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**study reports**

**PEKKA MUSTONEN**

# **Structural views over 'creative' Helsinki**

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PEKKA MUSTONEN

Structural views over 'creative' Helsinki

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# Foreword

The past few years have seen an increasing interest to study the so-called creative economy and the creative class. In this study Pekka Mustonen maps out where creative people live and work in Helsinki. Here Helsinki provides an interesting case study example as it hosts the highest concentration of creative people in Finland. Indeed, well over 50 per cent of those employed in, say, design or architecture in the entire country of Finland live and work in Helsinki or in the Helsinki capital area. Further, within this particular area the living preferences of these people are rather specific thus making heavy concentrations of creative people in certain parts of the city.

Pekka Mustonen also develops understanding of the creative class and critically reflects discussions and assumptions linked with the term creative class. He argues that this group is not necessarily quite as homogeneous in its various preferences and selections of choice as the literature might suggest.

Helsinki, April 2010

Timo Cantell  
Research Director





# Prologue in Finnish – rakenteellisia näkökulmia ”luovaan” Helsinkiin

Useita kertoja maailman parhaaksi ravintolaksi äänestetyt El Bullin ”Chef” Ferran Adriá on todennut, että luovuus on sitä, että ei kopioi. Albert Einstein taas on aikanaan sanonut, että luovuuden salaisuus on lähteiden piilottamisessa. Näiden kahden luovuuden määritelmän pohjalta voidaan sanoa, että ollakseen luova, on osattava hyödyntää riittävän hyvin olemassa olevia mahdollisuuksia.

Luovuuskeskustelua ympäröivä hype on vahvasti liitoksissa sosiologien jo kymmenien vuosien ajan käymään keskusteluun modernin ja postmodernin luonteesta. Bell (1974) pohti, että jälkiteollinen yhteiskunta muodostuu palveluiden ympärille; palvelusektorilla toimivat ammattilaiset ovat tällaisessa yhteiskunnassa markkinoiden tärkeimpiä pelureita. ”Suurten kertomusten” – yhteiskunnan perinteisten instituutioiden ja tukipilareiden – murennuttua ihmiset ovatkin yllättäen joutuneet kohtaamaan riskejä ja epävarmuuksia (ks. Lyotard 2001, Bauman 1996, Beck 1992, myös Mustonen 2006). Tässä kilpailussa toiset ovat väistämättä parempia kuin toiset (ks. Lash 1995). Paremmiin pärjäävät osaavat piilottaa lähteen.

Luovuuskeskustelussa ei siis ole mitään uutta. Jos postmoderni tarkoittaa jotain mitä tapahtuu tai tapahtui modernin jälkeen, luovuus on vastaavasti epäluovan vastakohta, tai vaihtoehtoisesti luovuudella voidaan kuvata kykyä luoda jotain – uutta? Luovuuskeskusteluissa kiinnitetään harvoin huomiota siihen, mitä tämä luovuus on. Tästäkin huolimatta siitä toivotaan lääkettä miltei kaikkeen, taloudelliseen taantumiaan, turismin kasvuun ja alueiden vetovoimaan. Hieman kärjistäen voisi sanoa, että kaikki kaupungit haluavat olla luovuuden laboratorioita. On sanomatakin selvää, että tämä ei ole mahdollista.

Luovuuskeskustelun viime vuosien siteeratuin tutkija Richard Florida (esim. 2008) käyttää omissa luovaa sektoria koskevissa tutkimuksissaan hyvin laajaa määritelmää. Hänen kuvailemaansa luovaan sektoriin kuuluvat tiede, teknologia, taide, design, viihde, media, laki, rahoitus, johtaminen, terveydenhuolto ja

koulutus. Ulkopuolelle jäävät oikeastaan vain palvelusektori, käsityöläiset ja maatalous. Tämän määritelmän mukaan Yhdysvalloissa noin kolmannes työvoimasta kuuluu ns. luovaan luokkaan. Määritelmää ei voi suoraan soveltaa Suomeen tai Helsinkiin, koska täällä sektorijaot ymmärretään usein eri tavalla, ja esimerkiksi terveydenhuolto saatetaan laskea osaksi palvelusektoria. Määritelmiä soveltamalla kulloisenkin tarkoituksen mukaan osuus voi olla miltei mitä tahansa. Jo pelkästään designin tai taiteen määrittely on mahdotonta.

Helsinki sai vastikään merkittävän tunnustuksen, kun se valittiin vuoden 2012 maailman designpääkaupungiksi (see World Design Capital 2010). Onko Helsinki siis muita kaupunkeja luovempi, ja jos on, mikä tekee Helsingistä luovan? Millaisesta luovuudesta Helsingin kohdalla on kyse? Helsingin hakemus perustui ajatukselle siitä, että muotoilu on mukana kaikessa toiminnassa ikään kuin sisäänrakennettuna, ja tämä ajatus tulee olemaan myös designpääkaupunkivuoden ydinajatus. Tämä on kuitenkin empiirisen tutkimuksen kannalta hankala lähtökohta samalla tavalla kuin Floridan määritelmät ovat empiirisen tarkastelun kannalta liian laajoja.

Tässä tutkimuksessa näitä kysymyksiä lähdettiin tarkastelemaan rajaamalla näkökulma kahteen ammattiryhmään; kuvataiteilijoihin (ml. teolliset muotoilijat) ja IT-sektorin erityisasiantuntijoihin. Helsingin kokoisessa suhteellisen pienessä kaupungissa tiukasti rajattu tarkastelu oli oikeastaan ainoa mahdollinen, varsinkin kun tarkoituksena oli päästä mahdollisimman hyvin luovuusilmiön sisään ja toisaalta löytää olemassa olevia rakenteita kaupungin sisäältä. Toisaalta jako muistuttaa aiemmin tehtyjen tutkimusten ”tietoammattilaiset” vs. ”taitoammattilaiset” –jakoja (esim. Ilmonen et al. 2000), mikä taas tarjosi jo tutkittua tietoa hypoteesien ja johtopäätösten tueksi.

Tämän tutkimuksen taustalla oli oletus siitä, että luovuuden keskittyminen Helsingissä on varsin voimakasta, ja että tämä keskittyminen noudattaa tiettyjä lainalaisuuksia. Näin ollen oletuksena oli myös, että

eri ammattiryhmän keskittyvät eri tavalla (ks. Hirvonen 2000). Tarkoituksena oli siis tutkia olemassa olevien, pääasiassa tilastollisten, tietolähteiden avulla keskittymistä kaupungin sisällä. Keskittyminen, joka esimerkiksi luovien alojen kohdalla lienee olemassa oleva ja väistämätön lainalaisuus, voidaan näkökulmasta riippuen nähdä joko huonona tai hyvänä asiana. Florida (2008) korostaa keskittymisen hyviä puolia todetessaan, että talouden keskeiset moottorit, lahjakkuus, innovaatiot ja luovuus eivät jakaudu tasaisesti, ja nimenomaan keskittymien kautta luovuudesta voidaan valjastaa talouskasvun veturi.

Keskittymistä tarkasteltiin tässä tutkimuksessa taiteilijoiden sekä IT-ammattilaisten työpaikkojen ja asuinalueiden sijaintien avulla. Lisäksi alueiden erityispiirteitä ja ”luovuspotentiaalia” pohdittiin mm. kansainvälisyyden ja koulutustason mukaan (taulukko 3, sivu 20). Helsingissä asuvia mutta Helsingin ulkopuolella työskenteleviä taiteilijoita ei otettu mukaan tarkasteluun lähinnä siitä syystä, että heitä ei juuri ollut. IT-ammattilaisten tapauksessa huomiointiin lähikaupungit Espoo ja Vantaa.

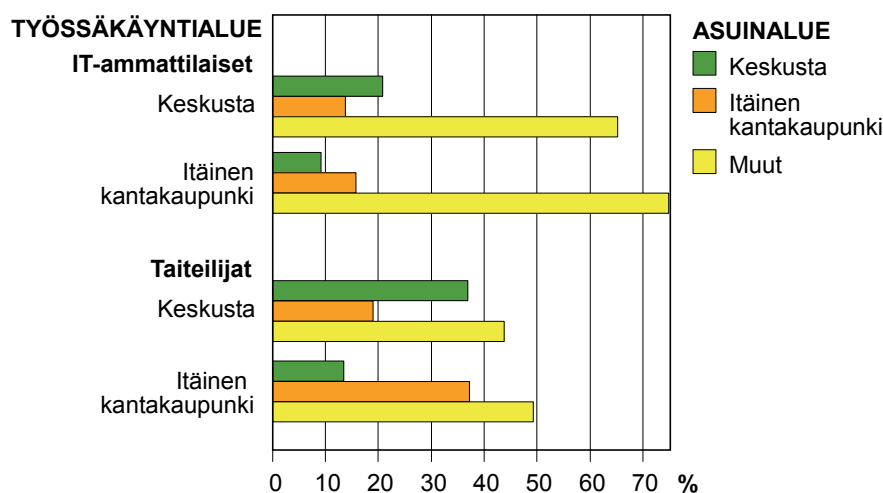
Kuten arvata saattoi, alueiden välillä oli paljon eroja. Kansainvälisyyttä tarkasteltiin muiden kuin suomen- tai ruotsinkielisten osuuden mukaan, ja erot olivat varsin pieniä. Väestön koulutustasossa sen sijaan oli suuria eroja. Eteläisen kantakaupungin alueella ihmiset ovat selvästi useammin korkeakoulututkinnon suorittaneita kuin kantakaupungin muissa osissa. Itäisessä kantakaupungissa opiskelijoiden suuri määrä luonnollisesti laskee osuutta.

Tutkimuksessa esitetyt luvut ovat peräisin Tilastokeskuksen työssäkäyntitilaston ammattitietoaineistosta ja koskevat vuoden 2005 loppua. Joitakin muutoksia on varmasti tapahtunut vuosien saatossa, mutta pääpiirteittäin tulokset lienevät edelleen samansuuntaisia. Erot näiden kahden ammattiryhmän välillä olivat ja ovat edelleen erittäin selviä, mikä toisaalta kertoo siitä, että luovaa sektoria ei voi tarkastella sellaisenaan, vaan se koostuu lukuisista erilaisista ammattiryhmistä ja aktiviteeteista. Ei ole olemassa vain yhtä ”luovaa luokkaa”, jota voisi empiirisesti tutkia.

Taiteilijoiden ja IT-ammattilaisten sijoittumista Helsingin kantakaupungin eri alueille tarkasteltiin tutkimuksessa myös ikäryhmittäin, ja tämän lisäksi tiedot asuinpaikasta ja työpaikan sijainnista yhdistettiin. Tutkimus osoitti selviä eroja taiteilijoiden ja IT-ammattilaisten välillä, ja tämän lisäksi se osoitti myös näiden ryhmien sisäisen heterogeenisuuden. Yhden taiteilijan asuinpaikka ei kerro mitään toisesta taiteilijasta. Tarkastelemalla muita ammattiryhmiä tai valitsemalla muita tutkittavia indikaattoreita, tulokset saattaisivat olla erilaisia.

Taiteilijoiden tapauksessa keskusta ja Kallio olivat kaikkein suosituimmat alueet, ja varsinkin työpaikkojen osalta keskittyminen oli huomattavaa (taulukko 3, sivu 20). IT-ammattilaiset jakautuivat asuinalueille suhteellisen tasaisesti, mutta työpaikat keskittyivät voimakkaasti Kampinmalmin, Pitäjänmäen ja Vallilan alueille ja toisaalta Espooseen. Taiteilijoista lähes puolet työskenteli keskustassa, kun IT-ammattilaisista keskustassa työskenteli vajaa kolmannes.

**Kuvio 1. Keskustassa tai itäisessä kantakaupungissa asuvien IT-ammattilaisten työssäkäyntialueet.**



Vastaavasti reilu neljännes taiteilijoista ja noin kuudesosa IT-ammattilaisista asui keskustassa. Itäisessä kantakaupungissa asui noin viidennes taiteilijoista ja reilu kymmenesosa IT-ammattilaisista.

Helsinki on rakenteeltaan hyvin keskustapainotteen kaupunki. Ammattiryhmien välillä on kuitenkin eroa, ja kuten alla olevista taulukoista 1 ja 2 huomataan, taiteilijoiden keskuudessa keskusta on sekä työpaikan alueena että asuinalueena selvästi suosittumpi kuin IT-ammattilaisten keskuudessa. Työpaikan alueen kohdalla kyse ei tietenkään ole välttämättä valinnasta, vaan työpaikat sijoittuvat kartalle monien seikkojen perusteella. Asuinalue sen sijaan voidaan valita käytettävissä olevien resurssien mukaan.

Tulosten mukaan näyttää vahvasti siltä, että taiteilijoiden keskuudessa on huomattavan paljon urbaania ympäristöä arvostavia ihmisiä. Kantakaupungissa työskentelevistä taiteilijoista yli 70 % myös asui

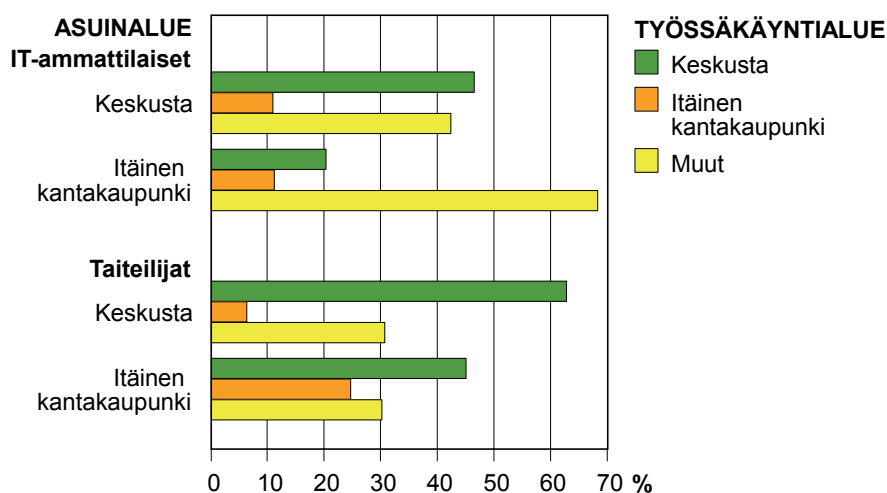
kantakaupungissa kun IT-ammattilaisten keskuudessa vastaava osuus oli selvästi alle puolet (taulukko 1 ja kuvio 1). Keskustassa työskentelevistä taiteilijoista 37 % asui keskustassa, kun IT-ammattilaisista keskustassa asui noin 20 %.

