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Understanding Creative Industries

Creative industries are obviously becoming increasingly important as part of knowledge-based economies. They are considered to deliver higher than average growth and job creation. Moreover, they are thought of as having a crucial role in fostering cultural diversity. All in all, creative industries consist of a broad range of activities, which includes not only cultural industries, but also cultural or artistic production as a whole.

According to the Culture Satellite Account, over 102,000 people worked in cultural industries in 2006. This figure represented 4.2% of Finland's entire labour force (cf. www link below). According to Eurostat, the share of the cultural labour force of the entire labour force in Finland in 2005 was the third largest in EU member states after the Netherlands and Sweden. In the Helsinki Region, the share of the cultural labour force was 6.1% in 2006.

Having recognised the importance of creative industries, the next step is to develop policies at a national and local level to support the growth of these and related industries. For these efforts to be successful, it is essential for statistics to provide policymakers with a clearer idea of the impacts of creative industries and of the operating conditions that allow these industries to grow and develop. Cultural mapping has become a common approach, at both the national and local level, to study and understand creative industries. Globalisation has impacted greatly on creative industries because the emergence of evolving new technologies, such as the internet, during the past 20 years has made sharing, trading and consuming cultural goods and services much easier than earlier.

Satu Silvanto presents the results of the comparative Creative Metropoles project (pp. 13–17). She especially focuses on the question: How can cities support creative industries? Helsinki is one of the eleven cities taking part in this very project. Even though the cities in the study seem to apply different approaches and to choose distinctive policies, there is one conclusion valid for all cities in the project. This is that although cultural and creative industries constitute one of the most dynamic sectors of the economy, a city should look at the cultural and creative initiatives from a broader perspective than just the potential economic benefits. In the case of Helsinki, we may raise an additional question: How to move forward from a creative metropolis to a design capital? Elaborating this question successfully will provide a key for future prosperity.

(http://www.wdc2012helsinki.fi/)

Helsinki Region Infoshare – Open Access to Statistics aims at a new, open model for the sharing and re-use of public data. It starts with opening statistics on the Helsinki Region, on its municipalities and sub-areas. The point of departure for this challenging project is at least three-fold. Firstly, there is the need for further developed and better harmonised high-quality data on the region and its various geo-

graphical units. Secondly, we believe that open data, transparency and open cooperation provide a competitive edge that stimulates new businesses, products and services. Thirdly, open access to statistical information and public data is essential to enable the participation, interactivity and commitment of society and the public. (www.hri.fi)

In Finland, the national government has also recognised the importance of creative industries and developed a number of policies and programmes. There are, for example, the Development Programme for Business Growth and Internationalisation of the Creative Industries.

As we move towards the end of 2010, Helsinki City Urban Facts reaches a special milestone. Namely, our Office marks its centenary. We would like to thank the readership of and contributors to the Quarterly for good cooperation during the closing year and we look forward to continuing in the same spirit as we enter our second centenary.

With best wishes for Christmas and the New Year 2011

Asta Manninen
Director

ref: (http://www.minedu.fi/export/sites/default/OPM/Julkaisut/2010/liitteet/OPM13.pdf?lang=en) and the Demand and User-Driven Innovation Policy (http://www.tem.fi/files/27547/Framework_and_Action_Plan.pdf).

Forecasting the need for labour and education in the Helsinki Region

Seppo Montén

Why?

In recent years, the Finnish education system has been gaining worldwide recognition. Finland has repeatedly ranked very high in the OECD's PISA assessment of secondary school students' attainments, and delegations from all over the world have come to study our education system. Education clearly has a value of its own in gauging the state of a society. For example, the high level and quality of our education was a factor that took Finland to number one in Newsweek Magazine's 100-country comparison – regardless of what you think about these kinds of rankings.

Education – vocational training especially – also has a strong instrumental value and function, i.e. to respond to the needs for skill in working life. Providers of vocational training seek to fashion their educational palette to best match the needs of working life and the preferences of those taking up such education. This is not an easy task, but research is being done to support it – research that tries to foresee scientifically the need for labour and education. On this front, the Helsinki Region has traditions that go back a quarter of a century. The first survey to project the need for labour dates back to 1984, and similar studies have since been conducted roughly every five years, the most recent one in 2010.

How?

So, how do you project labour needs? In principle, the method is very simple. A crucial factor that generates the need for labour is the loss of labour, i.e. the fact that there is a constant flow of people leaving the labour force. Another crucial factor is change in the number of employees. The need for new labour is the sum of these two factors. The same analysis is made separately for each occupational field. If the number of employees in a field is projected to stay unchanged, the need for new labour equals the number of employees who leave (usually retire from) the workforce. If the number of employees grows, the need for new labour will also include that growth. And if the need for employees decreases in some field, the new labour needed equals the number of people leaving the workforce minus this decrease. To translate the need for labour by occupation into need for vocational training by occupation, a so-called key of correspondence between occupations and training is used.

In actual practice, extensive statistical materials have been collected for the repeated survey. To calculate future loss of labour due to retirement or death, figures on labour loss by age and gender in various occupations have been collected for many years. The material collected for the projection of re-

tirement loss includes data by occupation about the age and gender of employees. To be able to draw up projections for occupational structure, chronological data on several background variables have been collected for the number of jobs in various industries and occupations. The percentage of job switchers has been accounted for by using statistics on people switching from one occupation to another. Extensive matrixes between occupation and training have been collected to formulate the correspondence key between occupations and training. In addition, figures have been collected on what percentage of the workforce in any occupational field commutes, on the education level of the population and on the occupational and age structure of the unemployed.

In addition, the method contains a large number of details that I won't enter into. The projection method has been materialised in a calculation model that produces dozens of Excel tables and hundreds of diagrams.

Fresh findings

The findings produced by the model tell how much new labour – and trained in what way – is needed during a period up until 2020. In this context, however, I shall only view the findings at a general level, from the angle of labour sufficiency.

As already noted, the total number of jobs can be kept unchanged if the labour loss is compensated by new labour. Roughly speaking, those ageing people who retire from the workforce are replaced by young people entering the workforce. Figure 1 shows how well these two factors have correlated and are projected to correlate in the Helsinki Region. The number of 55–64 year olds represents those about to or having left the workforce, and that of the 15–24 year olds represents those about to or having entered the workforce.

