MONUMENTS OF SUBURBIA:
THE SPATIAL POLITICS OF PUBLIC ART IN HELSINKI
Minna Henriksson

This text approaches the topic of urban development and segregation of the suburbs in Helsinki through observations of its public spaces. To clarify from the start, when discussing segregation in the Nordic countries, as well as issues surrounding inequality and the polarization of societies, we must first acknowledge that the Nordic countries are societies founded on racist institutional practices. Race science was a highly influential scientific discipline in each of them during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While traces of these practices in the sphere of science have been actively hidden, in other fields such as art, they remain very much present. Race science, which gave birth to eugenics laws, were in place in all Nordic countries until the end of the 1960s, and in some until the end of the 1970s.[1]

In today's Nordic countries, the lines of race and class division complement one another: immigrants are among the most underprivileged populations in Nordic societies. According to *State of the Nordic Region 2018: Immigration and Integration Edition* published by the Nordic Council of Ministers, the employment gap between immigrants and the Finnish-born population is at its highest for immigrants from non-EU countries.[2] In Sweden and Norway, unemployment among immigrants from non-EU countries is three times higher than that of the Finnish-born population. The same research concludes: "[Im]migrants appear to face greater barriers to finding a job in the Nordic region than in many other European countries."[3]

Due to the wealth discrepancy, the areas most lacking in services within Nordic cities are those with a largely immigrant population.[4] So, when discussing the urban space, we also have to regard the inherent racism of a white supremacist ideology. What are the patterns that continue to produce an ever-growing separation and polarization in Nordic societies? Perhaps through looking at artworks in public space within four suburban districts—namely Kallio, Kannelmäki, Maunula, and Tammisalo—four characteristics or typologies that are representative of Helsinki's relationship to foreign populations will emerge. The text addresses Gunnar Finne's *Horses* (1940), Miina Äkkijyrkkä's *In the Morning* (1978), Oona Tikkaoja's *Dream* (2012), and Panu Patomäki's *The Worker Mother* (1996).

A BRIEF HISTORY OF RECENT URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN HELSINKI

Helsinki is not as segregated as many other Nordic capitals. Stockholm is perhaps an extreme case with huge differences in class and ethnic composition from one area to another. Large areas of the city center in Stockholm are almost totally white and privileged upper class, whereas areas at the ends of the metro line such as Fittja or high-rise areas can be inhabited 80–90% by immigrants or children of immigrants.[5] Stockholm is one of the most segregated capitals in Europe.[6] The contrast between peripheric suburbs and the city center resembles time travel between gray misery and bourgeois sophistication. The level of segregation in Oslo and Copenhagen is also great: in both cities there are several areas with 50% or more immigrant-background inhabitants. The most immigrant areas of Helsinki still have less than 40% other than Finnish-born residents. This is not to say that Helsinki has somehow avoided segregation, otherwise the city districts would be more equally shared by all. The low percentage in Helsinki is more likely explained by the lower volume of immigrants in Finland than in other Nordic countries. In 2019, there was a measured total of 404,000 foreign-born inhabitants in Finland,

1 Erna Kurbegovic, "Scandinavian Eugenics," *Eugenics Archive*, September 14, 2013, https://eugenicsarchive.ca/discover/connections/5233d16e5c2ec500000. Retrieved November 24, 2020.
2 Anna Karlsdóttir, Gustaf Norlén, Linus Rispling, and Linda Randall (eds.), *State of the Nordic Region 2018: Immigration and Integration Edition* (Copenhagen: Nordic Council of Ministers, 2018), 54.
3 Karlsdóttir, Norlén, Rispling, and Randall (eds.), *State of the Nordic Region 2018*, 54.
4 Moa Tunström and Shinan Wang, *The segregated city: A nordic overview*, Nordic Council of Ministers, 2019.
5 "Act V: Interview with Hassan Hosseini Kaladjahi," in *Counter-constructivist Model (La Fontaine stories for immigrants) — paper film in nine acts*, eds. Sezgin Boynik and Minna L. Henriksson (Norsborg: Labyrint Press, 2012), 68–97.
6 Tunström and Wang, *The segregated city*.

which accounts for 7.3% of the population. According to statistics of the OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the same statistic in Sweden measured 18.8%, in Iceland 17.1%, in Norway 15.4% and even in Denmark, which has had particularly harsh immigration politics in the past decades, the percentage was 10.3% in 2019.[7]