Taiteilijat sekä IT-ammattilaiset jaettiin tarkasteluissa iän mukaan kolmeen kutakuinkin yhtä suureen ryhmään; alle 35, 35-44 ja yli 44-vuotiaisiin. Uuden ulottuvuuden tuominen mukaan paljasti joitakin eroja alueiden suosioon vaikuttavien tekijöiden taustalta. IT-ammattilaisten kohdalla kantakaupungin suosio asuinalueena putosi selvästi siirryttäessä alimmasta ikäluokasta ylempiin (ks. taulukko 6, sivu 25). Erityisen selvä tämä muutos oli itäisen kantakaupungin kohdalla. Keskustan kohdalla muutos oli pienin, ja keskustassa työskentelevien joukossa Kampinmalmi pysyi kaikissa ikäryhmissä kaikkein suosituimpana asuinalueena. Itäisessä kantakaupun-

**Taulukko 1. Asuinalue työpaikan alueen mukaan tarkasteltuna. Mukana tarkastelussa ne, jotka sekä asuvat että työskentelevät Helsingissä. (%-osuus työpaikka-alueittain)**

Työpaikan alue:	Asuinalue:				
	Keskusta	Itäinen kantakaupunki	Muut alueet	Koko kantakaupunki	
Keskusta (IT) (n=1904)	20,9	13,8	64,3		50,6
Itäinen kantakaupunki (IT) (n=1013)	9,3	15,8	74,9		37,9
Koko kantakaupunki (IT) (n=3836)	16,1	13,9	70,0		46,2
Keskusta (taiteilijat) (n=554)	37,0	19,1	43,9		73,6
Itäinen kantakaupunki (taiteilijat) (n=156)	13,5	37,2	49,3		64,7
Koko kantakaupunki (taiteilijat) (n=850)	29,5	22,8	47,7		71,4

**Kuvio 2. Keskustassa tai itäisessä kantakaupungissa asuvien taiteilijoiden ja IT-ammattilaisten työssäkäyntialueet.**



**Taulukko 2. Työpaikan alue asuinalueen mukaan tarkasteltuna. Mukana tarkastelussa ne, jotka sekä asuvat että työskentelevät Helsingissä. (%-osuus asuinalueittain)**

Asuinalue:	Työpaikan alue:			
	Keskusta	Itäinen kantakaupunki	Muut alueet	Koko kantakaupunki
Keskusta (IT) (n=856)	46,5	11,0	42,5	72,0
Itäinen kantakaupunki (IT) (n=735)	20,4	11,2	68,4	40,4
Koko kantakaupunki (IT) (n=2512)	38,3	15,3	46,4	70,5
Keskusta (taiteilijat) (n=398)	62,9	6,4	30,7	77,0
Itäinen kantakaupunki (taiteilijat) (n=150)	45,1	24,7	30,2	82,6
Koko kantakaupunki (taiteilijat) (n=963)	53,9	13,3	32,8	80,2

gissa työskentelevät ja erityisesti nuoret suosivat eniten Kalliota.

Kalliota pidetään perinteisesti nuorten ja opiskelijoiden alueena, mikä osittain liittyy siihen, että alueella on runsaasti pieniä asuntoja ja hieman eteläistä kantakaupunkia alempi hintataso. Pienten asuntojen puute on myös yksi osasy siihen, että alue on kehittynyt monella tapaa eri tavalla, kuin moni muu vastaavan historian omaava alue. Tietynlainen rosoisuus ja tätä kautta omaleimaisuus on säilynyt ja tulee säilymään myös lähitulevaisuudessa.

Tämä selittää myös osittain suosion hiipumisen iän mukana. Isoja asuntoja on vähän ja toisaalta varsin elävänä ja värikkäänä kaupunginosana Kallio ei välttämättä ole kaikkien mieleen. Taiteilijoiden asuinalueiden tarkastelu kuitenkin paljastaa, että tämä ei ole koko totuus. Kallio oli suosiolla mitattuna alueiden kärkijoukossa jo IT-ammattilaisten keskuudessa, mutta taiteilijoiden joukossa Kallio oli suosituin yksittäinen kaupunginosa vielä 35-44 -vuotiaidenkin keskuudessa. Korkeimmassa ikäluokassa se jäi kuitenkin keskustan alueiden taakse.

Kallio oli erityisen suosittu asuinalue Kalliossa työskentelevien taiteilijoiden keskuudessa (ks. taulukko 8, sivu 28). Vastaavasti keskustassa työskentelevät asuivat pääasiassa keskustassa. Yllättävää kyllä, keskusta ei ollut ennako-oletuksiin nähden kovinkaan suosittu asuinalue Kalliossa työskentelevien taiteilijoiden joukossa. Jos tarkasteluun olisi voitu ottaa mukaan esimerkiksi tulo- tai koulutustasoa kuvaavia indikaattoreita, tämän havainnon taustalle olisi voinut löytyä selityksiä. Voi olla, että keskustan ja Kallion taiteilijoiden välillä on sosiodemografisilla taustamuuttujilla mitattavissa olevia eroja, jotka voisivat osittain selittää asumispreferenssejä. Tätä mielen-

kiintoista havaintoa olisi jatkossa järkevää lähestyä myös laadullisesti.

Keskustan alueista Ullanlinna oli kaikkein suosituin alue sekä asumisen että työssä käymisen näkökulmasta. Ullanlinnassa asuvat työskentelevät pääasiassa samalla alueella, kun taas Kalliossa asuvat kävivät töissä Kallion lisäksi lähes yhtä paljon myös Ullanlinnassa. Jos käännetään asetelma toisin päin, Kalliossa työskentelevistä peräti kolmannes myös asui Kalliossa. Osuus oli suurempi vain Vanhankaupungin alueella, mikä mielenkiintoista kyllä, ei juuri noussut tarkasteluissa esiin taiteilijoiden asuin- eikä työpaikka-alueena.

Se, miksi keskustan suosiossa on ammattiryhmittäisiä eroja, liittyy vahvasti elämäntyyliin ja kulttuurieroihin, ja mahdollisesti myös näiden taustalla vaikuttaviin tulo- ja koulutusrakenteisiin (vrt. Ilmonen et al. 2000; Kortteinen et al. 2005). Helsingin keskusta on Suomessa yksi harvoista aidosti urbaaneista ympäristöistä, ja tätä arvostavia ajatellen kilpailijoita maan rajojen sisällä ei juuri ole. Urbaanit ilmiöt yhdistetään usein ”luovaan sektoriin”, ja tästä näkökulmasta Helsingin keskustan suosiota on helppo selittää. Kantakaupunkimaiset urbaanit ympäristöt tarjoavat erityisesti ”taitoammattilaisten” (ks. Ilmonen et al. 2000) keskuudessa usein korostettuja verkottumismahdollisuuksia ja toisaalta rakenteita pienimuotoiselle yritystoiminnalle.

Näiden rakenteellisten faktojen näkökulmasta on vaikeaa kuvitella, että kantakaupungin suosio hiipuisi lähitulevaisuudessa. Uhkia on käytännössä kaksi; hintojen liiallinen nousu ja ”aivovuoto” ulkomaille. Helsinki kilpailee luovista resursseista nimenomaan Suomen rajojen ulkopuolella sijaitsevien kaupunkien kanssa. Nämä uhat huomioon ottaen tilanne ei ken-

ties olekaan niin muuttumaton kuin voisi kuvitella. Muutoksia myös kaupungin sisäisissä rakenteissa voi tapahtua tulevaisuudessa.

Helsingin kaupungin strategiaohjelma vuosille 2009-2012 (City of Helsinki 2009) nostaa keskustan vetovoimaisuuden ylläpidon ja kehittämisen yhdeksi keskeiseksi strategiseksi tavoitteeksi. Jos ajatellaan ”luovaa sektoria”, tavoite ei vaikuta mahdottomalta, varsinkin jos näkyvissä olevat uhat otetaan huomioon. Tällä hetkellä näyttää selvältä, että varsinkin tietyissä ihmisryhmissä keskusta ja kantakaupungin keskeiset alueet tulevat säilyttämään asemansa – ainakin niin kauan kun valinta kohdistuu Helsinkiin muiden ulkomailla sijaitsevien kaupunkien sijaan. Niiden syiden pohtiminen, jotka pitävät luovia voimia Suomessa ja Helsingissä ja jotka houkuttelevat tänne ihmisiä, jätettiin tutkimuksen ulkopuolelle. Käytettävissä olevan aineiston avulla asian tarkasteleminen ei olisi ollut mahdollista. Näitä seikkoja kannattaa kuitenkin miettiä, ja tässä luovien alojen taustalla vaikuttavien rakenteiden ymmärtäminen on ehdottoman tärkeää.

Tulevaisuutta pohdittaessa on kiinnitettävä huomiota myös heikkoihin ja joskus yllättäviinkin signaaleihin. Yksi tällainen varsin selvä ”heikko signaali” on lapsiperheiden määrän nopea kasvu kaupunkien keskusta-alueilla. Tämä ilmiö, joka haastaa olemassa olevia stereotyyppisiä ja oletuksia esimerkiksi iän tai perhetilanteen mukana muuttuvista preferensseistä, on yhteinen monille metropoleille ympäri maailman (ks. Florida 2008). Erityisen selvä tämä muutos on ollut juuri niillä samoilla alueilla, joita on totuttu pitämään ”luovina” tai ”trendikkäinä” alueina.

Muutos on paikka paikoin ollut niin voimakasta, että tietyillä aiemmin hyvinkin vetovoimaisilla alueilla on jopa alettu havaita taantumisen merkkejä entisen monimuotoisuuden katoamisen ja hintojen nousun myötä (ks. Florida 2008b). Helsingissä tilanne on kuitenkin rakenteellisten seikkojen takia hieman erilainen. Kantakaupunki on varsin pieni, joten voidaan hyvin olettaa, että mahdollinen sisäinen liikkuvuus ei juuri vaikuta keskustan vetovoimaan. Toisaalta on vaikea kuvitella, että lapsiperheiden määrän kasvu Helsingin kantakaupungissa aiheuttaisi yleisesti poismuuttoa muissa ryhmissä.

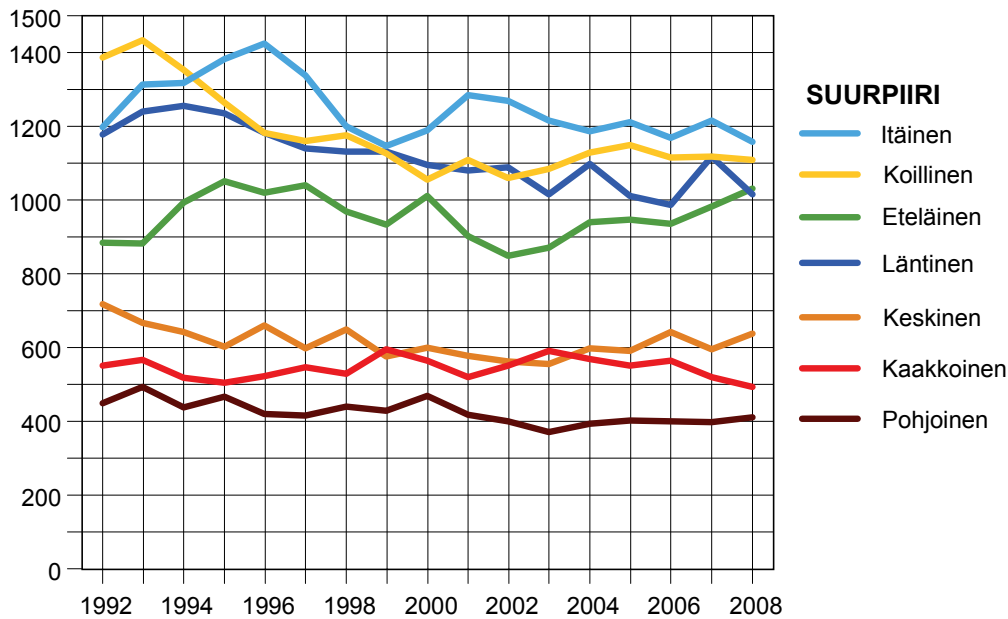
Lapsiperheiden määrä Helsingin kantakaupungin keskeisillä alueilla alkoi kasvaa muutamia vuosia sitten. Tämä on Helsingin tapauksessa varsin merkittävä havainto, varsinkin kun stereotyyppisesti usein ajatellaan kantakaupungin ulkopuolisten alueiden

olevan lähtökohtaisesti lapsiperheiden suosiossa. Väestötilastoja tarkastelemalla havaitaan, että alle vuoden ikäisten lasten määrä on kasvanut nopeimmin eteläisen suurpiirin alueella ja jonkin verran myös keskisen suurpiirin alueella (ks. piirijakokartta, kuvio 4 s. 16). Eteläinen suurpiiri koostuu Vironniemen, Ullanlinnan, Kampinmalmin, Lauttasaaren ja Taka-Töölön peruspiireistä. Keskinen suurpiiri taas pitää sisällään itäisen kantakaupungin, Pasilan ja Vanhankaupungin. Alustavien tarkastelujen perusteella näyttäisi siltä, että lasten määrän väheneminen Helsingissä on pysähtynyt siksi, että lapsia on nyt selvästi entistä enemmän juuri niillä alueilla, jotka muodostavat keskusteluissa ns. ”luovan Helsingin”. Vaikka tässä tutkimuksessa käsitellyistä alueista Vanhakaupunki (ml. Arabianranta) ei varsinaisesti korostunut taiteilijoiden tai IT-ammattilaisten suosimana alueena, on se edelleen lapsiperheiden suosiossa, mikä on syynä myös siihen, että keskisessä peruspiirissä lasten määrä on kasvanut. Se kuinka suuri osuus lasten määrän kasvusta on vähentyneen poismuuton syytä, ja kuinka suuri osuus taas tietyille alueille kohdistuvaa muista syistä johtuvaa syntyvyyden kasvua, on kysymys, johon ei tässä tutkimuksessa otettu kantaa.