In the 1980s and 1990s, there were tens of thousands more 15–24 year olds than there were 55–64

Figure 1. Demographic labour shortage in the Helsinki Region

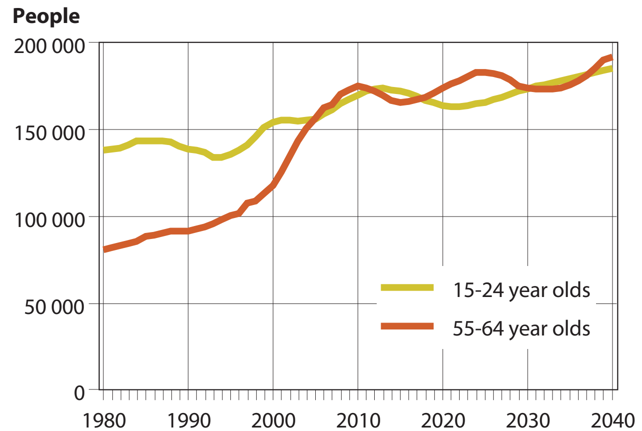
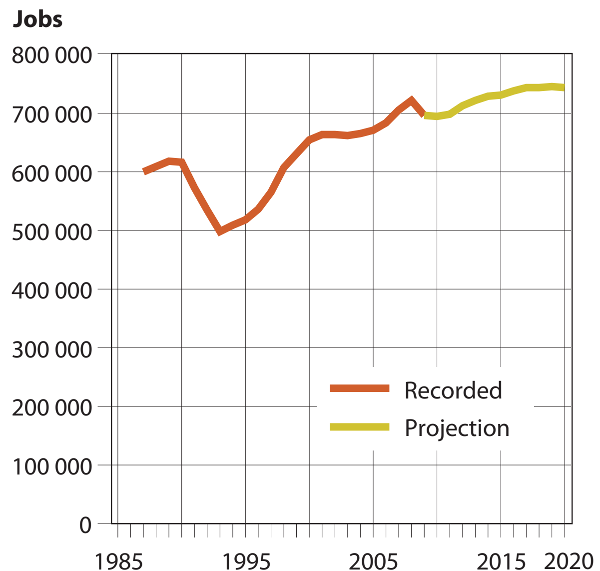


Figure 2. Number of jobs in the Helsinki Region



year olds in the region. In such a situation, it was easy to compensate for the labour lost from the workforce, and the situation also contributed to the extensive job growth shown by Figure 2. But in recent years, the situation has changed, and the curves of the age groups correlate very closely. From the angle of labour sufficiency, the Helsinki Region – and the whole of Finland – is facing an entirely new situation.

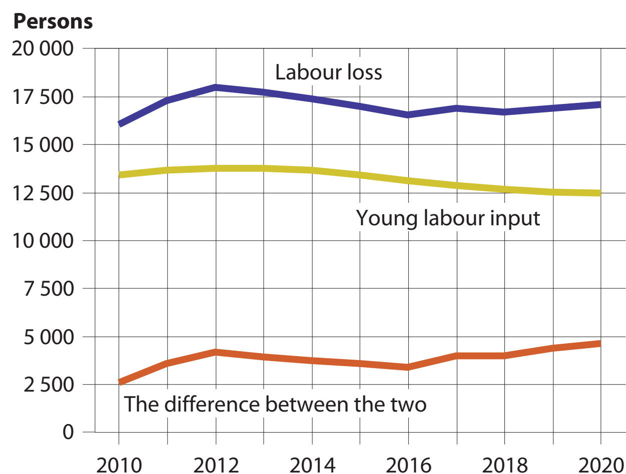
As Figure 2 shows, a significant job growth has been projected for the Helsinki Region, i.e. over 4,000 a year on average. Therefore, new labour is needed to compensate for the workforce loss and to fill the new jobs.

Figure 3 shows the annual input of 16–21 year olds on the labour market in the Helsinki Region, when the rate of employment is set at an expected 85 per cent – a high rate. The upper curve stands for the annual loss of workforce, the middle curve for the input of young new labour, and the bottom curve for the difference between the two. This difference is how many existing jobs would have to be filled with labour other than the young new labour input. This need would be around 4,000 per annum.

In addition, another 4,000 are needed to fill the new jobs generated. Thus, something like 7,000 or 8,000 people are needed besides the young labour input to meet the projected need for labour. Other input sources include a migration surplus of people of working age and a favourable commuting balance – factors that have traditionally favoured the region. Furthermore, the labour reserve of the region, i.e. people not currently employed or not included in the workforce, provides a potential for raised employment – if we compare today's level with the high figures seen in the late 1980s.

All in all, it seems likely that the supply of labour in the Helsinki Region will face bigger problems than earlier. This presumption is based primarily on the demographic labour shortage that we saw above. The situation is similar elsewhere in the country. Growing workforce losses are a fact in those areas, too, that have traditionally provided labour to the Helsinki Region, and consequently vacancies will increase in these areas as well. This will reduce people's need to move from these areas to the Helsinki Region and thereby reduce labour input into the region.

Figure 3. Annual workforce loss and the new young workforce input and the difference between the two until 2020



Source: Seppo Montén: Koulutus & työvoima. Helsingin seutu 2020. Osaamisella kohti tulevaisuutta. Vantaan kaupunki, sivistystoimi. (Education and labour force. Helsinki Region 2020. With knowledge towards the future. Only in Finnish.) http://www.hel2.fi/Tietokeskus/julkaisut/pdf/10_11_29_muuttutk_Monten.pdf

Immigrants' integration on the Finnish labour market

Suvi Linnanmäki-Koskela

With increasing immigration and a growing proportion of immigrants in the population, the way immigrants adapt and cope economically in their new homeland is an increasingly important issue. This article looks at how immigrants who arrived in Finland between 1989 and 1993 had integrated into Finnish society by 2007. The integration process is described in terms of finding work, and the analysis uses longitudinal data for this purpose. The analysis is made at group level, individual level and nationality level.

Those immigrating between 1989 and 1993 were the first large cohort in an immigration growth that was larger than ever before. In the early 1990s, growing immigration in Finland was a consequence of the crises in Somalia and former Yugoslavia, which compelled large numbers of people to migrate. At roughly the same time, ethnic Finns from the former Soviet Union were granted the status of retrunees alias returning migrants in Finland (Perhoniemi & Jasinskaja-Lahti 2006, 11). Another factor was the growing number of marriages between Finns and foreign nationals (Statistics Finland 2006).

Of the large immigrant cohorts in Finland, this cohort is the one that can be analysed farthest back in time. Our study did not attempt to analyse the explanatory factors comprehensively, although the longitudinal approach contains, per se, an important explanatory factor, the length of stay in the country. Besides the general development, we looked at whether hierarchies between ethnicities weaken with longer stay, i.e. whether or not differences between them level out.