This relatively small number of immigrants in Finland can be explained through a number of historical reasons as well as the rise of the populist right wing in the recent decade and harsh immigration policies. During the nineteenth century, Finland was a poor and backward province, first of Sweden, then of Russia. There were large waves of labor emigration from Finland to the North America between the 1870s and 1930s, where nearly 300,000 people emigrated. After the Second World War, a massive labor migration from Finland to Sweden began and continued until the 1980s.[8] Sweden had been one of the few countries in Europe that remained "neutral" during the Second World War and factories were not destroyed. With a booming postwar industry, Sweden required a workforce while the rest of Europe was recovering from the devastations. Tens of thousands of Finns went to work in Swedish car factories and shipyards. Today, Finns remain one of the largest minorities in Sweden.[9]

Urbanization spread massively throughout Finland in the late 1950s when people were forced to move to city centers to earn a living.[10] Suburbs to accommodate the sprawl were built during the 1960s and 1970s, along with affordable social housing. While certain differences in social texture at the time existed to some extent, they became more pronounced after a recession in the early 1990s, which hit Finland severely.

7 Foreign-born population indicator, OECD iLibrary, https://doi.org/10.1787/443b6567-en. Accessed on November 23, 2020.
8 Jouni Korkiasaari and Ismo Söderling, "Finnish Emigration and Immigration after World War II," Siirtolaisuusinstituutti – Migrationsinstitutet, Turku 2003.
9 SCB Statistics Sweden, population statistics, "Foreign-born by Country of birth, sex and year of immigration," https://www.scb.se/en/finding-statistics/statistics-by-subject-area/population/population-composition/population-statistics/. Accessed December 31, 2019.
10 Päivi Uljas, *Hyvinvointivaltion läpimurto* (Helsinki: Into-kustannus, 2012), 154.

Finland had been building a welfare model that was based on the wood and pulp industry, which relied largely on trade with the Soviet Union. When the Soviet Union collapsed, the repercussions were felt heavily across the society. Unemployment rapidly escalated from 3.5% to over 16%.[11]

Although the expansion of Nokia corporation from rubber and cable industries to telecommunications brought new prosperity to Finland in the mid-1990s, this time it was not for all—the richest 10% multiplied their wealth and the gap between the rich and the poor expanded.[12] Left under resourced and destitute, the suburbs never fully recovered from the recession and the unemployment rates remained high. A phenomenon of shop fronts turning into pubs and bars added to social problems in the suburbs that had become increasingly restless. The early 1990s was also a time of increased migration to Finland. The first group of refugees who arrived in Finland were Somalis coming from the collapsed Soviet Union where they had studied or worked. The suburbs provided the most affordable housing opportunity for the recently arrived migrants. During this period of economic depression in Finland, the newcomers were made the culprit or scapegoat for the misery of the unemployed Finnish working class. In reality the misery was produced by the structural changes taking place. The erosion of the Finnish welfare state and the introduction of neoliberalism had already begun in the 1980s with renewals in the public administration and privatization of state companies. After the economic depression and during the new economic boom, there were no longer welfare mechanisms in place to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor and spread the wealth. Instead, there was an increasing commercialization of public spaces and services, which was the primary reason people's lives became precarious, not the small number of newly arrived immigrants.[13]

11 Tilastokeskus, työttömyysaste 1900–2015, https://www.stat.fi/org/tilastokeskus/tyottomyysaste.html.
12 Jaakko Kiander, *1990-luvun talouskriisi, Suomen Akatemian tutkimusohjelma: Laman opetukset. Suomen 1990-luvun kriisin syyt ja seuraukset* (Helsinki: Valtion taloudellinen tutkimuskeskus, 2001), http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe2018042618680.

The urban transformation of suburbs into areas of bad reputation has been accelerated by the phenomena of so-called "white flight" and "school shopping." White flight is a term describing the majority population's unwillingness to live next door to immigrants, resulting in efforts to move away from areas perceived as immigrant-dominated. School shopping is the phenomenon of Finnish-speaking families with school-aged children finding ways to secure better education than what the standard schools in the lowest-income neighborhoods offer. These phenomena are both a result of the negative perception or reputation of an area, while ironically contributing to it at the same time.