Kuviossa 3 on esitetty alle vuoden ikäisten lasten määrän kehitys suurpiireittäin. Kuten kuviosta näkyy, lasten määrä on pysynyt samana tai pudonnut kaikissa muissa suurpiireissä paitsi eteläisessä ja keskisessä. Luonnollisesti muidenkin suurpiirien sisällä on alueita, joissa määrät ovat nousseet. Tällaisia ovat mm. Vuosaari idässä ja Latokartano koillisessa. Näissä peruspiireissä alle vuoden ikäisten lasten määrä on ollut jatkuvassa kasvussa. Vastaavanlaisia eroja löytyy myös eteläisen ja keskisen suurpiirin sisältä. Alle vuoden ikäisten lasten määrä on toki alkanut nousta myös itäisessä kantakaupungissa, mutta toisin kuin keskustan alueilla, muutos on tapahtunut vasta aivan äskettäin, ja on vaikea arvioida onko kyse keskustan tapaan pysyvämmästä muutoksesta. Vaikka kantakaupungin lasten määrän kasvu olisikin pysyvämpi ilmiö, lapsiperheet tarvitsevat opiskelijoita ja yksinansuvia enemmän tilaa, ja Kalliossa juuri tämä on kehitystä hidastava seikka.

Nousujohtaisen tendenssin alkaminen voidaan jäljittää tilastojen perusteella vuosiin 2002-2004. Mistään aivan uudesta ilmiöstä ei siis ole kyse. Yleisesti ottaen näyttää siltä, että pienten lasten määrässä on tapahtunut selvä, joskaan ei kovin suuri, tasokorotus. Määrät ovat jääneet korkeammalle tasolle. Sii-

**Kuvio 3. Alle vuoden ikäisten lasten määrä Helsingin suurpiireittäin vuosina 1992-2008.**



täkin huolimatta, että osa perheistä edelleen muuttaa kantakaupungin ulkopuolelle ja kehyskuntiin, entistä useampi perhe on jäänyt kantakaupunkiin. Vastaavasti lapsiperheitä myös muuttaa keskustan alueille. Esimerkiksi Kruununhaassa ja Katajanokalla viisivuotiaiden määrä vuonna 2006 oli selvästi korkeampi kuin neljävuotiaiden määrä edellisellä vuotena.

Tässä tutkimuksessa ei menty tähän ongelmakenttään syvemmillä, ja tästä syystä tarkempia taulukoita ei esitetty. Lasten määrän kasvu on kuitenkin hyvä esimerkki ”heikosta” signaalista, jotka on tiedostettava, jos halutaan pohtia alueiden kehittymistä. Jos oletetaan, että entistä suurempi osa ihmisistä haluaa asua samalla alueella, missä he työskentelevät ja viettävät vapaa-aikaansa, keskustan suosio tulee kasvamaan entisestään. ”Luovan Helsingin” pienestä koosta johtuen uusia ”luovia keskittymiä” saattaa kuitenkin syntyä kantakaupungin laitamille (vrt. Florida 2008: 264). Tämä kuitenkin vaatii sitä, että urbaania elämäntyyliä ja erilaisten kotitalouksien yhteiselo tukevat rakenteelliset elementit ovat kunnossa.

Keskustan lisäksi myös itäinen kantakaupunki pysyy varmasti suosittuna erityisesti nuorten ja opiskelijoiden keskuudessa. Itäinen kantakaupunki on myös vähitellen levinnyt kohti pohjoista ja koillista, ja osittain tämä prosessi on vasta alkamassa. Alppilan

ja Vallilan väliin on syntymässä Konepajan alue, ja Sörnäisten rantaan aletaan vähitellen rakentaa uutta Kalasataman aluetta. Molemmat näistä alueista ovat sijainniltaan erinomaisia, ja molemmat hyödyntävät vanhoja rakenteita ja kiinteistöjä. Nämä voidaan nähdä tekijöinä, jotka edesauttavat luovien aktiviteettien syntymistä alueille, mikä epäilemättä monien alueiden kohdalla on tavoitteena. Se, kuinka hyvin tässä tavoitteessa onnistutaan, ja toisaalta kuinka hyvin alueet onnistuvat houkuttelevaan lapsiperheitä, on epävarmaa ja riippuu monesta asiasta – valtavasta potentiaalista huolimatta.

Tilanne Helsingin kantakaupungissa elää. Uusia alueita rakennetaan, ja toisaalta gentrifikaatiokehitys jatkuu edelleen erityisesti itäisessä kantakaupungissa - Punavuoressahan tämä kehitys on käytännössä jo takanapäin. Rakenteet hidastavat kehitystä, ja joissakin tapauksissa jopa toimivat kehityksen jarruna. Esimerkiksi Arabianranta jäi tässä tutkimuksessa osittain huomiotta tästä samaisesta syystä. Monien urbaania ympäristöä arvostavien näkökulmasta liian syrjäinen sijainti, urbaanin diversiteetin puuttuminen sekä pienen yritystoiminnan kannalta riittämättömät rakenteet lienevät syynä siihen, että alue kaikeskustelusta ja maineesta huolimatta on edelleen keskustaa jäljessä.

# Structural views over 'creative' Helsinki

## Background and research questions

Nowadays all the cities want to be creative centres with several creative hubs and be in the centre of creative activities. Although this might seem as an exaggerated generalization, the buzz over creativity has gone over the top. Similarly as tourism has been generally considered as a source of easy money, creativity is often sought after in order to draw competitive forces and investments to certain areas (cf. Florida 2005).

Even though discussion around creativity has reached the peak in many ways (cf. Peck 2005) – also problems have been identified – Helsinki has experienced an upward swing during the past few years. Just recently The International Council of Societies of Industrial Design appointed that status of World Design Capital 2012 to Helsinki (see World Design Capital 2010). The application was based around the idea of Open Helsinki that is “embedding design in life”, and this will also be the leading thought of the design capital year.

The Monocle magazine (Brûlé et al. 2008; 2009) has appointed Helsinki second year in a row the world's fifth most liveable city right after Zürich, Copenhagen, Munich and Tokyo. The extensive thematic article evaluated the cities by utilizing the extensive pattern of criteria. In terms of urban diversity Helsinki cannot compete with the bigger cities such as London or Berlin but in terms of numerous other dimensions Helsinki can provide with higher standards of living.

In addition to the Monocle magazine, the Times (Times Online 2009) listed Helsinki as one of the six new alternative romantic getaways emphasizing gastronomy and restaurants above all, and Elle Décor Italia (2009) in its first issue of 2009 concentrated almost completely on Helsinki and Finland. The list would be remarkably longer but these examples are enough to claim that Helsinki's appeal lies in quality of living, oddities (gastronomy is traditionally not the

first thing that Finland is associated to!) and design. Thus despite the fact that in terms of pleasant weather Helsinki loses the game, or despite the too often observed overly-priced cafés and grocery stores, Helsinki has been able to compete with the other cities in the harsh competition trying to attract creative minds. Push and pull factors can be found from other issues, and although climate or remote location cannot be forgotten, they are not the most important determinants behind choosing a place to live or work.

It is difficult to say what the main factors behind the success of Helsinki are. As mentioned earlier, the Finnish capital cannot compete with the diversity that can be seen as one of the most critical factors (e.g. Florida 2005). In addition to general quality of life and unidentified “northern spirit”, the high-quality education system as well as some leading companies must have something to do with it. However, the project has been successful but as always, future is unknown, and nothing can be taken for granted.

The brand of Helsinki in the field of “creativity” culminates firstly around design including arts and architecture and secondly around ICTs and these both can be discussed under the umbrella of knowledge-based economy (cf. Helsinki City Tourism 2009). When thinking of Florida's widely debated discussions of areas becoming first intruded by the creatives and then followed by others, experiences from Helsinki seem to fit nicely into the model especially when creative people in the fields of art and design are under scrutiny. Some remote gentrified blocks around the centre that used to be favoured by creatives have later become commonly fashionable and prices have gone up. To take all the advantage of the fame, a few central blocks in the centre of the city have been renamed as the Design District (see Design District 2009); dozens of companies somehow connected to design are situated in the area sized less than one square kilometre.

One of the central ideas of Florida (e.g. 2005; 2008) is that the areas that are capable of attract-

ing creatives are potential successors also in the other fields of the economy (also Atkinson – Easthope, 2009). Further, to be creative these areas – cities or city districts for example – must offer adequate structures for creative businesses to work but also adequate services and possibilities for the residents such as leisure time activities. In Helsinki the best combination of business and leisure together with urban atmosphere can be found from the centre and from the other parts of the inner city. This is partly due to the relatively small size of the city and on the other hand to the fact that Helsinki is characteristically structured around the centre. The design district in the centre of Helsinki could well be called the centre of nightlife or ‘foodies’ paradise’ as well. Above-mentioned Times magazine referred Helsinki as ‘The Tasty One’ and most of the restaurants they mentioned are situated either in or very close to the Design District.

Keeping Florida’s (e.g. 2008) writings in mind, it is almost evident that the supply of these all, products of creative industries, design, nightlife, restaurants and other urban hang-outs, go hand in hand. The mid-20th-century urban planning idea based on distinct areas for living, working and consuming has been at least partly abandoned. Helsinki can be considered as an almost perfect example of the concentration of creativity partly because characteristically concentrated structures and on the other hand the small size of the city. There are only a handful of areas that offer enough structural elements for creative industries to flourish and creative people to work and mingle. Practically all of these areas are situated around the centre.

In the city of Helsinki so called “creative classes”, seem to be concentrating in two areas: in the southern and western parts of the centre and in the areas few kilometres to the north, latter referred here as eastern inner city. Most of the stereotypically creative activities occur in these areas and most of the – again stereotypically – creative people also live there. This seems to be particularly the case when thinking of creatives working in art and design sector.

ICT people stereotypically represent somewhat different lifestyle (see Kepsu & Vaattovaara 2008; also Ilmonen et al. 2000; Kortteinen et al. 2005) and it can be assumed that amongst these people the concentration structures may be different when comparing to the people on artistic side. In the context of the areas of residence of ICT professionals the concen-

tration is probably not as clear as in the case of artists, and centre is not assumed to be dominant anymore. When thinking of the locations of the businesses, it should be clear that the centre meets competitors. ICT driven industries, especially, often need a lot of space and areas providing this can be found further away from the centre.

In general, amongst all the sectors of the economy, the centre of Helsinki seems to dominate the market (YTV 2009). The appeal of the centre is naturally favoured by those attracted by the urban atmosphere – the centre of Helsinki is one of the few areas in Finland, some argue the only one that offers truly urban environment (cf. Alanen 2007). According to the occupational data (Statistics Finland 2008) concerning the end of 2005 12 % of all the people working in Helsinki worked and lived in the same area whilst in the inner city the share was as high as 28 %. If only the southernmost areas were counted in, the share would be 32 %. This is a remarkable share given the relatively small size of the inner city. The southern districts comprise only of a few dozen blocks. In 2005 these blocks were home to 33 % of the jobs of Helsinki. The whole inner city contained 54 % of the jobs.

Florida (e.g. 2008) separates the “supercreative core” from the creative class and in addition to earlier mentioned designers and ICT professionals he wants to add engineers, professors, authors and journalists to the group as well. The definition of the supercreative class is arguable due to the fact that expanding the “class” too much would definitely decrease the explaining power of the empirical examinations. There is no point in comparing creatives to some other group of people if almost everyone is considered creative.

The International Council of Societies of Industrial Design designated just recently Helsinki as the World Design Capital for the year 2010 (see Guardian Online 2010). Now it can be asked whether Helsinki is more creative than its global competitors, Eindhoven, Copenhagen or Stockholm, to mention a few. What makes Helsinki creative and what kind of creativity we are talking about when Helsinki is under scrutiny? The successful application was based on the idea that design is embedded in the everyday lives of the citizens of Helsinki, and in addition to this, design is seen from a broad perspective playing pivotal role in city planning, architecture, industrial



design and service design, for example. (See World Design Capital 2009).

This broad perspective, however, must be abandoned when searching for empirical applications. Similarly as Florida's "definitions" are too comprehensive, idea of embedded design is impossible to examine empirically especially when using statistical sources. There are also other ways how creativity could have been approached (e.g. Alanen 2008), but in this study, two professional groups are examined further; artists including industrial designers and ICT professionals. Unfortunately graphic designers, professionals working in the advertisement agencies or media offices and architects could not be separated from the data (cf. Ilmonen et al. 2000). These professional groups would have brought more depth to the analysis; the amount of artists and industrial designers happened to be quite small, and in addition to this, the group that combines these two professional groups together is naturally problematic.

In the context of the relatively small city such as Helsinki, and when thinking of creativity that is difficult to measure, the chosen approach was considered the best possible. Also when taking into account the characteristics of the quantitative data and on the other hand the study's aim to get deeper into the phenomenon and structures, the wider definitions could not be used. On the other hand the division between artists and ICT professionals resembles the one used by Ilmonen et al. (2000) which provided with insights concerning hypotheses and interpretations. Ilmonen et al. examined and compared the preferences of design and information technology professionals. Their categories were somewhat more comprehensive but the idea behind the categorization was more or less the same: to examine preferences of the professionals having achieved central positions in recent urban development (ibid.).