Background of immigrants employment

Statistics and studies about immigrant participation in the labour market have shown it has not been easy for foreigners to integrate on the Finnish labour market. Compared with the majority population, unemployment is high among immigrants (Finnish Ministry of Labour 2006, Forsander 2002, Joronen 2005, Hämäläinen et al. 2005). This has been explained with both theories showing the segmentation of the labour market and theories on capital (e.g. Nätti 1988, Chiswick 1978, sit. Chiswick & Miller 2007). According to segmentation theories, immigrants often end up in secondary sectors of the labour market, in jobs where the pay is lowest and contracts are short. From the employment angle, the risk of unemployment is greater in this sector than in others (Nätti 1988, 17–19.).

On the other hand, as with the majority population, immigrants too have a hierarchy on the labour

market. Roughly speaking, those most successful on the Finnish job market have been people that resemble Finns by culture, language, education and colour of skin, such as other Scandinavians, Estonians, other EU-citizens, and North Americans. Least successful have been refugees, such as Iraqi, Iranians, former Yugoslavians, Somali, and also Africans with a non-refugee background.

Longitudinal study on immigrants arriving in 1989–93

The material studied is a 30 per cent systematic sample of 15–64 year old immigrants (i.e. of working age) who arrived in Finland between 1989 and 1993. This means the population studied includes roughly one-third of all those who immigrated in any of these five years.

The individual-level material was collected evenly among overall immigrants coming to Finland. The data on immigrant socio-economic position were collected for the year of arrival and for the years 1996, 1997, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2006 and 2007. By 2007, these immigrants had lived in Finland for 14–17 years, depending on the year of arrival.

The population studied (N) included 10,485 people. For just over a quarter of immigrants, data are lacking at some point in the period studied due to leaving Finland or the death of the person. Moving away may not be final at the individual level: some have returned to Finland after being away for a while.

With over 30 per cent, those 3,329 people from the former Soviet Union form the largest immigrant group. Next in size are the 1,160 from Estonia (11%), the rest of the EU (8%), Somalia (6%), former Yugoslavia (5%) and the rest of Eastern Europe (5%).

Initially, the sample was delimited to the working-age category, those born in 1978 or earlier. Thus, the youngest of the immigrants studied were 29 years old by the end of the period studied, i.e. in 2007. Compared with the majority population, immigrants have a clearly stronger representation of younger age groups and very few elderly. Age structures vary between immigrant groups, too. Whereas those from the former Soviet Union are typically older than average, the proportion of young people is great particularly among those from African countries. Of Somali immigrants, for example, 97 per cent were born between 1951 and 1978.

Of the immigrants studied, 54 per cent were men and 46 per cent women. An even greater male majority is found among those who arrived as refugees. Later, some of these refugees have been joined by their families. This has levelled the gender balance – although it cannot be seen in this material (Forsander 2002, 132). Those from the former Soviet Union which, as noted earlier, make up the largest group in the material, are in practice the only group with a fe-

Table 1. The reasons why immigrants come to Finland, by nationality

Nationality group	The most common grounds for the first residence permit
Former Soviet Union, Estonia	Ethnic Finn with returning migrant (returnee) status
Somalia, former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Vietnam, Iran and Afghanistan	Refugee
Southern Africa	Student
Oceania	Roots in Finland
China, East Asia	Work
EU and Switzerland, eastern Central Europe, North America, South America, Maghreb, Middle East, Thailand, Philippines, India, Turkey.	Spouse of Finnish citizen or of someone permanently resident in Finland

Source: Forsander 2002, 108; quote. URA, Finnish Immigration Services.

male majority (57%). Of those from Western countries and Asia, on the other hand, men account for 60 per cent, and of those from Africa for no less than 86 per cent .

Employment trends

Our analysis of the rate of employment concerns those of working age, i.e. 15-64 year olds. The main occupation of a person is what they did on the last week of the year. Thus, not only those with a steady job are included. Instead of geographically, nationalities have been grouped according to their employment trends. After the name of the group, its size in 2007 is indicated.

Among the immigrants studied, the proportion of employed labour grew from 37 per cent in 1997 to 58 per cent in 2007. It should be noted that, initially, there were great differences in employment between nationality groups. The diagrams below show that over time differences have decreased drastically and finally almost disappeared. Among those groups especially that had a weak start (Yugoslavia, Iraq, Iran, Somalia, Afghanistan, Vietnam) employment has risen strongly.

Labour market integration has progressed

By 2007, those immigrants who arrived between 1989 and 1993 had gained a significantly better foothold on the Finnish labour market. Their average rate of employment had risen from an initial 23 per cent to 58 per cent.

The average also reflects the fact that differences between nationalities have diminished. Ethic hierarchies on the labour market have clearly levelled out with increasing time of stay in Finland. While initially, the least successful groups had an employment degree of less than five per cent, they were up at the same level as other immigrant groups, i.e. around 58%, by 2007. That year, the rate of employment among Finns of working age (15–64) was 69.5 per cent.

However, in the age group that predominates among immigrants, i.e. the 25–55 year olds, the rate of employment was 83 per cent – clearly above average (Statistics Finland). Yet it is not very relevant to compare those having moved to Finland as adults with the corresponding age group among Finns, because their background is so different in terms of education, language skills and social capital (e.g. Jaakkola & Reuter 2007, 347.)

Seeing a favourable trend today is important because the position of immigrants on the Finnish labour market is often described only at certain points in time, so-called cross sections, without accounting for the integration process. We must remember, as do Hämäläinen et al. (2005), that immigration always implies a period of adaptation, and its duration describes the integration process (Idem, 21). Nor do cross section analyses account for how different the duration of the integration process can be for various immigrant groups. It may seem as though those groups needing more time to adapt and who have weaker initial resources are not as well integrated as, in fact, they are.

But we have to make certain reservations before we apply our findings to future immigrant cohorts. Earlier research in refugee immigration has shown that those arriving first – as had the immigrants of our material – have, as a rule, had a higher socio-economic position than those arriving later from the same country to join the first immigrants. Economic resources and educational background, too, are better with the early immigrants. A Swedish study, for example, on the first Iranian refugees showed that those who fled first from Iran were so close to the corridors of power that they were able to foresee when the crisis would escalate in their homeland (Forsander 2002, 132–135.)