When looking at the income rates in different areas of Helsinki and those of foreign-born inhabitants, it is important to note that there is a correlation between areas inhabited by lower income families and those born elsewhere than Finland. I classify the suburban areas in Helsinki into four characteristically different types: bourgeois, prestigious, white areas; white middle-class residential areas, typically of detached houses or terraced houses; gentrified creative-class hip areas; run-down immigrant areas, typically of apartment blocks built after the Second World War. The wealthiest areas of Helsinki are near the city center, along the waterfront, and the poorest areas are on the fringes of the city, along the metro and the commuter rail lines.

Cycling through the city suburbs while looking for public artworks, I spotted affirmations of the stereotypical characterization of the areas outlined above. It is possible to observe such readings being reflected in these artworks that have been installed in each area. The question remains as to how clearly it carries an interpretation of intentional public branding.

13 Heikki Patomäki, *Uusliberlismi Suomessa* (Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 2007).

TAMMISALO:
Horses (1940)
by Gunnar Finne

Most of the bourgeois areas of the city are in the vicinity of the city center. Tammisalo is some fifteen kilometers from the center, in the east of Helsinki. Usually, the east is referred to as the area of council flats and problematic suburbs. Tammisalo is surrounded by such neighborhoods, but it is a posh seaside neighborhood, not so easily accessible by public transport. It stands out from the rest of eastern Helsinki as an area with very few immigrant-background inhabitants.[14] It is here that in 2015 a statue by sculptor Gunnar Finne (1886–1952) was relocated. The statue, which belongs in the collection of the Helsinki Art Museum, was previously located in Meilahti in front of a museum building that was closed permanently due to water damage in 2012. The relocation of the statue was organized by the Helsinki Art Museum and the Tammisalo Society. Judging from their web-presence, the Tammisalo Society is a community of elderly people who cherish Christian values and Finnish national sentiments.

The sculptor himself also stood for patriarchal values. Finne contributed greatly to the decorative ornaments of public buildings in Helsinki, including the Töölö church (1930) and the Houses of Parliament (1931), in which he designed swastika ornamentation. Together with Finnish architect Johan Sigfrid Sirén, he made the memorial commemorating German soldiers fighting together with White Finland during the Finnish Civil War in 1918. The memorial borrows the shape of a monumental sarcophagus of ancient Greece. This reference is not accidental. The memorial for White Finland also references ancient Greece. On their website, Helsinki Art Museum describes the memorial as follows, "The Greek style reliefs are a choice with a symbolic content: in the early years of its independence, Finland was likened to the small Greece fighting its gigantic eastern adversary, Persia. Finnish culture, in this sense, was considered the eastern outpost of Western culture."[15]

Reading the Helsinki Art Museum Board's meeting memos, it is clear that the museum proactively contacted the Tammisalo Society about moving the valuable statue. One museum board member, art critic Otso Kantokorpi, opposed the idea of placing the statue anywhere outdoors again, perhaps because of the sensitive nature of the bronze statue's surface. Kantokorpi's concern did not garner any support. A new location for the statue was searched for in collaboration with the Tammisalo Society. The statue is now at the center of Tammisalo, along a roundabout, facing the church building. Another meeting mentions that the new location is "suitable for the statue."[16] But what exactly does suitable mean in this context? Then again, the sculpture could refer to the destiny of the Finnish nation. The heavily arching necks of Finne's stylized horses depict the close relation between the brothers-in-arms. The Nazis also learned from Greek and Roman sculpture, nurturing an Aryan myth of ancient Greeks and the Indo-Germanic roots of the European civilization. The swastika was used as a proof of that.[17]

14 Population with foreign background in Helsinki: "Home to no less than 29 per cent of Helsinki's foreign-background population, the Eastern Major District has a clearly higher proportion of foreign-background residents than have other major districts of Helsinki." Urban Research and Statistics Unit, City of Helsinki, August 9, 2019, https://ulkomaalaistaustaisethelsingissa.fi/en/content/spatial-distribution-population-foreign-background.

15 Erik Bryggman and Elias Ilkka, *Finnish Soldiers' Grave*, 1920, Helsinki Art Museum, https://www.hamhelsinki.fi/en/sculpture/suomalaisten-sotilaiden-hauta-erik-bryggman-elias-ilkka/.

