to the urban fabric, the traffic lines, the soil,

the climate, the economic conditions, the surroundings from an aesthetic perspective etc.) but the cultural and social structures of the population does not seem to fit into the frame. People, however, evaluate the different options in the housing markets on the basis of their internalized ways of signification, and the ones related to a home are especially strong and emotional. The options available in the housing market are evaluated on this basis and housing demand is formed on this basis. To a large extent, this determines how the population base and the future of a specific housing area is formed.

Present-day discussion on suburban problems can help to open up the relevance of the perspective. Suburban riots have become the most acute topic in international discussions on suburban social life. In our national discussion, the question has been simple: where on earth do they come from and why do they come here? Using the frame, a simple interpretation can be presented.

In Finland, quite recently we have gone through a massive structural change: the demand for labor with only basic education collapsed between 1987 and 2015 almost as dramatically as did the demand for agricultural labor in the years 1950-1975 (Kortteinen 2017). The difference is in the nature, not in the scale of change: with declining demand in agriculture, people moved to the cities to work, migration and massive suburban construction projects resulted. Nowadays the surplus population does not migrate, for it has nowhere to go: nowhere is there demand for people with only basic education. The result is that people stay put where ever they are, and the sub-areas within the cities that they mainly inhabit, descend socio-economically in a way that is historic as to its extent (Kortteinen & Vaatovaara 2015). So, as to its significance, urban segregation is now the great wave of migration ("suuri muutto") of yesterday. In Finland, both are (or were) centered in the high-rise suburbs surrounding the cities.

The position of youth with only basic



education living in these segregated neighborhoods, is especially dire: their prospects in life are poor with no historical equivalent after the Second World War. From this perspective and on this structural basis, it is no wonder if we see a new kind of revolts emerging; and social studies could be done, for instance, with the frame presented above: how do present-day youngsters interpret the conditions of life they find themselves in, and how does rioting emerge on this basis? Triggers seem to be linked with the formal social control, especially to stop and search policies, that is deemed to be humiliating (Kortteinen 2017). As the police, through this policy, are searching for paperless migrants, and as getting caught is a life-threatening situation for such migrants; some flee, and deaths occur. Riots have emerged again and again on this basis.

From a distance you can easily spot similarities with the 1970s. The problem with the high-rise suburbs in the late 1970s was not primarily linked with planning but rather with the fact that migrant population was, to large extent, concentrated to these areas. Now it seems that we are embarking on a similar period of history but linked with both structural employment and with foreign ethnic minorities and migrants. Though the setting is not produced by planning it could be wise, in planning, to take these social conditions into consideration in attempts at urban (re)development. As far as we know, questions linked with informal social control, social order and disorder and questions of collective efficacy seem important both as to how conditions of housing are currently interpreted, and how local engines of migration and segregation are formed. (Kempainen 2017). Very probably the traditional local solutions (of mixing everyone with everyone and expecting a good result) do not work as well as before and new ones have to be developed.

Together with Professor Mari Vaattovaara and with our good friends in planning and in architecture we have built up a new master's

program in Urban Studies and Planning (USP). The basic idea is to bring researchers and planners together to learn, and to produce broader understanding of the urban problems we are facing. As I personally look at the situation in the class rooms and studios of this program now, I can't help having a strong sense of *deja vu*. The students are roughly the age I was in J. P.'s Wartburg. It remains to be seen what happens.

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