The aim of the study is to examine the areas where these people live and work and to find out the possible differences. Even though the main focus is on the inner city of Helsinki, especially in the context of ICT professionals and their working locations some central areas from neighbouring Espoo and Vantaa will be scrutinized as well. The most important data that will be analyzed is a separate section of the so called occupational data including information of the professions of the Finnish citizens (Statistics Finland 2008).

To conclude, this study will examine two central groups that are both equally responsible for making Helsinki the "creative city". Artists and industrial designers can be strongly linked with the design dimension and ICT professionals represent the other side of creativity; experts in the knowledge-based market. The data does not contain all the information and not all the artists. Those who are still studying, for example, are not represented in the data. The data, that despite being the newest possible, dates back to the end of 2005. However, it can be assumed that the structures have since then changed relatively little.

## Helsinki metropolitan area in a nutshell

The strong concentration of ICT professionals and artists both from the viewpoint of working locations and areas of residence is evident even without further examination. However, the dynamics between the most popular areas is not known. This study aims at getting more information of these dynamics and thus concentrates mainly on the inner city of Helsinki. The inner city is defined here to include southern neighbourhoods, district of Reijola including Meilahti, Ruskeasuo and Laakso, Kallio and its surroundings, Pasila, Vanhakaupunki and Lauttasaari (see figure 4).

The island of Lauttasaari is not traditionally considered part of the inner city but because of its nearly perfect location between Helsinki and technological hubs of Espoo it is included to the analysis. Lauttasaari is also an important area amongst architectural services (cf. Alanen 2007). The area of Pitäjänmäki filled with ICT enterprises and also Munkkiniemi are included to the analysis as well. However, they do not count to the totals when the inner city is concerned. In general, most of the northern and eastern districts of Helsinki remain unexamined due to the fact that they are not important in either of the cases of artists or ICT professionals.

Helsinki metropolitan area consists officially of four cities, Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen. In practice Helsinki metropolitan area can be considered as one very spread out fairly large city. Aerial view reveals one proper centre, a few sub-centres and numerous residential suburbs. There are a lot of green areas especially outside the central Helsinki but also in the centre. Despite this somewhat clear structure, all the administrative cities mentioned above have their own distinct characteristics.

**Figure 4. The districts of the inner city of Helsinki**



Helsinki is the capital of Finland and also the centre of the whole area. With its about 577 000 inhabitants it consists over half of the population of the Helsinki metropolitan area and more than tenth when the population of Finland is considered. When all the nearest neighbouring towns are combined, the total population of the greater Helsinki is about 1,3 million which is about 25 % of the population of Finland (Regional Statistics 2009).

Economical and cultural activities in greater Helsinki concentrate largely to the central city, Helsinki, and to a few particular areas in Espoo and Vantaa. Helsinki is the only truly urban area of the mentioned cities and supposedly people who live there – especially those who have purposefully chosen this – are more interested in urban activities than people from the other cities. According to the recent welfare survey 61 % of respondents from Helsinki stated that urban lifestyle increases their willingness to live in the

area. In Espoo the percentage was 44 %, in Vantaa 43 % and in Kauniainen 50 %. Differences were highly significant according to the  $\chi^2$ -test. In the context of this study, the welfare data collected by SOCCA (2008) has been analyzed by the author.

Structurally Espoo, the second largest city in Finland with 242 000 inhabitants, differs fundamentally from Helsinki. Espoo is a city with no clear centre; instead there are a few regional centres and a couple of remarkable technological hubs. Espoo offers a lot of living space and nature the most important services concentrating to the nearby sub-centres. During the past decade a lot of apartment houses have been built but still 44 % of the residents live in small detached houses or row houses (City of Espoo 2009). Even though according to the welfare survey and to the pre-assumptions people of Espoo are not as fond of urban lifestyle as people of Helsinki (however, almost half of them are), they seem to be fairly content

with the closeness of services. When estimated this by using the scale 4 to 10, respondents from Espoo scored a mean of 8,3 the means of Helsinki being 8,4, Vantaa 8,1 and Kauniainen 8,5. From the viewpoint of urban lifestyle, closeness of services might be linked with a café across the street and small corner stores whilst in suburban towns such as in the city centres of Espoo, it might mean closeness of a shopping centres that can be reached easily by car. According to the welfare survey, 82 % of the households in Espoo had at least one car. This is significantly more than in Helsinki where 62 % had a car. In Espoo 27 % of the households had two or more cars – in Helsinki 13 %.

Kauniainen is a small town located inside the borders of Espoo with only 8 500 residents. Even though the city resembles a small garden-like village, by figures it differs remarkably from the other cities of the metropolitan area. The education level of residents is very high and people are relatively wealthy; 39 % of the respondents' households earn more than 5 000 euro per month after taxes. Percentages in Espoo, Helsinki and Vantaa are 17 %, 13 % and 20 %, respectively. In Kauniainen, 89 % of households have at least one car, 48 % two or more.

City of Vantaa is yet another case. According to the city's web pages (City of Vantaa 2009) the vision of Vantaa is to be an international centre of business and knowledge where people of all ages can enjoy living. Vantaa has one evident advantage on its side when trying to achieve this goal; the Helsinki airport and surrounding areas including the extensive logistics services and a nearby technology-driven Aviapolis area. In addition to this, the Ring road III that runs through the city is lined with numerous office premises.

More than 195 000 people live in Vantaa mainly in a few local centres. In a way, the airport divides the city in two parts western part growing northwards from Espoo and eastern part melts into eastern suburbs of Helsinki. Vantaa has not shoreline of its own but as Vantaa's official web pages state, it has nature, space and countryside together with good connection to Helsinki and cheaper apartments comparing to the other cities in the metropolitan area. Thus, Vantaa is a strong competitor to other suburban cities especially amongst people who want to move to the metropolitan area but not to more expensive Helsinki and also amongst those wanting to move away from Helsinki. Being a suburban city such as Espoo, an own car

seems to be a necessity; 82 % of the households have at least one car according to the welfare survey.

## The “creative” areas of Helsinki metropolitan area according to the statistics

In Finland a great share of economical activities tends to concentrate in Helsinki and particularly inside and around the centre of the city (cf. YTV 2009; also City of Helsinki Urban Facts 2007). This concentration is very strong especially when so called creative industries are concerned (compare to Alanen 2007).

According to the occupational data, 37 % of all the artists and industrial designers of Finland that were represented in the data, worked in Helsinki and of these more than 72 % worked in the inner city and in the southern neighbourhoods almost half. When ICT professionals were examined using the same set of data, 36 % worked in Helsinki and of these 59 % in the inner city. Contrary to artists and their working locations, some important technological hubs could also be found outside the inner city of Helsinki and from Espoo and Vantaa; 16 % of the ICT professionals worked in Espoo and about fifth of the ICT professionals who worked in Helsinki worked in the area called Pitäjänmäki (sometimes called as “Silicon Hill”) in the western end of Helsinki where several big ICT companies have settled (see table 3).

Also from the viewpoint of residential areas concentration is strong and allocates more or less to the same areas. According to the occupational data about one third of the artists and industrial designers represented in the data lived in Helsinki and 64 % of these lived in the inner city. The share of the southern neighbourhoods was 27 % so in the context of residential areas concentration was not as clear as in the case of the jobs. Concentration amongst ICT professionals when residential areas were under examination was, as expected, considerably weaker; 23 % lived in Helsinki and 15 % in Espoo. Difference between ICT professionals and artists was remarkable in this sense because only 4 % of the artists lived in Espoo.

In either cases Vantaa did not stand out. There were over two times more ICT professionals living in Espoo than in Vantaa and when working locations were concerned, less than 4 % of the professionals of Finland worked in Vantaa comparing to above men-

tioned 16 % of Espoo and 36 % of Helsinki. Amongst artists Vantaa was slightly more popular as a place of residence than as a working location; 4 % of the artists lived in Vantaa comparing to 2 % who worked there. However, the number of artists in Espoo and Vantaa were in general very small and thus artists living and working in these cities were excluded from the deeper analyses.

As a methodical experiment Florida's index-thinking (cf. Florida 2005) was adapted to the district level utilizing the wide range of statistical sources (see table 3). In addition to occupational statistics also the database of Helsinki region statistics (Regional Statistics 2009) was used. The database has been produced in cooperation with the municipalities of the Helsinki region and contains time series data concerning the whole area. The new indicators were formed in order to enable comparisons between the city regions. Internationality indicator (cf. "tolerance" of Florida) indicates the percentage of the non-Finnish or Swedish speaking population in the given areas. Education indicator (cf. "creativity") refers to the share of population with high university degree. These indicators were calculated to enlighten the characteristics and on the other hand differences between the areas.

Indicators referring to the artists and ICT professionals were divided into two different sets. "Artists/resid." and "ICT/resid." indicators refer to the percentage of artists and ICT-professionals living in the different areas in relation to the total number in whole Helsinki. "Artists/work" and "ICT/work", respectively, refer to the artists and ICT professionals who worked in Helsinki. It can be assumed that the area of residence would tell more about the personal preferences than the place of work because in many cases area of residence can be chosen which in often not the case when locations of work are considered (see Florida 2008). However, information of the working locations of the "creatives" was considered important from the viewpoint of comparisons.

Florida (eg. 2005; 2008) has listed cities by putting them in order according to the different indexes. In the case of Helsinki conducting these kinds of lists was not considered adequate for example due to the small size of the city and relatively clear differences between the city regions. There are only a few areas in Helsinki that could be reasonably compared. On the other hand, the competition from the viewpoint of creativity is to some extent already over.

However, the "hubs" or concentrations of ICT professionals and artists were assumed to be found from the different areas of Helsinki and thus calculating the indicators was considered a good way to visualize the differences.

According to the internationality indicator Pasila was in a league of its own. More than 13 % of the residents of Pasila spoke some other language than Finnish and Swedish as a mother tongue. Pasila is the only area examined in this study that rose above the overall average of Helsinki, which is about 10 %. The observations concerning Pasila can be easily explained by the large number of immigrants settled especially in the eastern corner of the area; 19 % of the residents of Eastern Pasila were other than Finnish or Swedish speakers. In addition to this, a lot of students live in the area. Pitäjänmäki outside the inner city and Kampinmalmi and Reijola inside the inner city came next with the percentages between 7 and 9. In general, the share of speakers of foreign languages was lowest in the wealthy central areas of Helsinki and on the other hand in the areas dominated by the detached houses. This is very typical to the city of Helsinki where majority of the foreign based residents and immigrants live in lodgings owned and hosted by the city and located in the remote suburban areas.

In the case of some areas scrutinized here the number of immigrants raised the numbers a bit but still the averages tend to be quite low. The share of people who speak other language than Finnish and Swedish was around 6 percentages in all the central areas of the inner city. If assumed that international atmosphere has something to do with creativity, the indicator used here seems to indicate the contrary effect. As will be shown later, the most "creative areas" in Helsinki seem to be those with the lowest percentages of native speakers of foreign languages. Situation also seems to be quite stable. In Punavuori that is probably the most important area from the viewpoint of creative industries especially when design dimension is under scrutiny (see e.g. Alanen 2007 and Design District 2009) the share of residents speaking other languages than Finnish and Swedish was 6 % in 2000 and not higher than 8 % in 2009. These numbers do not tell, however, anything about the creativity of foreigners. Instead, they tell about the centre-based structure of the city and about the fact that a great deal of immigrants cannot afford to live in the most expensive districts of Helsinki.

When city districts were approached by utilizing the indicator examining the percentage of residents with high university degree, clearly more differences could be found. The biggest share of educated residents can be found from the areas located in the southern and western parts of the inner city. About one fourth of the residents in Vironniemi and in some sub-areas even more, had high university degree that according to the current system means at least the masters' level degree. In the city of Helsinki the overall average was 15 %.

Education goes hand in hand with incomes at least to some extent and thus it is clear the share of educated residents is biggest in the highly-valued and fairly expensive central areas. However, it cannot be forgotten that some remarkable differences can be found also inside the areas. For example in the relatively new sub-district of Ruoholahti share of residents with high university degree was 14 % whilst in Etu-Töölö belonging to the same district of Kampinmalmi it was as high as 29 %. The percentage was highest, 35 %, in the southernmost tip of the inner city in the area called Eira (district of Ullanlinna) and in the western islands of Kuusisaari, 35 %, and Lehtisaari, 33 % (both in the district of Munkkiniemi). The opposite end of the spectrum can be found from the most remote suburbs where percentages remained under 6 %. The share of residents with high university degree is lowest, only 3 %, in Jakomäki in the north-eastern part of Helsinki.

The district of Kallio together with its surroundings is an interesting case with some old factory estates and rapidly changing borders further north and east. Like several its counterparts around the world, Kallio is an old "working class area", and tends to attract young people and creative minds with its atmosphere and relatively cheap rents. Legacy of the past and the amount of students is reflected to the education index and these are the reasons why the area remains in the shadow of the centre. Students do not yet have degrees and this is a problem when creativity is examined by using the indicators such as education. Kallio is the last area in Helsinki, probably together with Alppiharju and Vallila, where gentrification process is still going on. In Punavuori, that used to be a workers' district as well, the major deal of the development has occurred earlier. The legacy of the proletariat is still characteristic to Kallio and to some extent also to Punavuori and in a way the presence

of students bringing diversity and life to the area fits nicely into the picture. All the characteristics together create conditions for creative industries to maintain and expand their activities.

Totally 1 337 artists and industrial designers lived in Helsinki in the end of 2005. Almost 90 % of these people also worked in Helsinki. It must be noticed that the real number of artists living in Helsinki is remarkably larger firstly because, like just mentioned, students who work, and many do, are not included in the data and secondly because there are artists whose profession in the registers can be something totally different.

The indicator "Artists/resid." referring to the share of artists residing in different districts of Helsinki strengthened the stereotypical image of Kallio and the centre (Ullanlinna and Kampinmalmi) as creative districts. These areas differed remarkably from the other areas and it seems that artists in Helsinki tend to concentrate in a very few areas (table 3). Somewhat surprisingly only 5 % of the artists who lived in Helsinki lived in Vanhakaupunki that is the district where famous Arabianranta (Arabianranta 2007) is located and that has profiled itself, and has been commonly profiled, as a creative district. On the other hand, when comparing the districts using these kinds of indicators it must be taken into account that sizes of the districts vary a lot and thus the numbers cannot be fully compared.