16 Helsingin kaupungin Taidemuseon johtokunta, Pöytäkirja 7/2015, 25.08.2015 (The board of the Helsinki Art Museum, meeting memo 7/2015, 25.08.2015).

17 Johann Chapoutot, *Greeks, Romans, Germans: How the Nazis Usurped Europe's Classical Past*, trans. Richard R. Nybakken (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).

MAUNULA:
In the Morning (1978)
by Miina Äkkijyrkkä

In the middle-class, predominantly white residential areas, housing is mainly individual wooden postwar houses or cute 1950s apartment blocks. There is hardly any public space and residential areas are surrounded by nature, such as forests, parks, and rivers. One of the few public monuments I found is Miina Äkkijyrkkä's bronze sculpture, *In the Morning*. It had been located in the central-northern suburb of Maunula since the 1970s, an ex-problem neighborhood. According to renown fiction writer Kari Hotakainen, who has spent much of his life in the area, it is the suburb through which hard drugs first entered into Finland.[18] *Helsingin Sanomat*, the main newspaper in Finland, writes: "Nowadays, Maunula's growing pains are over and it is a comfy place, which is full of community spirit and where the buildings are renewed with a good speed."[19] According to *Helsingin Uutiset*, the population of young children has increased by 16% in Maunula since 1995, and those in primary school by 23%.[20]

The first initiation to build a library and cultural house in Maunula was in 1984 by a local resident active in workers' education. In 2000, the local Maunula association and the citizens' forum presented an appeal to the Helsinki City Board that the center of Maunula be more efficiently planned with commercial spaces, spaces for public activities, and residential apartments. It was drawn into the Helsinki city plans in 2007, and in 2014 it was included in the city's investment program. The inhabitants of Maunula were involved in planning the new shopping center with a supermarket, the Maunula House. In addition, there is a library, adult education center, and youth house. Local representatives participated in the process of planning these premises.

The Maunula House is the first example of suburban democracy in Helsinki. In addition to being able to participate in planning, the locals also engaged in running the house and budgeting the expenses and its program. As their website states, "This allows municipal residents to be engaged in the annual planning of the house and all the stages of budget allocation: from idea generation and planning to voting and making decisions about activities. Citizens can also participate in the operations of Maunula House through residents' forums and as members of the Advisory Board. The Advisory Board, along with the staff, is responsible for the operations of the community center and consists of three members and three deputy members, who are selected annually."[21] Thus, Maunula, an increasingly white middle-class suburb, is where practicing radical democracy in Helsinki was made possible.

After being away for many years during the dismantling and rebuilding of the shopping center, the sculpture by Äkkijyrkkä was relocated to almost the same place; now elevated from the street level onto an unusual looking pedestal resembling a farmhouse wall or old rural fence. The sculpture depicts three calves. The subject matter, as well as the new plinth, clearly refer to the time before urbanization, nostalgia for a more "innocent" Finland that has since been spoiled by mass movement from the countryside to suburbs like Maunula after the Second World War. Perhaps this beloved statue also pays an homage to the times before waves of immigration resulted in increased segregation across Helsinki.

18 Interview with Kari Hotakainen, *APU*,September 15, 2004, https://www.apu.fi/artikkelit/tuulipukumaan-kansalliskirjailija.

19 Miska Rantanen, "Maunulan onnenpäiviä," *Helsingin Sanomat*, January 2, 2016. Translation by the author. Original: "Nykyisin Maunulan kasvukivut ovat takana ja paikka on lokoisa paikka, joka puhkuu yhteisöllisyyttä ja jossa rakennuskantaa uusitaan hyvää vauhtia."

20 Anniina Virtanen, "Viime vuosina Maunulaan on muuttanut enemmän lapsiperheitä ja opiskelijoita – väestörakenne on keskiluokkaistunut," *Helsingin Uutiset*, February 19, 2020.