Figure 1. Unemployment rates of nationality groups in 1997–2007

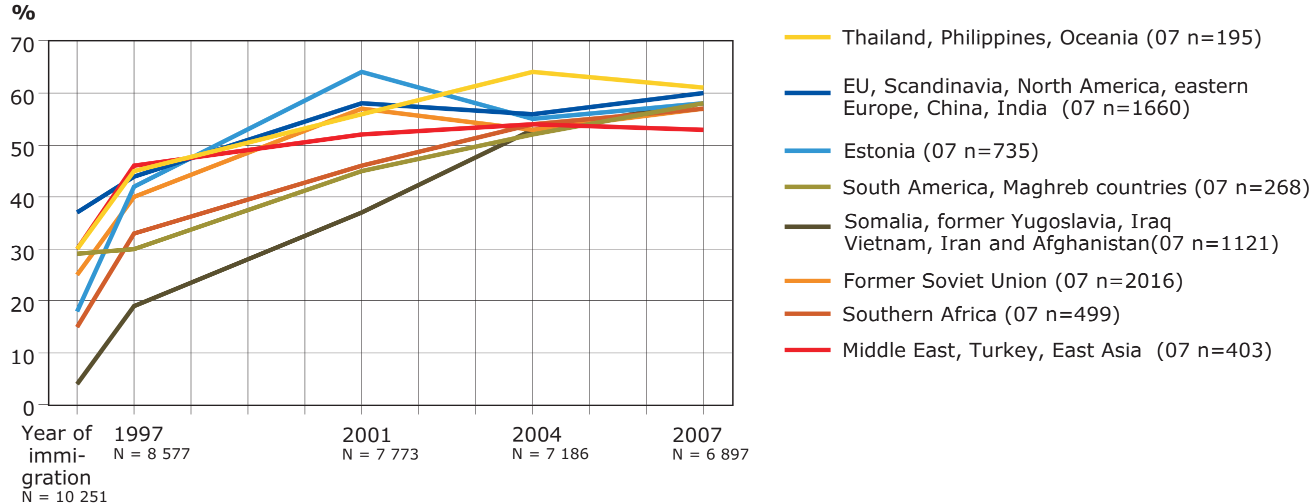
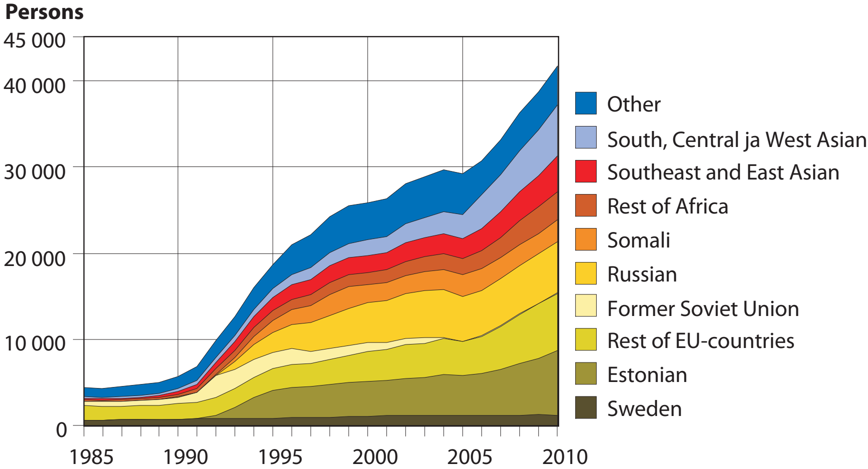


Figure 2. . Foreign nationals in Helsinki by nationality 1 Jan. 1985–2010



We want to point out that the difference between immigrant cohorts is more obvious among refugees than other immigrants, which is a matter of weaker educational infrastructure, differences between male and female roles, and age structure: whereas the pioneer immigrants have typically been higher-educated, males and young, those arriving later in the migrant chain have been typically female lower-educated people, who also have a more varied age structure. Instead, it is likely that many other groups, such as later immigrants from Estonia and the rest of Europe as well as future immigrants do not essentially differ from the cohort seen in our study. Our findings can be better applied to them.

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Creative Metropoles: How can cities support creative industries?

Satu Silvanto

Creative Metropoles (CM) is a network of European cities working together to create better urban policies to support creative industries (CI). The aim of the three-year project (October 2008 – September 2011) financed by the EU's Interreg IV C Programme is to "strengthen the capacity and effectiveness of public support to unlock and support the economic potential of the creative economy". Altogether 11 cities are in the search for a well-functioning, focused, flexible and efficient public support system for creative industries: Helsinki, Amsterdam, Barcelona, Berlin, Birmingham, Oslo, Riga (lead partner), Stockholm, Tallinn, Vilnius, and Warsaw. The cities are working together with a research team composed of academic experts in creative economy, most of them from Tallinn University but also from Berlin and Amsterdam.

Besides meetings where the CM cities have exchanged their experiences in creative industries, the consortium has also compiled a wide range of information on the CI policies of the participating cities. The research team prepared a qualitative, structured and semi-open questionnaire – a template – to receive comparable data from partner cities. The template addressed the five key areas of the CM project: 1) general architecture of public support for creative industries, 2) public support for enhancing business capacity and internationalisation of creative industries, 3) developing urban space and creative city districts, 4) financing creative industries and 5) demand for the CI products and services. The cities filled in the template in spring 2009, and the research team analysed several hundred pages of information on urban CI policies, including best practices. After awaiting feedback and comments from the cities, the research team finalised the report in February 2010. This article summarises some parts of the report Creative Metropoles – Situation analysis of 11 cities, concentrating on presenting the role of CI policies in the CM cities as well as financing and other support measures aimed at CI in the participating cities.

CI policies in the CM cities

The first question in the project was: what are 'creative industries' in CM cities? The debate over terminology is ongoing and there is still no single definition available for the concept. The eleven cities differ in their approaches to the creative industries due to their different experiences in developing and supporting these industries. Also, as stressed by Power and Jansson (2006), the attempt to come up with one universal definition of the creative industries carries with it the danger of missing out certain local special-

ties and strengths. Therefore, the research team decided not to offer any particular definition of 'creative industries' prior to the information gathering but let the cities define the concept used in their cities.

It turned out that, although the term has a slightly different connotation in every city, there is a certain consensus concerning the core sectors included in CI. These include: advertising, architecture, art, crafts, design, fashion, film, television, radio, music, performing arts, publishing and software (including games). Besides the term 'creative industries', some cities preferred to use the term cultural industries either instead (Oslo) or together (Berlin, Vilnius) with creative industries to define their policies. In Stockholm, the term experience industry including food and tourism is also commonly used. The concept of experience economy is also found in strategic documents of the city of Tallinn.