When examining the areas where artists worked the results were slightly different. Centre seems to dominate even more than in the case of the areas where artists lived (table 3). Almost half of the artists who worked in Helsinki worked in the centre whilst 27 % of artists living in Helsinki lived in the centre, which of course is also quite a remarkable share. When the whole inner city was concerned the division was more even but still the concentration was stronger in the case of working locations. Alanen (2007) has stated that enterprises tend to settle in the areas where they are expected to settle. This surely is one part of the truth. However, in the case of Helsinki city structures are probably the factor that affects behind preferences and also behind the stereotypical expectations.

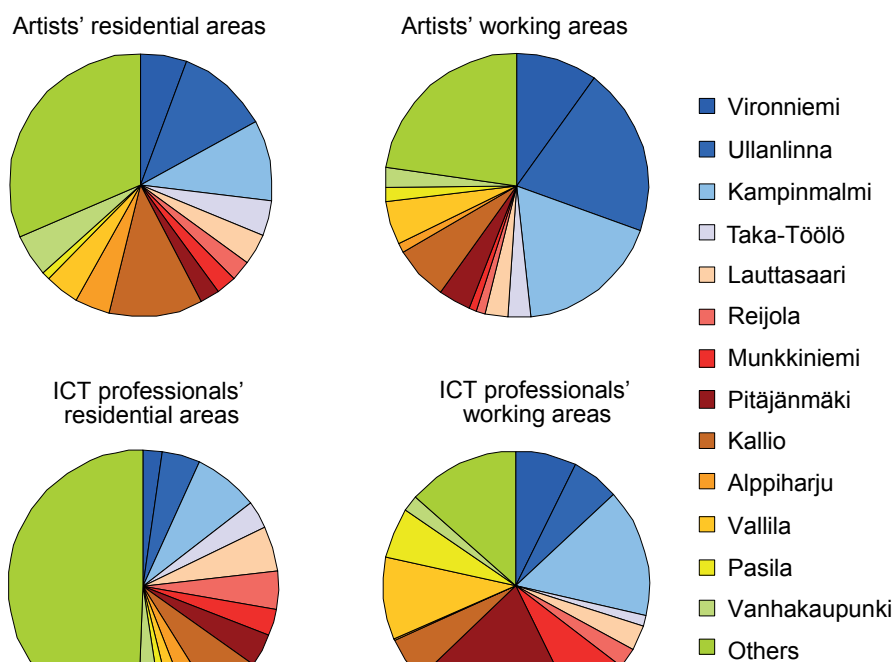
Again, somewhat surprisingly, the district of Vanhakaupunki did not stand out; only 2,5 % of the artists worked there. In general it seems that creative industries if viewed from the viewpoint of artists work-

**Table 3. Central areas of Helsinki and indicators connected to creativity**

District of Helsinki	Internationality (% of all)	Education (% of all)	Artists/resid. * (n=1337,%)	Artists/work * (n=1544)	ICT/resid. * (n=8120)	ICT/Work * (n=12702)
Vironniemi	6,0	28,4	5,6	10,0	2,2	7,3
Ullanlinna	6,6	26,0	11,5	20,5	4,6	5,8
Kampinmalmi	7,6	23,9	9,8	17,7	7,7	15,6
Taka-Töölö	5,2	24,5	4,4	2,8	3,4	1,3
Lauttasaari	4,8	25,8	3,8	2,8	5,3	3,0
Reijola	7,2	19,3	2,4	1,1	4,7	2,4
Munkkiniemi	4,9	24,5	2,5	0,9	3,1	7,4
Pitäjänmäki	8,5	12,3	2,5	4,0	3,9	19,9
Kallio	6,5	14,1	11,4	6,7	6,3	5,4
Alppiharju	6,1	11,0	4,3	1,1	3,0	0,2
Vallila	6,6	10,8	4,3	5,4	2,0	10,0
Pasila	13,3	10,3	1,0	1,7	1,4	6,0
Vanhakaupunki	5,8	14,9	5,2	2,5	3,0	2,0
All together			68,6	77,3	50,5	86,4
Centre			26,9	48,3	14,5	28,7
Inner city			63,6	72,4	43,5	59,1
Eastern inner city			19,9	13,2	11,3	15,6

\* The amount (%) of people living/working in the area comparing to those living/working in Helsinki.

**Figure 5. Artists' and ICT professionals' residential areas and working areas in Helsinki**



ing locations have not (yet) fully settled outside the centre although many people already live in the eastern inner city.

ICT sector represents another dimension of creativity. Before further discussion is must be reminded that obviously it cannot be said that ICT sector as a whole is creative or that artists in general are creative. More than this, the aim here is to look at the industries and sectors of the economy that are commonly and stereotypically connected with creativity.

Nevertheless, as discussed briefly in the beginning, from the context of lifestyles stereotypical ICT professionals differ from stereotypical artists and this hypothesis was strengthened when areas of residence were observed (table 3). Even though (choosing an) area of residing is only one aspect having influence on lifestyles, and other way around, in the case of creative industries it can be consider an important one (Florida 2008). If assumed that many ICT professionals are relatively wealthy when it comes to wages, for example, it should be possible for them to choose the place of residing. However, only 15 % of the ICT professionals who lived in Helsinki lived in the centre and share of the inner city, 44 %, was also remarkably lower than the share of artists, 64 %. In addition to this, it seems clear that also the eastern inner city is more favoured by artists than by ICT professionals. Thus, not living in the centre must be a choice that many ICT professionals seemed to have made. Totally there were 8 120 ICT professionals living in Helsinki and they live quite evenly in all the examined areas except Vironniemi and Pasila. Kampinmalmi and Kallio represent the other end, and were thus the most popular residential areas but not to same extent that in the case of the artists. Unfortunately the data did not contain information of the type of the house in which people lived. It can be, however, assumed that artists tend to like older apartment houses whilst ICT professionals prefer newer apartment houses or detached houses (cf. Ilmonen et al. 2000).

Working locations of ICT professionals concentrated, as expected, very strongly to a very few areas (table 3). Unfortunately, again, the data did not contain information of the sub-districts. This would have revealed the ICT hubs better. Even though Kampinmalmi is a very important working location amongst ICT professionals, similarly as for the artists, the actual locations inside the district differ remarkably. Assumedly many ICT people work in Ruoholahti

whilst artists work nearer to Punavuori in the centre.

Totally there were 12 702 ICT professionals working in Helsinki and almost 20 % of them worked in the district of Pitäjänmäki. However, only 4 % of ICT professionals who lived in Helsinki lived in Pitäjänmäki. When considering the working locations Pitäjänmäki turned out to be the most important ICT hub in Helsinki. Amongst those living in Helsinki, however, Kampinmalmi in the centre was a bit more popular (see table 4).

In general, 16 % of the ICT-professionals worked in Kampinmalmi where office-filled Ruoholahti is located, and the district of Vallila came third with 10 %. The western part of Vallila is famous for its large office buildings and when heading north it melts into similarly office-filled Pasila which explains the high percentage. The IT Department of the University of Helsinki, for example, is situated in western Vallila.

Only 29 % of the ICT professionals who worked in Helsinki worked in the centre and as it can be assumed that majority of these people worked in Ruoholahti that belongs to the district of Kampinmalmi, the importance of the centre turns out to be relatively low amongst ICT driven industries. Many companies where ICT professionals work commonly employ a lot of people and accordingly require a lot of office space and based on these facts the concentration outside the very centre can be easily explained.

When ICT sector is under scrutiny it is necessary to widen the scope beyond the borders of Helsinki. Almost 16 % of the ICT professionals of Finland worked in Espoo, which of course is far less than in Helsinki (36 %) but still a remarkable share making Espoo one of the most important technology cities in Finland. According to the data, Espoo was home to 15 % of the ICT-professionals of Finland comparing to the share of 23 % of Helsinki. The most important districts in Espoo are Leppävaara and Tapiola where 85 % of the ICT-professionals working in Espoo worked and almost half of the professionals living in Espoo lived. More detailed examination of the popular residential areas amongst ICT-professionals in Espoo and Vantaa is beyond the scope of this study. However, as working locations the most important districts of Espoo namely Leppävaara and Tapiola as well as Vantaa all together will be discussed later in greater detail.

## Concentration of ICT Professionals in Helsinki

Concentration of creative professionals seemed to be stronger in the case of areas where people work regardless of the profession. From this point of view combining the two dimensions, areas of residence and work, was worth trying. Thus, in the following chapters areas of residence and work are examined together. By examining the locations of residence and work together it is possible to gain information of the “paths” followed by the professionals. Following the discussion of creativity maintained by Florida and such it can be assumed that many “creatives” live and work in the same area. In the context of Helsinki, this is assumed to be the case especially when the districts of Kallio and on the other hand Ullanlinna including Punavuori are examined. Artists working outside Helsinki were excluded from the analysis due to the fact that there were only a few of them.

In the case of ICT professionals, instead, the most important working districts in Espoo as well as Vantaa as a whole were added to the analysis and scrutinized together with the residential areas of the inner city of Helsinki combined with districts of Munkkiniemi and Pitäjänmäki (table 7). Residential areas of those Helsinki-based professionals working in Leppävaara and Tapiola in Espoo and on the other hand in Vantaa were also examined by the age categories. In the case of those living and working in Helsinki the age-wise examination was done by combining areas of the centre and of the eastern inner city together (table 6).

The age-wise examination was done in order to find possible differences between the areas of Helsinki and in Espoo, especially between Leppävaara and Tapiola, from the viewpoint of residential areas. Even though situated in the different city, Tapiola can be in a way considered part of western Helsinki because it is located close to Lauttasaari and the important ICT hub of Ruoholahti a bit further in the east. In this sense, the borderline dividing Helsinki and Espoo is, for many, only theoretical. It could be assumed that many ICT professionals working in Tapiola live in the inner city of Helsinki where the transport connections to Espoo are good. Leppävaara, not far either, is linked to Helsinki by train network and thus the residing pattern can be more spread out (see figure 4).

In the case of artists and industrial designers, ex-

amination concentrated totally in Helsinki due to the observed fact that the other cities played very minor role in the field. Areas of residence and work were examined according to age categories to find out if the appeal of the centre and eastern inner city is connected to the age of the artists. It could be assumed ad hoc that centre as a residential area would be important in all the age groups amongst artists but the district of Kallio and the eastern inner city as a whole would be more favoured by the younger artists. In the case of working areas the differences between the age categories are assumed to be less significant.

Age categories were conducted by dividing professionals into three groups, less than 35 years, 35-44 years and over 44 years. 48 % of the artists who lived in Helsinki belonged to the first category, 30 % to the second and 22 % to the third. In the case of ICT professionals the percentages were 44 %, 27 % and 29 %, respectively.

According to the indicators presented in the table 3 (also figure 5), ICT professionals seem to have settled in all the areas of the inner city despite a few exceptions. However, it can be assumed that when dividing these people by the location of work some differences may occur. This assumption turned out to be correct (tables 4-7); some clear differences were found when the residential areas were examined together with the location of the work.

Roughly speaking, the areas around the centre were favoured by the people who also worked in the centre (table 5). In the case of ICT professionals working in Vironniemi, Ullanlinna and Kampinmalmi that are all located in the centre, the share of people living in the centre varied from 19 % (Kampinmalmi) to 27 % (Ullanlinna). The share of inner city as a residential area was almost 50 % in all of these locations of work except in Ullanlinna where the share was as high as 59 %. In other words, more than half of the Helsinki-based ICT professionals working in Ullanlinna lived in the inner city of Helsinki. This is relatively close to the share of artists living in the inner city which was 64 % in the case of those living in Helsinki. It seems clear that urban lifestyle and atmosphere is favoured especially amongst those ICT professionals working in the centre. Thus, it can be said that from this point of view the two different professional groups both representing the different dimensions of creativity resemble each others.

Kallio, again, is the case of its own. The share of

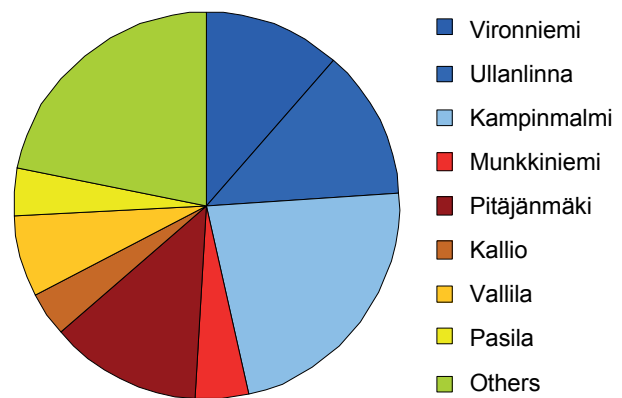


those working in Kallio and also living there was remarkably high, 13 %. The share was higher only in the district of Ullanlinna. Kallio and the whole eastern inner city as residential areas seemed to be also favoured by ICT-professionals working in Ullanlinna and nearby Vallila and to some extent by those working in the other districts of the centre (see table 5). Interestingly, however, those who worked in Kallio did not seem to live in the centre. Kallio, thus, seems to form some sort of a hub of its own; relatively many people who work there also live there. On the other hand, professionals living in Kallio go to work also to other areas especially to the centre (table 4).

Together with Kampinmalmi that includes the ICT hub of Ruoholahti, Pitäjänmäki was the most important working location amongst ICT professionals. 8 % of Helsinki-based ICT professionals who worked in Pitäjänmäki also lived in Pitäjänmäki (table 5). Other way around, about third of the ICT professionals living in Pitäjänmäki also worked there. The district of Kampinmalmi also seemed to be relatively important area of residing amongst these professionals working in Pitäjänmäki. Similarly, 9 % of the professionals who lived in Helsinki and worked in Munkkiniemi also lived in Munkkiniemi and relatively many in Pitäjänmäki and Kampinmalmi. Inter-

estingly, in the case of both these areas, the other districts did not stand out. It seems that in a way these areas further from the centre of Helsinki form two separate hubs. These hubs are clearly distinct from the centre and eastern inner city where a fairly large share of people both work and live and that attract people from all the residential areas. However, further examination of this was not possible using only these data.