21 Maunula-talo [Maunula House], https://maunulatalo.fi/. Accessed November 25, 2020.

KANNELMÄKI:
Dream (2012)
by Oona Tikkaoja

In Helsinki today, suburbs built in the 1960s and 1970s are often perceived as problem neighborhoods as they are typically populated by immigrants, more than suburbs built earlier in the twentieth century. Social problems do accumulate in areas with low income and high rates of unemployment. These are the result of a racist society that does not provide similar opportunities for everyone and the disadvantages accumulate. One of the areas of Helsinki with the highest density of immigrants is the Kannelmäki suburb. It has almost become a cliché to see an abstract, colorful monument occupying the central square in areas with a high concentration of foreign-born inhabitants. One such sculpture is *Stoa* (1984) by Hannu Sirén in Itäkeskus, which consists of four electric blue columns. Another is *Cooperation monument* (1967), an eleven-meter-high white obelisk by Heikki Häiväoja in Kontula.

In the central square of Kannelmäki, a sculpture by artist Oona Tikkaoja was relocated from a gentrified central area of Helsinki called Hakaniemi of Kallio, following its creation in 2012 as part of Helsinki Design Capital. The aim of the commission was to comment on Unioninkatu street, which cuts straight through a large part of the city center. The sculpture installed on top of a hill above the straight long roads in the surrounding area made it visible from different vantage points. As the artist states, "Along Unioninkatu, there are several institutions aiming to reach heights, among them the observatories, university, and several churches. The straight line of the Unioninkatu street is as if drawn with a ruler. It reminds one of the strive for geometric order and the desire to reduce the organic character of nature via planning." The artist continues, "although the piece relates strongly to Unioninkatu, in its future locations it will also comment on humans striving to reach high. *Dream* relates to people's dreams to understand the mysteries of nature, to reach for physical and philosophical heights, and dream of beauty and order."[22]

The sculpture did not stay in its original location for long; at the end of the year, it was moved to Kannelmäki. This explained the mobile character of the sculpture, which was never intended to stay in one place. In the inaugural speech of 2013, Maija Tanninen-Mattila, the director of Helsinki Art Museum, declared, "Now *Dream*'s turn is to land, as if a hot air balloon, to Kannelmäki."[23] Seven years later, there have been no public discussions to move it again. Currently, the original location of the sculpture in Hakaniemi is a construction site for a new hotel-office-residential complex.

While residing in the central neighborhood of Hakaniemi, Tikkaoja's sculptural work assumed readings related to science, the differences between the human and the organic, and the concepts of flying and heights. But in the suburb of Kannelmäki, the sculpture is reduced to a large colorful decoration that has a multicultural twist, squeezed between tall buildings of the local square.

22 Helsinki Art Museums website: https://www.hamhelsinki.fi/sculpture/unelma-oona-tikkaoja. Translation by the author. Original: "Teoksen ensimmäinen sijoituspaikka on Unioninkadun akselilla, jossa sijaitsee monia korkeuksia tavoittelevia instituutioita, muun muassa observatorio, yliopisto ja kirkkoja. Unioninkadun viivoittimella piirretty linja muistuttaa ihmisenpyrkimyksestä geometriseen järjestykseen ja tavoitteesta suitsia luonnon orgaanisuutta suunnittelun keinoin. Vaikka teos liittyy vahvasti Unioninkatuun, kertoo se seuraavissa sijoituspaikoissa yhtä osuvasti yleisinhimillisestä pyrkimyksestä ylöspäin. Unelma liittyy niin ihmisen haaveisiin ymmärtää luonnon mysteerejä, tavoitella fyysisiä ja filosofisia korkeuksia kuin unelmoida kauneudesta ja järjestyksestä."

23 Unelma-veistoksen avajaiset Kannelmäessä, *KaarelaTV.fi*, May 25, 2019, https://youtu.be/bIRuX2NRKp0. Translation by the author. Original: "Nyt on Unelman vuoro laskeutua, kuin kuumailmapallo, Kanelmäkeen."

KALLIO:
The Worker Mother (1996)
by Panu Patomäki

The last of the public space artworks observed in this text is in Kallio, which is historically the working-class neighborhood of Helsinki. Since the 1980s, it has become increasingly gentrified. Dirty and noisy local beer joints have been replaced by wine bars or chic cafes; the over-priced and badly maintained flats have prices per square meter that are among the most expensive in Helsinki. Part of what makes Kallio so attractive is its reputation as a rough working-class neighborhood, although in reality it is a cleaned-up and explicitly designed city district where massive construction projects have been emerging one after another. The "authentic" Kallio is hard to find in 2020.