The report says that, in many cities, CI related policies are quite a new topic in public policy. At the same time, they are one of the most complicated and rapidly developing policies, and they also have an impact on the development of wider public policy. CI policies require cooperation between a large number of local and non-local actors from the public, private and third sectors. It is a multi-dimensional policy area, a space where cultural, economical, social, spatial and other dimensions collide.

Besides Helsinki, long-term policies for creative industries are part of strategic city planning in seven other CM cities: Amsterdam, Barcelona, Birmingham, Oslo, Riga, and Stockholm. The other three cities (Tallinn, Vilnius and Warsaw) are developing policies for CI. In most cities, we can find activities related to CI in the city's general development plan or strategy. As far as sector-specific strategies are concerned, activities related to CI are more often included in art and/or culture development strategies and programmes than in economic development strategies. Five of the 11CM cities (Amsterdam, Berlin, Birmingham, Riga, and Stockholm) have also developed special strategies or programmes targeting CI or a sub-field/sub-sector of CI.

The results of the content analysis show that, in most cases, the aims of the cities' CI policies are economic in their nature. The goals range from enhancing business related to CI and promoting creative entrepreneurship as such to building links between CI and other sectors (innovation, tourism etc.). CI is also seen as a driving force for structural change, economic growth and employment, as well as a key strategic asset for improving competitiveness. In the cities' policies, CI is often considered as a means to an end, like attracting investment, talent and other businesses. It should be noted, however, that for many people and companies in the creative industries, the business is a necessary means to a cultural end, not vice-versa. In other words, expanding the business is not the primary goal for many CI companies. Therefore CI businesses are often considered as lifestyle-businesses, concludes the report.

Support for CI: general and tailor-made measures

As the CI sector consists mainly of small- and medium-sized enterprises and even micro enterprises and freelancers, it has many similarities to other SMEs – they are affected by a specific set of entry and operational barriers, such as a lack of economy of scale, weak negotiating power, limited capital resources and limited human resources. Therefore the CI policy very much tries to accomplish the same objectives as SME support policies in general, typically including a regulatory environment, which does not place undue burdens on SMEs in order to allow for ideas to bloom into businesses, effective access to financial services, and education and human resources management policies that foster an innovative and entrepreneurial culture. Here the report takes up Aalto University in Helsinki as a good example of how to strengthen the links between arts, technology and

business education to enhance the business capacity of SMEs, both in creative and other sectors.

Also, the support policies for CI enterprises include the same instruments as for all enterprises in general. These range from aid in financing (grants, credit guarantees, venture capital, business angels etc.) and supporting innovation (incubators, creative centres, clusters, links with universities etc.) to offering export promotion schemes and facilitating foreign investments as well as offering skills development programmes.

In addition, the CI need tailor-made measures to answer their particular needs. Acquiring funding for CI is more difficult than for enterprises in other sectors. Their credibility with banks is low and also the risks of CI business tend to be somewhat higher than in "regular" businesses. Also, there might be problems with fitting general start-up aid to creative enterprises as the general SME support schemes provide money for purchasing the hardware (machinery, computers etc.) for starting a company. Creative enterprises need the money for prototype development, production or marketing. There is also a challenge in the collateral the financing bodies ask for when giving loans: technology companies are usually able to provide high-value investments goods (machines, hardware products, building complexes etc.) as security, whereas CI companies typically only have some computers of comparatively low value and most of their assets are in the form of human resources. This means that financing bodies have to reconsider new possibilities for what to accept as credit security.

Funding creative industries

Several CM cities, including Helsinki, already provide start-up grants or micro-credit schemes to CI, even though these programmes are not always exclusively aimed at the creative sector. Some cities have managed to instigate some specific venture capital schemes for CI. For instance, Birmingham's Advantage creative fund invests in creativity, supports creative businesses, creative people and creative ideas. In Berlin, VC Fonds Kreativwirtschatf Berlin aims at strengthening the equity basis of SMEs in Berlin's creative sector by providing investment capital. There are also examples of programmes financing either some specific CI cluster or sub-sector. For example Birmingham (or actually the West Midlands region) finances its media cluster through a large cluster strategy programme and a special media agency.

Despite the special programmes in CM cities aimed at financing CI, the most widespread forms of funding the development of CI are still the "more traditional" grants and annual public funding for CI incubators, centres or networks as well as for traditional cultural institutions, which many cities consider important to their CI policy. By producing and presenting art, cultural institutions are continuously developing (new) audience(s) for CI products and services, i.e. people who understand and search for meanings behind the products and services they consume. As creative industries are very much linked with creating meanings, these institutions play a central role in enhancing the demand for CI products and services.

Creative industries and urban space

Besides funding, finding appropriate space to produce and show their work is crucial for CI. Here cities can function as intermediaries by informing actors in CI of possible work and presentation space and providing access to these. One example is the Creation Factories Program in Barcelona aiming at creating a network of artistic spaces distributed all over the city. Many CM cities have also developed multi-functional spaces for creators (such as Riga Art Space, Betahaus Coworking Berlin, and the regional cultural centres and the Cable Factory in Helsinki). Special CI incubators can be identified in six of the 11 CM cities: Transit and Starthus@KMH in Stockholm, FAD Incubator

in Barcelona, Arabus in Helsinki, Creative Incubator in Tallinn, Creative Business Incubator in Riga, Creative Incubator in Vilnius.

There is also an interest in developing creative city districts to attract creative class to use Richard Florida's (2002) term. A majority of CM cities have invested in the development of some creative district or renewal of old industrial buildings or an area. Very often the districts and creative areas are developed in cooperation with the private sector or other stakeholders.

One means to enliven urban space and make it more attractive is the "% for art" scheme. It is also a measure, which enhances the demand for artistic work and thus helps financing the sector. Some CM cities (e.g. Stockholm) have applied the rule to any construction project initiated by the city. Besides applying the rule to public building projects, the City of Helsinki requires all developers in the Arabianranta area to use 1–2% of the building investments of individual sites for works of art. Even in the cases where these kinds of schemes do not exist, CM cities buy local art for public libraries, nurseries, schools, hospitals and other public buildings

Other support measures from public procurements to city marketing

The "% for art" scheme could be seen as a type of public procurement policy. It has been argued that in the context of innovation the procurement policy is generally a far more efficient instrument to support business than many subsidies. By giving priority to CI in their public procurement policy, cities would send a signal to private and business consumers that creative industries are worthwhile and thus reduce the uncertainties and encourage diffusion of CI products and services. Yet no CM city described any public procurement schemes (except % for art) among the measures supporting CI, states the report. This might be due to the fact that, in many cases, public procurement regulations are set at a national level.