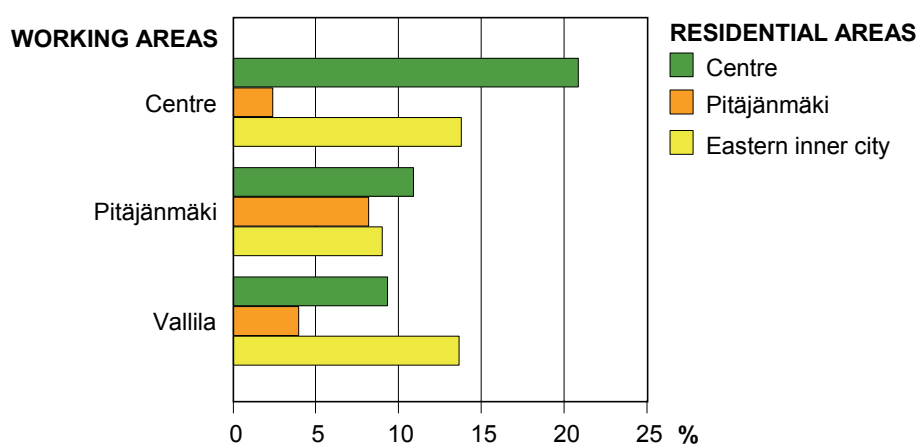
**Figure 6. Area of work of the ICT professionals living in the centre of Helsinki**



**Table 4. Area of work of the ICT professionals who worked and lived in Helsinki according to the area of residence (% of all living in the mentioned areas)**

Area of residence	Area of work							
	Vironniemi (n=497)	Ullanlinna (n=400)	Kampinmalmi (n=1007)	Munkkiniemi (n=345)	Pitäjänmäki (n=999)	Kallio (n=364)	Vallila (n=630)	Pasila (n=333)
Vironniemi (n=140)	18,6	5,7	21,4	3,6	14,3	3,6	5,0	4,3
Ullanlinna (n=269)	9,3	21,6	19,0	4,1	10,0	3,3	8,9	3,7
Kampinmalmi (n=447)	10,5	9,2	25,1	4,9	13,9	3,8	6,3	4,0
Taka-Töölö (n=188)	8,0	5,9	25,5	3,7	11,7	2,7	9,0	5,3
Lauttasaari (n=255)	8,2	5,9	21,2	4,7	14,5	1,6	9,8	4,3
Reijola (n=191)	7,9	5,8	15,7	5,8	19,4	4,7	6,3	4,7
Munkkiniemi (n=179)	4,5	3,9	16,8	17,9	22,3	5,6	6,7	1,7
Pitäjänmäki (n=243)	4,5	4,5	9,9	10,7	33,7	4,1	10,3	4,1
Kallio (n=401)	8,0	9,5	19,2	3,2	10,2	11,5	11,0	3,0
Alppila (n=189)	8,5	7,4	17,5	4,2	16,4	6,3	12,7	5,8
Vallila (n=145)	9,7	9,0	17,9	2,1	12,4	6,2	12,4	5,5
Pasila (n=100)	12,0	9,0	13,0	5,0	17,0	4,0	12,0	13,0
Vanhakaupunki (n=187)	7,0	8,6	10,2	5,9	12,8	7,5	15,0	4,8

**Figure 7. ICT professionals' residential areas according to the areas of work**



**Table 5. Area of residence of the ICT-professionals who worked and lived in Helsinki according to the area of work (% of all working in the mentioned areas)**

Area of residence	Area of work							
	Vironniemi (n=497)	Ullanlinna (n=400)	Kampinmalmi (n=1007)	Munkkiniemi (n=345)	Pitäjänmäki (n=999)	Kallio (n=364)	Vallila (n=630)	Pasila (n=333)
Vironniemi (n=140)	5,2	2,0	3,0	1,4	2,0	1,4	1,1	1,8
Ullanlinna (n=269)	5,0	14,5	5,1	3,2	2,7	2,5	3,8	3,0
Kampinmalmi (n=447)	9,5	10,3	11,1	6,4	6,2	4,7	4,4	5,4
Taka-Töölö (n=188)	3,0	2,8	4,8	2,0	2,2	1,4	2,7	3,0
Lauttasaari (n=255)	4,2	3,8	5,4	3,5	3,7	1,1	4,0	3,3
Reijola (n=191)	3,0	2,8	3,0	3,2	3,7	2,5	1,9	2,7
Munkkiniemi (n=179)	1,6	1,8	3,0	9,3	4,0	2,7	1,9	0,9
Pitäjänmäki (n=243)	2,2	2,8	2,4	7,5	8,2	2,7	4,0	3,0
Kallio (n=401)	6,4	9,5	7,6	3,8	4,1	12,6	7,0	3,6
Alppila (n=189)	3,2	3,5	3,3	2,3	3,1	3,3	3,8	3,3
Vallila (n=145)	2,8	3,3	2,6	0,9	1,8	2,5	2,9	2,4
Pasila (n=100)	2,4	2,3	1,3	1,4	1,7	1,1	1,9	3,9
Vanhakaupunki (n=187)	2,6	4,0	1,9	3,2	2,4	3,8	4,4	2,7
All together	51,3	63,0	54,3	48,1	45,8	42,3	43,8	39,0
Centre	19,7	26,8	19,2	11,0	10,9	8,5	9,4	10,2
Inner city	47,5	58,5	49,0	31,3	33,6	36,8	37,9	35,1
Eastern inner city	12,5	16,3	13,5	7,0	9,0	18,4	13,7	9,3

The age-wise examination reveals some of the backgrounds behind the observations presented in the table 5 (see table 6). The appeal of the eastern inner city (Kallio, Alppila and Vallila) as a residential area decreased remarkably when stepping from first age category to the second one both in the case of those working in the centre and those working in the east-

ern inner city. Surprisingly, however, share of those living in Kallio amongst those working in the eastern inner city raised again a little when coming to the highest age category.

Also the appeal of the centre decreased with the age especially in the district of Ullanlinna that is the district where the centre's counterpart to Kallio,

Punavuori, is located. Despite the decreased appeal of the whole combined centre of Helsinki, the district of Kampinmalmi remained the most favoured residential area through all the age categories amongst those working in the centre. Respectively in the case of eastern inner city the district of Kallio remained the most popular.

It is evident that the decreasing appeal of the inner city is due to the fact that many people having lived first in Kallio or Punavuori, for example, want to move later to the more remote areas such as Espoo or suburbs of Helsinki. Kallio with its small apartments is traditionally a place where many people first move when they come to Helsinki. There is a lack of bigger apartments in the area which surely has to do with the decreasing appeal. There is simply not enough space for families to live when thinking of contemporary standards of living adopted by many.

Another explanation can be found from urban environment, which can naturally be considered positive or negative depending on the case. Ullanlinna, especially the area of Punavuori together with the

more remote Kallio are very lively urban districts and it can be assumed that in general the atmosphere in these areas does not attract older residents. Nevertheless, there are a lot of people who want to stay in the centre and in Kallio. The difference between the first two age categories was clear but between the second and the third category the movement seemed to stabilize. The appeal of the centre and Kallio, thus, did not vanish. Instead, the centre seems to remain important residential area especially amongst those also working in the centre.

Most famous residential areas amongst those Helsinki-based ICT-professionals who worked in Espoo and Vantaa seemed to vary remarkably according to the location of the work (table 7). The differences were surprisingly clear and all the three areas, Lepävaara and Tapiola, both in Espoo, and Vantaa differed from each others.

In the case of those working in Vantaa the distribution was the most even. Less than 10 % of Helsinki-based ICT professionals who worked in Vantaa lived in the centre of Helsinki and even fewer in the

**Table 6. Areas of residence of the ICT-professionals who lived in Helsinki and worked in the centre or in the eastern inner city of Helsinki according to the age categories (% of all working in the centre or in the eastern inner city)**

Area of work Area of residence	Centre			Eastern inner city		
	Age under 35 (n=1005)	Age 35 – 44 (n=479)	Age over 44 (n=420)	Age under 35 (n=322)	Age 35 – 44 (n=296)	Age over 44 (n=395)
Vironniemi	3,4	2,9	3,8	1,2	1,4	1,0
Ullanlinna	9,0	5,0	4,8	5,6	2,0	2,5
Kampinmalmi	11,4	10,6	8,1	6,5	5,4	2,8
Taka-Töölö	4,1	3,5	3,8	3,7	2,0	1,0
Lauttasaari	5,2	3,8	4,8	3,4	3,4	2,0
Reijola	3,3	2,7	2,4	1,9	2,4	2,0
Munkkiniemi	2,9	1,7	1,9	1,2	2,4	2,8
Pitäjänmäki	2,7	2,3	1,9	2,8	3,7	4,1
Kallio	9,7	5,6	5,5	14,3	5,7	7,8
Alppila	5,1	1,5	1,2	6,2	3,4	2,0
Vallila	4,0	1,7	1,2	4,7	1,4	2,3
Pasila	2,1	0,4	2,6	0,6	1,4	2,5
Vanhakaupunki	3,4	1,9	1,2	4,7	4,1	3,8
All together	66,1	43,6	43,1	56,8	38,5	36,7
Centre	23,8	18,6	16,7	13,4	8,8	6,3
Inner city	60,5	39,7	39,3	52,8	32,4	29,9
Eastern inner city	18,7	8,8	7,9	25,2	10,5	12,2

eastern inner city. Only areas that stood out to some extent were Kampinmalmi in the younger age categories and Lauttasaari in the third category. Thus, when ICT professionals who worked in Vantaa were examined, the concentration was weaker than in the case of Espoo. From this perspective ICT professionals who lived in Vantaa differed also from those working in Helsinki.

Examination of the two areas of Espoo that were chosen to the analysis revealed some interesting results and remarkable concentration as well. In the case of those living in Helsinki and working in Leppävaara or Tapiola, the centre and inner city in general seemed to be more popular than in the case of those working in Vantaa. Almost 40 % of Helsinki-based ICT professionals who worked in Leppävaara lived in the inner city and 16 % in the centre. In the case of Tapiola the shares were even higher, 52 % and 18 %, respectively.

Age-wise percentages are presented in the table 7 and it can be seen that appeal of the centre decreased with the age similarly as in the case of those working in Helsinki. However, amongst those working in Tapiola the change was not as clear as amongst those working in Leppävaara. This was also the case when the whole inner city was concerned. Especially in the case of Tapiola the inner city remained quite popular through all the categories.

Amongst those working in Leppävaara and belonging to the first age category the districts of Ullanlinna, Kampinmalmi, Lauttasaari and Kallio were the most popular residential areas in Helsinki. The case of Lauttasaari was interesting because it did not

stand out when residential areas of those working in Helsinki were examined. One explanation behind the success is probably the location of the island of Lauttasaari “between” inner city of Helsinki and Tapiola of Espoo.

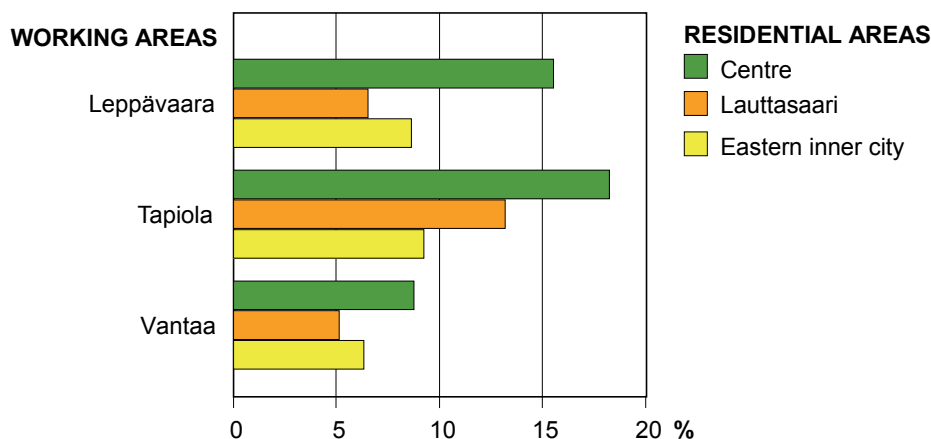
Kampinmalmi remained the most popular area of Helsinki also in the case of the second age category but lost the game to Lauttasaari and surprisingly to Pitäjänmäki when professionals of the third age category were examined. The appeal of the centre as well as Kallio dropped dramatically when coming to the last age category. Whilst 22 % of the youngest professionals living in Helsinki and working in Leppävaara lived in the centre the share was only 7 % amongst those belonging to the third category.

In the case of those working in Tapiola concentration was even clearer than amongst those who worked in Leppävaara. In addition to above mentioned island of Lauttasaari also Ullanlinna, Kampinmalmi and Kallio seemed to dominate. Lauttasaari followed by Kampinmalmi were the most popular districts of Helsinki in all the age categories. The success of Lauttasaari can again be explained by its location next to Tapiola (see figure 4). It is, however, somewhat difficult to find explanation behind the greater appeal of the inner city amongst ICT-professionals working in Tapiola comparing to those working in Leppävaara using only the data in hand.