In 1996, a statue was revealed along the central axis of the suburb, Sturenkatu, which looks as if it was transplanted from 1950s Russia. Made of bronze, the work depicts a mother and daughter doing laundry together. It is one of very few public monuments in the entirety of Helsinki that represents a woman—an additional rarity that these female figures are not in the nude. Its social realist style clearly claims to refer to the leftist history of the area. *The Worker Mother* is after all located at the crossroads of working-class history. In close proximity to the Workers' Housing Museum, the sculpture is also near Lenin Park and the famous Cultural House designed by Alvar Aalto in 1958, previously run by the Finnish Communist Party.[24]

In an article published by the *Helsingin Sanomat* newspaper, it was revealed that the statue cost 400,000 euros to produce, and the fundraising was done by a small group of local enthusiasts.[25] The article pointed out that for men, their mother is especially important, providing explanation as to why the campaign was such a male-dominated effort.[26]

Eeva Ahtisaari, wife of President Martti Ahtisaari, inaugurated the statue on Mother's Day: May 12, 1996. In her inaugural speech, she emphasized the role of the mothers and women in the social movement: "With her husband, she has helped to build a better future for her family and the nation. Thanks to her, Finnish society is today one of the most equalitarian in the world. This 'Working Mother' statue bears national witness to the infinitely valuable work of Finnish working mothers for the good of the nation."[27] In Ahtisaari's contextualization, the statue becomes a representation of ultimate patriarchalism. Her speech limits the role of the woman in the social movement to invisible, domestic labor and servitude. The mother passes on this role to the daughter though collective laundry sessions and the cycle continues. My definition of socialism is far from this—it is a struggle for equality on all levels that does not succumb to oppressive gender roles. Eeva Ahtisaari might have forgotten, when referring to gender equality, that it was thanks to the worker women's activism that universal suffrage was achieved in Finland in 1906.

24 The Finnish Communist Party went bankrupt in 1992 and due to its financial difficulties, the Cultural House was sold to the Finnish state in 1994.

25 Jorma Erkkilä, "Työläiskaupunginosa sai työläisäidin patsaan Veistos toi muistoja vuosikymmenten takaa," *Helsingin Sanomat*, May 13, 1996.

26 The group was comprised of ten males and two females.

27 Source: https://www.presidentti.fi/ahtisaari/puheet/rp9605.tyolen.html. Translation by the author. Original: "Yhdessä miehensä kanssa hän on rakentanut maalleen ja perheelleen parempaa tulevaisuutta. Tämän ansiosta suomalainen yhteiskunta on tänä päivänä maailman tasa-arvoisimpia. 'Työläisäiti-patsas on kansallinen tunnustus suomalaisen työtätekevän äidin mittaamattoman arvokkaalle työlle kansakunnan hyväksi."

ARTWORKS IN PUBLIC SPACE

Art in public space is not innocent or random. It does not exist in the public sphere to merely decorate the environment; to make it nicer and cheer people up; to facilitate encounters and build communities. Instead, I claim that artworks actively participate in creating identities of city districts through branding the history, present, and future of the area. This in turn participates in determining its monetary value and delineates a set of values and a certain cultural heritage with which the inhabitants should identify. For these reasons, public artworks are an interesting case study as they reveal different motivations that are kept silent.

When city districts are designed to strengthen certain identities, these decisions are negotiated somewhere else than in those districts. The Helsinki Art Museum collection's political outline for 2017–21 states that by bringing public art to the city and maintaining it, the museum is responsible for creating comfort in public spaces by bringing visual art to the reach of its inhabitants. In other words with public art, the characteristics of the city and its areas are strengthened, coziness is increased, and visual landmarks are created. The outline also states that public art increases its inhabitants' interests, and strengthens their commitment to their surroundings. One can only conclude that art has been assigned a rather large set of tasks to perform, all the while placed in areas faced with accumulated—and yet to be addressed—social problems.

Gunnar Finne
Horses, 1940
Tammisalo

Gunnar Finne and J. S. Sirén
German soldiers' grave, 1920
Kamppi

Miina Äkkijyrkkä
In the Morning, 1978
Maunula

Oona Tikkaoja
Dream, 2012
Kannelmäki

Hannu Sirén
Stoa, 1984
Itäkeskus

Panu Patomäki
The Worker Mother, 1996
Kallio

Heikki Häiväoja
Cooperation monument, 1967
Kontula