Besides the above-mentioned measures to support CI, many CM cities also offer different training and consulting services for starting entrepreneurs as well as active artists and enterprises. Entrepreneurial support schemes also include marketing activities, either locally or internationally. As local markets might be too small to maintain CI that often cater to a niche audience, internationalisation is a relevant topic for CI development. National institutions are quite often responsible for export support, but cities can also market their creative scene internationally. One good example is the "Helsinki à Paris" event in April 2008, in which the City of Helsinki presented its most talented and innovative artists and designers. These kind of promotional events are important tools to enhance the demand of local CI products internationally. They might also attract tourists to the organising city to consume more cultural experiences.

From a creative metropolis to the design capital

Even though the Creative Metropoles network investigates the economic potential of the creative industries, the report also stresses that the cultural and creative initiatives in the city should be supported in a wider sense – and not only because of their potential economic benefits. A flourishing amateur arts scene, various festivals and other urban events, many cross-cultural initiatives, good (arts) education system with interdisciplinary orientation and global networks etc. lay the ground for the economic success of a city's creative scene.

To become what the report calls a "cultural creative city", emphasis should be laid on the qualitative effects of the creativity, i.e. on how to make the whole city environment more attractive. This aim is very much linked with the central theme of the Helsinki 2012 World Design Capital (WDC) year: design

embedded in people's lives. The examples taken from the Creative Metropoles project as well as from the planning of the WDC 2012 show that creative industries as a whole, and design in particular, are very much seen as the key for Helsinki's future success.

The next Creative Metropoles seminar will be held in Helsinki in March 2011. For more info see www.creativemetropoles.eu or mail to:
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Still keeping busy
What's new about young people's leisure?

Anna Anttila

The leisure behaviour of young people has been studied for decades in Helsinki. The first study was made in the early 1950s[1], and since the 1980s, City of Helsinki Urban Facts has regularly studied adolescent leisure time by means of extensive surveys (Lankinen 1984; Siurala 1991; Keskinen 2001). A pupil-student survey conducted at roughly ten year intervals was taken up again in spring 2010. This project called Kiirettä pitää 2 (busy all the time 2) has a project group including representatives of City of Helsinki Urban Facts, Helsinki City Youth Department, Helsinki City Education Department and a free-time researcher from the national network of researchers specialising in youth research. The survey targets 11–19 year olds in general education and vocational training institutions in Helsinki (N = 2200).

In this article, I present some findings of the pre-study of the "Busy All the Time 2" project. At this stage, various phenomena and changes in youth cultures seen in the first decade of the 21st century were mapped. The questionnaire among pupils and students is carried out online at around the New Year 2010–2011 on a form updated with themes and issues identified in the pre-study. Some questions still relevant in the 2000 survey but outdated today have been omitted, such as "Do you belong to some gang hanging around on the street?" or "Do you have friends with an immigrant background?". In this study, respondents are not grouped into various youth styles, nor do we investigate whether those with an immigrant background have different criteria on people's origin when choosing their friends than do the majority.

Modern, urban leisure time

Boundaries between leisure-time, leisure activities and duties are blurred. Many regular hobbies can be considerably demanding and, on the other hand, time spent at home is not always just rest for everyone. Conceptually, rather than being an intrinsic value, leisure time is more of a negation of normal or norm time. Are you really anywhere in your leisure time if you don't spend it away from "somewhere particular"? If you are a healthy young person, you neither work nor study permanently and you don't have children, do you have leisure time at all – or all the time? And today, there is also such a thing as "time for yourself", which is supposed to be good for you besides your everyday duties and hobbies.

Before industrialisation, people's idea of time was probably more cyclic and tied to the four seasons

[1]The youth survey in 1951 (Bruun 1952) dealt with young people's conditions at home, main pastimes, reading pursuits, membership of organisations and the use of alcohol. 919 (!) young people were interviewed.

than is our modern Western idea of a linear time stretching towards an inevitable end, a stretch where all time is limited (cf. Sarmela 1979). Industrialisation increased the amount of time not spent at work, but already before the agrarian phase, people had clearly more spare time than today. Hunter-gatherers used only a few hours a day for their livelihood, which left almost unlimited time for social intercourse, rest, play and other merriment (cf. Eriksen 1995; Sahlins 2004.)

In the agrarian society, constant work filled the day, and working days held no other rest than breaks for meals. Whatever spare time there was, it was spent doing minor repairs and suchlike. Even on holidays, cattle and small children kept at least the girls and women busy on farms. Children and adolescents joined in the work on the farm as best they could. Even in the 1930s and 1940s, they were still an essential part of the Finnish economy as they worked in gardens, as shepherds, nurses, maids or farm hands (Lönnqvist 1987, 16). Finland's late but rapid industrialisation and huge structural economic change in the 1950s changed the position of children significantly.

With this modernisation, the difference between leisure time and work has grown – regardless of the fact that the quantity and quality of leisure is often stressed as something that helps people cope at work. There is a desire to adjust leisure time so as to ensure efficient renewal of the labour force. With urbanisation, the work input of children and adolescents lost its significance for production, and thereby young people got more time to spend freely. This was one of the reasons for the creation in 1866 of the "people's school" – a national school system where every child had to go to school. In the 19th century, idle street children disrupted the workday of adults and caused them much trouble. Still today, too much or ill-spent leisure time when you are young can be seen as a threat to both the community and the young themselves – and to the future of the entire national economy. The leisure time of young people is labelled by adult concern for how it is spent. Choices made within the framework of available leisure-time resources may either accelerate young people's social exclusion or influence their growth process favourably (Helve 2009, 252).

A time and a place for yourself

In Helsinki City Urban Facts Office's pupil and student survey 2010–2011, leisure time is primarily dealt with as subjective time and experiences of various activities. Young people's own definitions of their practices and the things that they do voluntarily after school form a basis for the interpretations. And leisure-time venues, too, are defined by the subjective experiences of respondents. Thus, school premises may not be mentioned at all although the respondent may take part in meaningful hobbies after school. Again, students engrossed in social intercourse or deep in their thoughts may spend a great deal of their time at school as if they were "off duty".

Our study deals with subjective ideas and experiences for example as follows: Complete the statement "As regards leisure time, I have ..." with either a suitable amount, too little or too much. We also ask the respondents to classify various phenomena as belonging or not belonging to their leisure time. They indicate for themselves what you can do or where you can go voluntarily and for fun without anyone telling you to. The form presents several alternatives.