### Concentration of artists in Helsinki

Concentration amongst artists in Helsinki was as expected very strong and when residential areas were

**Figure 8. Residential areas of ICT professionals working in Leppävaara, Tapiola or Vantaa**



**Table 7. Area of residence of the ICT-professionals who lived in Helsinki and worked in Leppävaara, Tapiola and Vantaa (% of all working in Leppävaara, Tapiola or Vantaa)**

Area of work	Leppävaara (n=624)			Tapiola (n=690)			Vantaa (n=330)		
	Age under 34 (n=245)	Age 35-44 (n=184)	Age over 45 (n=195)	Age under 34 (n=300)	Age 35-44 (n=210)	Age over 45 (n=180)	Age under 34 (n=117)	Age 35-44 (n=109)	Age over 45 (n=104)
Vironniemi	2,4	1,6	0,5	3,3	2,4	1,1	0,9	0,9	4,8
Ullanlinna	7,3	6,5	2,1	6,0	3,8	5,6	2,6	1,8	2,9
Kampinmalmi	11,8	8,7	4,1	13,3	9,5	7,2	6,0	5,5	1,0
Taka-Töölö	4,5	2,7	2,1	5,7	5,7	5,6	4,3	0,9	2,9
Lauttasaari	6,5	5,4	7,7	15,0	12,4	11,1	2,6	4,6	8,7
Reijola	3,3	3,8	1,5	3,3	3,3	1,7	5,1	1,8	0,0
Munkkiniemi	2,4	2,7	5,1	4,7	4,8	3,3	5,1	2,8	0,0
Pitäjänmäki	3,7	1,6	6,2	3,0	2,9	4,4	4,3	2,8	0,0
Kallio	7,8	5,4	3,1	8,7	2,9	3,3	2,6	2,8	4,8
Alppila	3,3	2,7	1,0	3,0	1,4	2,2	3,4	0,9	1,0
Vallila	1,2	0,5	0,0	1,3	1,9	1,1	1,7	0,9	1,0
Pasila	0,0	0,0	2,6	0,3	1,0	0,6	0,0	0,0	1,9
Vanhakaupunki	3,3	0,5	2,6	2,7	2,9	1,7	4,3	4,6	1,0
All together	57,6	42,4	38,5	70,3	54,8	48,9	42,7	30,3	29,8
Centre	21,6	16,8	6,7	22,7	15,7	13,9	9,4	8,3	8,7
Inner city	51,4	38,0	27,2	62,7	47,1	41,1	33,3	24,8	29,8
Eastern inner city	12,2	8,7	4,1	13,0	6,2	6,7	7,7	4,6	6,7

concerned, three districts somewhat shared the leading role. As can be seen in table 3, Ullanlinna, Kampinmalmi and Kallio were each home to about 10 % of the artists living in Helsinki. Neighbouring districts of Ullanlinna and Kampinmalmi, both in the centre, were together home to about 20 % of the artists and if Vironniemi (6 %) was added, it could be observed that more than one fourth of the artists lived in the centre of Helsinki.

As a residential area Kallio competes with the areas of the centre and about 20 % of the artists lived in the eastern inner city. The centre and the eastern inner city dominated the game although Taka-Töölö, Lauttasaari and Vanhakaupunki should also be noticed. About 13 % of the artists who lived in Helsinki lived in one of these areas.

The most important residential areas amongst artists, as observed here, were the ones that could be assumed beforehand. In the case of working locations the concentration was even stronger and centre beat clearly the other areas (table 3). However, when combining the information of areas of residence and work

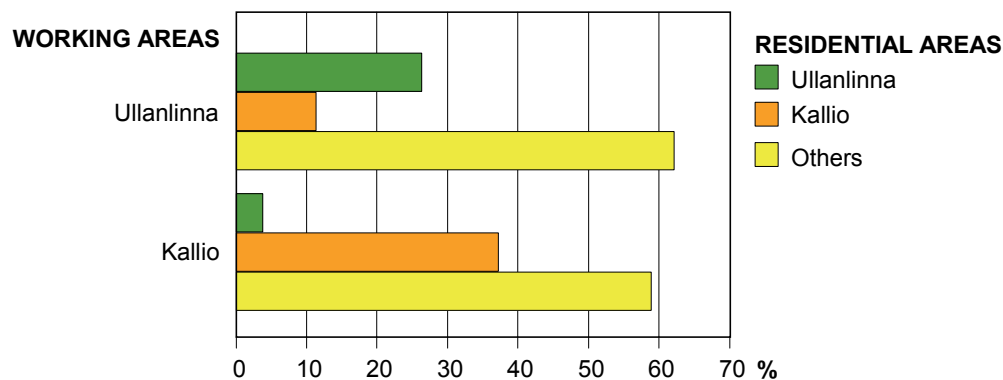
some interesting and new results could be found (tables 8 and 9). Although domination of the centre was obvious also when thinking of earlier studies on the subject (e.g. Ilmonen et al. 2000), and in the context of residential areas Kallio was important as well, these two areas seemed to differ from each other when thinking of the “paths” of the artists.

Kallio seemed to be popular especially amongst those who also worked there. Similarly those who worked in the centre seemed to live mostly in the centre. (table 8) When only those artists who both worked and lived in Helsinki were examined, 37 % of those artists working in the eastern inner city also lived there, whilst 14 % lived in the centre. The difference was remarkable and tells something about the characteristics of Kallio. Examination of the centre revealed the same; 37 % of those who worked in the centre also lived there whilst 19 % lived in the eastern inner city. Thus, somewhat surprisingly the centre was not as important amongst artists who worked in eastern inner city as could have been assumed beforehand and similarly eastern inner city was not

so important amongst those who worked in the centre. However, in the latter case Kallio alone was still home to about 10 % of the artists. Interpreting these results it can be concluded that those artists who work in the centre move quite easily to Kallio or eastern inner city in general but relatively many of those who work in Kallio seem to stay there.

Those artists who lived in Ullanlinna, that was the most important residential area amongst artists, worked commonly in Ullanlinna as well (table 9). Almost half of the artists who lived there also worked there whilst 16 % worked in Kampinmalmi and only a few artists worked in Vironniemi which was an interesting observation. About one fourth of the artists

**Figure 9. Residential areas of the artists working in Ullanlinna or Kallio**



**Table 8. Area of residence of the artists who worked and lived in Helsinki according to the area of work (% of all working in the mentioned areas)**

Area of residence	Area of work							
	Vironniemi (n=113)	Ullanlinna (n=250)	Kampinmalmi (n=191)	Kallio (n=78)	Vallila (n=64)	Centre (n=554)	Eastern inner city (n=156)	Centre and eastern inner city together (n=710)
Vironniemi (n=70)	21,2	3,2	6,8	1,3	3,1	8,1	2,6	6,9
Ullanlinna (n=139)	6,2	26,4	11,5	3,8	3,1	17,1	4,5	14,4
Kampinmalmi (n=117)	12,4	8,8	15,2	5,1	9,4	11,7	6,4	10,6
Taka-Töölö (n=51)	3,5	4,4	5,2	3,8	3,1	4,5	3,8	4,4
Lauttasaari (n=44)	5,3	4,4	4,7	2,6	4,7	4,7	3,2	4,4
Reijola (n=30)	1,8	2,8	2,1	2,6	1,6	2,3	1,9	2,3
Munkkiniemi (n=32)	1,8	3,2	3,1	1,3	1,6	2,9	1,3	2,5
Pitäjänmäki (n=17)	0,0	2,8	2,1	1,3	0,0	2,0	0,6	1,7
Kallio (n=131)	4,4	11,2	11,5	37,2	14,1	9,9	24,4	13,1
Alppila (n=52)	3,5	4,4	5,2	3,8	12,5	4,5	7,7	5,2
Vallila (n=52)	3,5	4,4	5,8	0,0	12,5	4,7	5,1	4,8
Pasila (n=11)	0,0	2,0	1,6	2,6	1,6	1,4	1,9	1,5
Vanhakaupunki (n=60)	6,2	4,8	3,1	2,6	4,7	4,5	3,2	4,2
All together	69,9	82,8	78,0	67,9	71,9	78,5	66,7	75,9
Centre	39,8	38,4	33,5	10,3	15,6	37,0	13,5	31,8
Inner city	68,1	76,8	72,8	65,4	70,3	73,6	64,7	71,7
Eastern inner city	11,5	20,0	22,5	41,0	39,1	19,1	37,2	23,1

who lived in Kampinmalmi also worked in the same area, about one fifth worked in Ullanlinna and 12 % in Vironniemi. Thus, comparing to those artists who lived in Ullanlinna the working locations of the artists from Kampinmalmi spread more equally. In the case of those living in Vironniemi the concentration was again somewhat clearer. About one third worked in the same area.

Areas outside the southern inner city, especially Kallio and its surroundings, are equally interesting from the viewpoint of areas of residence and working. Those who lived in Lauttasaari worked either in the same area or in the areas of the centre. Artists who lived in the Kallio worked in Ullanlinna, Kampinmalmi and on the other hand in Kallio.

In general Kallio and Ullanlinna were the most popular working areas amongst artist of Kallio; 21 % worked in Ullanlinna and only a bit more, 22 % in Kallio. Those who lived in the other areas of the eastern inner city, namely in Vallila or Alppiharju, worked mainly in the centre or in Vallila, but surprisingly not in Kallio. According to the data, Vallila was almost as important working area amongst artists as Kallio (see table 3). Nearby Alppiharju, instead, remained almost totally in shade and is not presented in tables 8 and 9. Only about 1 % of the artists worked there.

When turning the point of view upside down (table 8), it was observed that more than third of the artists who worked in Kallio also lived there. The share was bigger only in Vanhakaupunki; 40 % of those who worked there also lived there. On the other hand, one fourth of the artists living in Vanhakaupunki also worked there whilst others worked mainly in the cen-

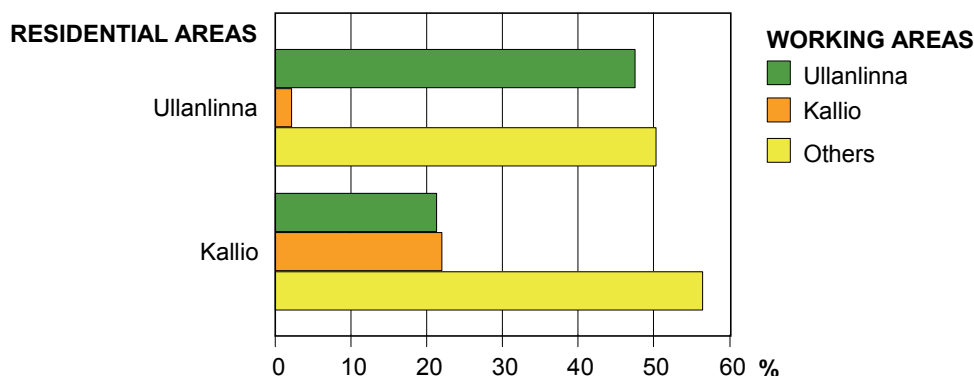
tre. Vanhakaupunki as a working location, however, is not presented in the tables because only 36 artists worked there. For the same reason Taka-Töölö (n=38) and Lauttasaari (n=32) were left out. It must be also noticed that some frequencies in the tables are very small and thus smaller percentages should be interpreted with care and one should concentrate more on the aggregate categories such as “centre”, “inner city” or “eastern inner city”. To give an example, 3 % out of the 78 artists who worked in Kallio lived in Vanhakaupunki (table 8); this share refers to only two individuals.

To conclude, it can be said that Ullanlinna in the centre and on the other hand Lauttasaari, Kallio and Vanhakaupunki outside the centre are the areas with their own established circles. Artists come to the centre to work from all the areas but relatively many of the artists who live in these named areas also work there. According to the data, Taka-Töölö and Alppiharju can be clearly profiled as residential areas, which on the other hand means a lot of future potential for creative industries to intrude there.

Almost totally invisible Pasila forms a case of its own. Hardly any artists neither lived nor worked there. Plans to develop Pasila to become “another centre” have been discussed for years, and just recently one idea of the central Pasila filled with skyscrapers was published (Laituri 2009). The progress will take a lot of time, and probably Pasila will never see skyscrapers, but however, the area will change and no doubt holds huge potential. Also the future development of the nearby areas especially Vallila surely affects the outcome.

The architecture in Eastern Pasila built mainly in

**Figure 10. Working areas of the artists living in Ullanlinna or Kallio**



**Table 9. Area of work of the artists who worked and lived in Helsinki according to the area of residence (% of all living in the mentioned areas)**

Area of residence	Area of work							
	Vironniemi (n=113)	Ullanlinna (n=250)	Kampinmalmi (n=191)	Kallio (n=78)	Vallila (n=64)	Centre (n=554)	Eastern inner city (n=156)	Centre and eastern inner city together
Vironniemi (n=70)	34,3	11,4	18,6	1,4	2,9	64,3	5,7	70,0
Ullanlinna (n=139)	5,0	47,5	15,8	2,2	1,4	68,3	5,0	73,4
Kampinmalmi (n=117)	12,0	18,8	24,8	3,4	5,1	55,6	8,5	64,1
Taka-Töölö (n=51)	7,8	21,6	19,6	5,9	3,9	49,0	11,8	60,8
Lauttasaari (n=44)	13,6	25,0	20,5	4,5	6,8	59,1	11,4	70,5
Reijola (n=30)	6,7	23,3	13,3	6,7	3,3	43,3	10,0	53,3
Munkkiniemi (n=32)	6,3	25,0	18,8	3,1	3,1	50,0	6,3	56,3
Pitäjänmäki (n=17)	0,0	41,2	23,5	5,9	0,0	64,7	5,9	70,6
Kallio (n=131)	3,8	21,4	16,8	22,1	6,9	42,0	29,0	71,0
Alppila (n=52)	7,7	21,2	19,2	5,8	15,4	48,1	23,1	71,2
Vallila (n=52)	7,7	21,2	21,2	0,0	15,4	50,0	15,4	65,4
Pasila (n=11)	0,0	45,5	27,3	18,2	9,1	72,7	27,3	100,0
Vanhakaupunki (n=60)	11,7	20,0	10,0	3,3	5,0	41,7	8,3	50,0

1970's resembles the eastern and northern suburbs of Helsinki whilst the most important "artistic areas" in Helsinki can be located in older neighbourhoods. From this point of view Pasila surely offers something completely different. Nevertheless, when comparing to the examples that can be found from the other cities Pasila could well raise its status in the future. For example some areas in former eastern Berlin are now popular amongst "creatives" despite the characteristic architecture of the communist era; the controversial style of the massive buildings can even work as a pull factor. This might also happen in Helsinki where some of the suburban-like neighbourhoods such as Pasila or Meri-Haka are very well situated. However, this would probably require some brave leader that could be a design school or the like that would settle to the area and start attracting people and companies.