- Doing chores (cleaning, cooking, shopping, etc.)
- Minding younger sisters and brothers
- Minding pets
- Singing, playing, drawing, writing on your own
- Musical instrument lessons, art school, drama club, etc.
- Unorganised sports such as playing football at home in your yard

- Organised sports such as going to dancing lessons, football training, etc.
- Going to the youth centres
- Staying on the school premises
- Going to the public library
- Going to church, mosque, synagogue, etc.
- Going to a shop, department store, shopping mall, etc.
- Surfing on the Internet
- Studying new things about, for example, new countries, the past, space, etc.
- Developing new skills (handicraft, languages, tricks, etc.)
- Doing your homework
- Working for money
- Doing unpaid voluntary work

As a more exact detail, respondents can now also indicate their own favourite places. The question is "If you could spend a perfect day, where would that be?", and the 39 alternative responses include at home with my family, out horse-riding, out shopping, on a trip abroad and doing a regular hobby of mine. A new theme in this questionnaire is also the holidays of the respondent's family: where does it spend its holidays, and is the family ever together then? The economic situation of families influences their holiday opportunities. Responses will probably also indicate something about family dynamics and the age at which young people start to spend holidays without their family, for example doing paid work. In Finland, many even quite young children also spend at least part of their ten-week summer holidays with relatives or at a summer camp.

Besides leisure-time venues and habits, we also want to find out what factors respondents think considerably limit their leisure time, such as school, chores or paid work, regular hobbies, lack of money, or religion. For the first time we also ask whether teachers or other staff harass or discriminate against pupils or students at school. We also ask whether respondents get enough personal feedback from their teachers as to their own success at school. Is constant self-assessment enough for the pupils/students? Are so many young people today running for various TV shows to get assessment in public from juries for the simple reason that they don't get enough assessment from teachers as to their own progress with regard to themselves and others? A new question in our study is about respondents' attitude towards TV shows such as Idol, Talent and Top Chef.

The new questionnaire retains the question "How many really close friends do you have at the moment? (Don't include your parents.)", but it adds a tag: "Is the number of your friends ...?" and gives the alternatives suitable, too small and too large. A totally new question is whether they are dating someone. Since respondents are aged 11 to 19, the response alternatives include not just yes or no, but also

- No, I haven't really thought about it
- No, but I'd like to
- Yes
- Yes, but I wouldn't like to
- Don't really know

Another totally new theme in this year's questionnaire is whether the children play spontaneously and whether they "chill out" with friends, and how much time they spend doing so. Respondents are also asked how happy they are at the moment. The alternatives are very happy and fairly happy; very unhappy and rather unhappy, or don't know really. The question about perceived loneliness included in the previous questionnaire is also retained.

Social media a new leisure venue

Perhaps the biggest change over the 2000s in the leisure habits of young Finns is the tremendously expanded use of information and communications tech-

nology and the Internet, especially. Besides offering new choices, the Internet has also taken over a part of former popular pastimes such as reading, listening to music, and talking to friends. Today 80 per cent of all Finns use the Internet at least once a week and 69 per cent at least four days a week (Finnish Audit Bureau of Circulations (KMT) 2009). All pupils and students in Helsinki have access to the Internet in their own classroom or in some other space at school. Children are skilful ICT users, and therefore the 2010 leisure time questionnaire is carried out online at school.

Since it is important when you are young to expand your sphere of life beyond your home and to socialise with peers, it is not surprising that contacts with friends and other social media are the most popular applications for the new technology (see Pääkkönen 2007, 238). Communication services based on Internet technologies such as the Finnish IRC-Galleria (http://irc-galleria.net) or the global Facebook are easy and handy tools for contact and have spread from younger generations to middle-aged and even elderly users.

The visuality of the Internet, particularly the photos displayed on the profiles of social media and the real-time motion picture of webcams have changed the practices of social intercourse that prevailed ten years ago. At that stage, young people communicated over the web primarily in writing. How you looked was not the first thing that caught people's eye (Latvala 2000, 25). Today, it is almost the other way around: the first impression that users of the IRC-galleria, for example, get of other users is their photo. On the other hand, in the Habbo-hotelli (http://www.habbo.com) web community developed by Finns and now globally popular – or in other animation-based social media – users can create virtual portraits, avatars, of themselves, which leaves other users to guess what really hides behind the virtual figure and the screen.

Increasing screen time and virtual participation

Young people can also share knowledge and skills for the real world in the various web networks. Skateboarders have been filming their own stunts and feats for years, and today, putting their videos on Youtube contributes to expanding the skateboarder community. In recent years, skills such as traditional handicraft have grown in popularity, perhaps not least thanks to the easy sharing of models and patterns over social media (Vartiainen 2010).

School children spend a considerable part of their time on the Internet or in front of a computer or other electronic displays. Since computers allow the performance of several functions at a time, their aggregate duration may even exceed the time you are awake. Our questionnaire asks how much time respondents spend by the screen to

- watch TV broadcasts or DVD, video etc. films
- surf on the Internet
- write e-mails
- participate in social media (Facebook, Habbo, IRC-galleria)
- see your friends over the Skype
- write blogs
- use drawing programmes
- read Internet publications in their mother tongue (Wikipedia, websites of newspapers etc.)
- read foreign websites
- work with computer animation and image processing
- create or maintain websites
- make music.

We also ask how often respondents play computer or console games either on their own, with friends or some other, more remote partner. Questions are also asked about the use ofvirtual slot machines and sim-

ulators, and about gambling such as poker. Screen time is, of course, also accumulated by the use of word processing programs, table or graphic software, search engines, etc. or by computer programming.

Over the Internet, young people can participate and influence matters actively, and the web is, in fact, one of their most natural channels of influence. A topical theme of the questionnaire is young people's inclusion and influence. The question "Which of the following influence channels have you tried?" was followed by response alternatives including various web addresses, various campaigns and boycotts, associations and political youth organisations, readers' columns in newspapers, demonstrations and artistic expressions such as writing or graffiti.

In political decision making, young people are expected to adopt the influencing practices of adults to become famous. Patterns and practices of the childhood or adolescence are not brought along to adult politics. Children are socialised into the traditional political practices known already in early democracy in Athens.

Faced with the questions "Today, 18 year olds may vote at political elections. At what age would you feel ready to vote for the first time?" and "What political party's and its leaders' ideas do you subscribe to?" the majority of respondents to the pre-study felt that they would be ready to vote roughly at their present age and that "It depends, parties have both good and bad ideas" or "No party at all, the present party system is of no interest to me". It is going to be interesting to see how young people today choose between parties and how massive a support overtly immigrant-critical parties enjoy in various neighbourhoods. Will young people display the same kinds of attitudes as those already of voting age? How different would Helsinki's city council be if 12 year olds were allowed to vote?

Young people are more interested in global matters than they are in, for example, participation in the local resident associations: even in areas with a greater-than-average proportion of young people, their participation is lower than average. Global freedom of choice and other new forms of voluntary action such as virtual volunteering have increased. Young people volunteer slightly more than other age groups. In 2002, Finns on average volunteered 17.5 hours per month, versus 19 hours with young people (Koste 2008, 20; Koste 2010, 40–41.) The Council of Europe (decision 2010/37/EC) has appointed 2011 the "Year of Voluntary Activities Promoting Active Citizenship".

Model of parents and family

Our study also looks at the extent to which hobbies are passed on from generation to generation and whether parents and children still pursue them together. Judging from our pre-study, sports and high-culture pursuits seem to straddle generations. It is interesting that besides fun and effortlessness, a very common motive for continuing a hobby is "My hobby is difficult, but I want to develop myself" and an ambition to improve your looks and physical shape. The response alternatives also mention the prospect of turning professional, and indeed, "If you play ice hockey, your ultimate goal is in the National Hockey League", was an idea expressed in the freely formulated answers to the pre-study question about dreams and expectations for the future.

In this year's questionnaire, the question is put for the first time whether respondents have siblings. They are also asked with whom they live and which family members do not live with them. The responses relating to family foresee a need for a new targeted study of the family relations of young people in Helsinki. Although according to statistics, there are two children, for example, in a family, either or each of them may have more than one sibling. A child may have several families and homes where they and their half-siblings live alternately with parents. To date, it has been hard to find data on children who

have alternate living arrangements with parents, because officially you can have only one address in Finland. Living alternatively with parents does not necessarily seem to be a problem or harmful to the child: earlier studies show that children who live alternatively are no more discontent with their lives than are the children of core families (Stenvall 2009, 7).

The questionnaire also surveys the attitude of children and adolescents towards environmental protection and narcotics. Respondents are asked to give their opinion about smoking, getting drunk and using light narcotics at parties depending on whether the user is an adult, a young person older than yourself, or a young person your age. The response alternatives are:

- All right with me
- It's wrong
- They have the right to mind their own business
- Don't know really

Judging from the pre-study, "They have the right to mind their own business" seems to be a common response, especially with reference to people older than the respondents themselves.

An earlier questionnaire asked what things in the future respondents were very afraid of. This year, we also ask what things you are very hopeful about. The greatest hopes and fears relate to future job and income. As an example, all those studying for a profession responded they were very afraid of getting unemployed, and their most common hope was an interesting job. Surprisingly in the pre-study, those respondents wanting children were more numerous than those wanting a partner. Have young people already selected their spouse – instead of whom they do not want to imagine anyone else – or has the single parent model become popular or at least a serious family model?

At the end of the questionnaire, respondents can give freely formulated opinions about the matters dealt with on the sheet, such as opportunities for leisure pursuits and hobbies and their own chances to influence them. In the pre-study, opinions expressed were typically brief, but very positive:

- OK survey, nothing to add:)
- Nice questionnaire, fun filling in
- I can influence my own hobbies the way I want to
- I'm glad I have the freedom to influence my own business.

Judging from the pre-study, there is reason to believe that the actual questionnaire completed around New Year 2010–2011 will provide plenty of new and interesting data about young people's time of their own and their values of life in Helsinki.

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A skilled metropolis

The PKS-KOKO Cohesion and Competitiveness Programme for the Helsinki Metropolitan Area is a part of the national KOKO Programme for Regional Development implemented in 2010–2013. The programme takes over after the Urban Programme for the Helsinki Metropolitan Area. PKS-KOKO covers the cities of Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa, Kauniainen and Kirkkonummi. The stepping stone of the project is the competitiveness strategy Menestyvä metropoli – En framgångsrik metropol – A Successful Metropolis.

At a national level, KOKO's key objective is to improve the competitiveness of Finnish regions and balance their development. Its role is also to support inter-municipal cooperation in matters of industry and innovation policy. With 322 of Finland's 326 municipalities as participants, KOKO is genuinely a development programme for the whole country.

There is a special emphasis on strengthening top-class education and skills in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area. PKS-KOKO functions as a regional development forum in the implementation of the competitiveness strategy for the metropolitan region. In addition, it improves international competitiveness by promoting innovation and strengthening skills in the region. PKS-KOKO is being translated into action in four projects that each supports a focus area.

The first focus area is about promoting innovation and strengthening skills structures in the region. The line of action is the Student Metropolis Project, which focuses on student housing and transport. The objective of the project is to develop students' and experts' mobility by improving public transport and accessibility between campuses, and to make the metropolitan region even more functional, enjoyable and liveable for tertiary-level students. The project spans over 2010 and 2011.

The second focus area seeks to open and secure career prospects for skilled workers. The spearhead project is called From Studies to Skills. The background of this project is the heterogeneous practices of cooperation between educational institutions, the shortage of skilled labour in certain fields, and the toughened employment situation for graduates. It is necessary to develop new forms of cooperation between working life and educational institutions – not least with a view to systematising various practices and consolidating models of transfer from studies to working life. Close cooperation between the municipalities and educational institutions in the metropolitan region promotes the creation of new practices and the sharing of best practices. This, in turn, supports both the professional development and employment of students and a high-quality service production. The project materialises in a regional pilot project focusing on early education. The project takes place in 2010–2011.

The third focus area is about developing a service concept to help international companies and experts

settle in the region. The spearhead project here is the NoWrongDoor Project, whose objective is to cooperate to form a regionally coordinated service concept that makes it easier for foreign companies and their employees, students, experts and their families to make themselves at home in the region. Improved services include coordinated services for companies and individuals and a mobilisation of social networks. The project whole is implemented in 2010 and 2011.

The fourth focus area emphasises increasing interaction between cultures, community and liveability in the region. The spearhead project is called Multicultural Management in Practice. This project focuses particularly on management at a city level, its objective being to turn multiculturalism into everyday practice in a modern working community. The common goal of the cities of the metropolitan region is to raise the proportion of immigrant employees to match their proportion of the city's population. Success with this objective will require successful recruitment and developed practices in working communities. The project runs from 2010 to 2012.

The operative responsibility for the programme's management and coordination lies with Helsinki City Urban Facts Office. The programme is financed by the Ministry of Employment and the Economy, Uusimaa Regional Council, the cities of the Helsinki Metropolitan Area and the municipality of Kirkkonummi.

For more information about the programme, see www.pks-koko.fi -> COCO-GHA in English.

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