It is also possible to notice some weak signals that some new areas outside the inner city could well raise their heads in a future. For example, already now some design-driven companies can be found from the eastern district of Herttoniemi, and the industrial atmosphere of the area might interest some other similar companies as well. However, the area lacks some other essential factors such as urban spare time pos-

sibilities, and thus it in a way lacks the already partly actualized potential of other areas such as Vallila, Sörnäinen or Kalasatama.

### Areas of residence according to the age categories

Especially when it comes to the areas where people want to live, the discussions are filled with stereotypes. It is traditionally though that at the time of establishing a family or especially when children go to school, the centre immediately loses its appeal and suburban neighbourhoods gain popularity. The age-wise examinations (table 10) were conducted in order to reveal some of the structures behind the observations of the areas where artists work and live. Unfortunately another interesting variable, artists' education, was not included in the data. Education affects to preferences but also to income level and social status and effects of these remain unexamined. Also, students who worked as artists and on the other hand those artists who officially belonged to some other professional groups, remained inevitably outside of the analysis which most likely diminished the importance of Kallio as a residential area.



**Table 10. Area of residence of the artists who lived in Helsinki (first part of the table) and area of work of the artists who worked in Helsinki (second part of the table) according to the age categories (% of all)**

	Area of residence (living in Helsinki, n=1337)			Area of work (working in Helsinki, n=1544)		
	Age under 35 (n=646)	Age 35 - 44 (n=398)	Age over 44 (n=293)	Age under 35 (n=727)	Age 35 - 44 (n=480)	Age over 44 (n=337)
Vironniemi	6,3	3,0	7,5	10,6	9,6	9,5
Ullanlinna	12,5	9,8	11,6	23,5	20,0	14,8
Kampinmalmi	10,5	7,8	10,9	20,1	16,7	13,9
Taka-Töölö	5,3	3,0	4,4	2,5	3,3	3,0
Lauttasaari	3,6	4,5	3,4	2,6	2,9	3,0
Reijola	2,2	2,5	2,7	0,7	1,0	2,1
Munkkiniemi	2,3	3,0	2,0	1,1	1,3	0,0
Pitäjänmäki	1,5	2,3	0,3	4,0	4,2	3,6
Kallio	13,8	11,1	6,5	6,9	6,5	6,8
Alppila	5,7	4,0	1,4	1,2	1,3	0,6
Vallila	5,0	5,3	1,4	6,2	5,4	3,6
Pasila	0,9	1,3	0,7	1,2	2,3	1,8
Vanhakaupunki	5,0	5,0	5,8	2,9	1,3	3,6
All together	74,6	62,6	58,6	83,5	75,8	66,3
Centre	29,3	20,6	30,0	54,2	46,3	38,2
Inner city	70,8	57,3	56,3	78,4	70,3	62,7
Eastern inner city	24,5	20,4	9,3	14,3	13,2	11,0

In the context of residential areas and the youngest age-category, Ullanlinna, Kampinmalmi and Kallio stood out clearly and although Kallio is characteristically a neighbourhood of young people, the observation of Kallio being the most popular residential area was still somewhat surprising; totally 14 % of the artists living in Helsinki lived in Kallio comparing to 13 % of Ullanlinna and 11 % of Kampinmalmi. The centre all together was home to 29 % of the artists of the youngest age category and Kallio-centred eastern inner city lost only little with the share of 25 %. More than 70 % of the artists belonging to the youngest age category lived in the inner city which was a lot of more than the same share in the case of ICT professionals (cf. table 6).

When examining the second age-category, the results followed to some extent the above mentioned stereotypes. The appeal of the centre and the whole inner city seems to decrease when considering the group 35-44 years instead of the first group. However, the same three districts were the most popular and interestingly Kallio remained on top position also amongst

the artists aged 35-44. About 40 % of the artists living in Helsinki and belonging to this age-category lived either in the centre or in the eastern inner city.

Even though suburban areas were not examined in greater detail, it seems clear that the areas further from the centre as well as the neighbouring cities such as Espoo attract people and also artists especially from the second age category. According to stereotypical views, many families with small children move outside to centre. This is probably the reason behind the drop in popularity also in the case of these data. However, the data does not tell anything more about the reasons why some people move out and neither about the place where people move to.

Despite the fact that in this case stereotypes might reflect reality, the popularity of the centre remains and actually seems to rise again when coming to the third category. The share of the three most important areas – all in the centre – was almost 30 % also in the case of the highest age category. The domination of the centre seemed particularly clear when thinking of the fact that the actual amount of artists in most

of the areas outside the centre was too small to enable more detailed examination. However, to mention some numbers not presented in the tables, 7 % of those artists working in Helsinki lived in Espoo, 5 % in Vantaa and 10 % in the other parts of Finland and given the total amount of these artists – 1 544 artists worked in Helsinki in the end of 2005 – the amounts in each particular city became very small. Examination of the smaller districts of these cities from the viewpoint of residential areas was not done due to the fact that possible interpretations would be based on a few random cases.

Kallio and the whole eastern inner city seem to lose their appeal when entering to the highest age-category. Only 9 % of the artists of age over 44 lived in the eastern inner city. On the other hand, 30 % lived in the centre comparing to 21 % in the second age group. These were probably the most remarkable differences between the age categories when residential areas were under scrutiny. Unfortunately by using these data it was not possible to say what kind of artists lived in the given areas and neither it was possible to know how long artists had lived there. It can only be assumed that people who move to Kallio are in general relatively young because of the area's characteristics explained in the beginning. It is however possible that those artists who now belong to the middle category might want to stay in the eastern inner city and thus the "rank" of the areas must be considered dynamic. The interesting drop in the popularity of the centre might also be due to some latent generational differences that could be explained by examining the cohorts. By using these data this was, however, not possible.

When considering the third age-category, in addition to the drop in popularity of Kallio, the most immense change occurred in Vironniemi but to the opposite direction. Thus, amongst the artists of the oldest age-category the centre of Helsinki was again the most popular area of residence. The assumed greater appeal of urban atmosphere and lifestyle amongst the artists when compared to ICT professionals, for example, is of course one explanation (see Ilmonen et al. 2000). In addition, and partly connected to this a lot of artists of the older cohorts assumedly live still in the centre because they have never moved out. In this sense, artists in these data resemble the "educated elite" examined by Kortteinen et al. (2005; also Ilmonen et al. 2000). Artists do not traditionally be-

long to the highest income groups, but still it seems that they want to live in the most expensive areas. Examining the other professional groups was beyond the scope of this study, but it can be assumed that in many case the preferences of the academically oriented people such as university scholars or teachers and artists would resemble each others.

Amongst the artists, the most popular residential areas in Helsinki outside the inner city were Haaga, Herttoniemi and Vuosaari, the last located in the eastern end of Helsinki. Nevertheless, the number of artists in each of these areas was very small. When considering the other areas together with the age-categories, only a few areas such as Latokartano in the north and Herttoniemi and Vuosaari in the east stood out a little but only in the case of the second age-category. When this age group was examined, Herttoniemi was the fourth most famous district after Ullanlinna, Kampinmalmi and Kallio. In the case of the oldest category, some suburban areas in the north and east stood out but only very little.

To conclude, the data analysis revealed that to some extent the classical hypothesis of diminishing appeal of the inner city together with age seems to be valid also in the case of the artists. The effect seems to be the most remarkable in the eastern inner city. This can be relatively easily explained by the urban structures of the area. Thus, the central location does not seem to be the critical factor. The centre remains popular and is actually more popular amongst artists representing the oldest age-category than amongst artists of the first category. Eastern inner city is characteristically the district of small apartments and partly because of this favoured by young singles and on the other hand by young couples. Kallio is an area where relatively many people first move when coming to Helsinki and even if many would like to stay there with the kids, for example, this might be problematic due to the lack of more spacious flats. On the other hand, the lively atmosphere of Kallio and the neighbouring areas do not necessarily attract all the older people, be they artists or not.

## Areas of work according to the age categories

As mentioned earlier, concentration was remarkably stronger in the case of working locations than in the

case of residential areas. When the age dimension was added the results can be considered somewhat assumed. Artists seem to work mainly in the centre regardless of age (table 10). More than half of the artists belonging to the youngest age category worked in the centre and almost 80 % in the inner city. There both shares diminished when the other categories were examined; 38 % of the artists of the third category worked in the centre and 63 in the inner city. In addition to the three districts of the centre, Kallio and Vallila stood out as well but the eastern inner city as a whole remained still behind the districts of the centre. The share of the eastern inner city varied between 11 % and 14 %, depending on the age category.

As could have been assumed having the information behind the table 3 in hand the most important area of work amongst the artists was Ullanlinna in the case of all the age categories. When youngest of the artists were examined, 24 % worked in Ullanlinna. The share dropped a little to 20 % when the second category was concerned and a bit more to 15 % when entering to the third category. When examining the age categories, the shares dropped practically in the case of all the areas in the inner city. Thus, a great deal of older artists actually works in the other areas of Helsinki.

As clearly as Ullanlinna was the most popular working district, Kampinmalmi was the second. Similarly as in the case of Ullanlinna the share of Kampinmalmi also dropped when the highest age categories were examined. About fifth of the artists aged under 35 worked in Kampinmalmi but the share was

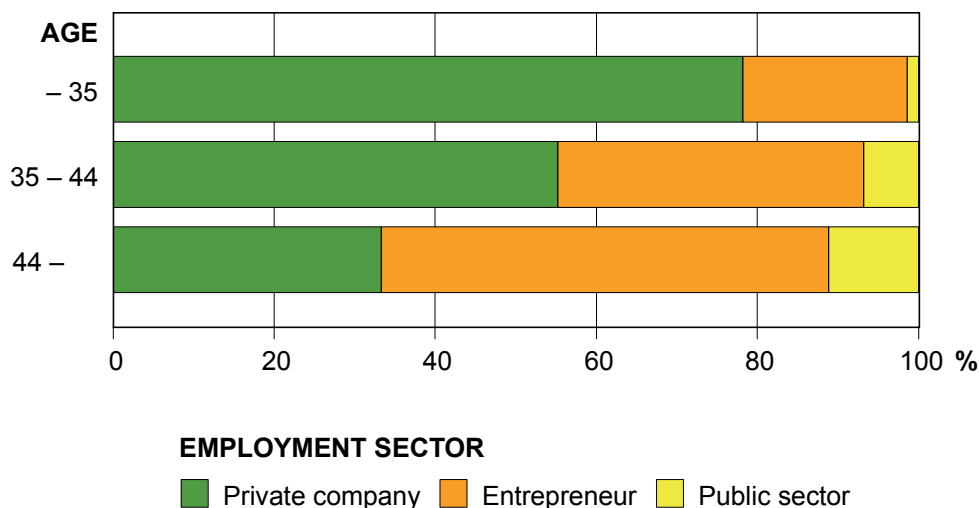
“only” 14 % in the case of the highest category.

Vironniemi, that was here considered part of the centre, was third with about 10 % share amongst artists regardless of the age category. Kallio came next with the share of about 7 % similarly in all the categories. Thus, interestingly, the shares of artists according to the working locations were the most stable in Vironniemi and Kallio. In the case of the areas of residence, the popularity of Kallio varied a lot, but when locations of work were under scrutiny, the popularity did not vanish with the age. It can be assumed that relatively many artists in Vironniemi and Kallio, especially of the higher age categories, work at home. This could explain the rather stable shares in these areas. From this point of view it is not a surprise that both the columns representing the highest age categories in table 10 resemble each others. Ullanlinna and Kampinmalmi instead, being homes of the Design District of Helsinki, are the areas with a lot of small companies and it was observed that the share of artists working as entrepreneurs increased with the age (table 11). It can be assumed that many of these entrepreneurs actually worked at home.

**Table 11. Employment sector according to the age category**

Age	Public sector	Private company	Entrepreneur	
-35		1,4%	78,2%	20,4%
35-44		6,8%	55,2%	38,0%
44-		11,1%	33,3%	55,6%

**Figure 11. Employment sector according to the age category**



## Epilogue – the inner city in change?

One of the greatest chefs of the world, Spanish Ferran Adrià has stated “creativity is not copying” when asked about how he understands creativity. Albert Einstein’s famous quote of the same topic, “the secret to creativity is knowing how to hide your sources”, reveals the fact that not everyone can create something new. Deriving from these two excellent “definitions” it could be said that being creative is taking advantage of the possibilities.

All the hype around creativity is closely connected to the discussions of postmodern that sociologists have maintained a couple of decades by now. For Bell (1974) the post-industrial society was based on services; specialists working in the service sector were the most important players in the market. This structure collapsed together with other “metanarratives” (Lyotard 2001) and suddenly everything was about coping with the risks and insecurities (e.g. Bauman 1996, Beck 1992, see also Mustonen 2006). Those who were able to handle the rapid changes and enter into the new networks were the winners (see Lash 1995) – they knew best how to hide their sources.

This very brief introduction of the discussions of the assumed change from modern to postmodern world clarifies that current discussions of creativity are nothing new. Postmodern is a word that means nothing else than “something that comes after modern” similarly as “creativity” means nothing else than an ability to “create”. However, this seems to have forgotten. When creative industries are examined, the term “creative” should be defined precisely, but this is very rarely done. Defining the term is necessary because creativity can mean almost everything depending on the point of view. Currently all the places around the globe want to be creative which is impossible if we want the definition to hold at least some explaining power. As creativity seems to be everywhere, we should probably decide that “creativity” is something that we should no more discuss about.

One of the most often referred author of creativity, Richard Florida, uses the very comprehensive definition which, when examined empirically, gives inevitably results that emphasise the importance of the creative sector. Florida’s (2008) creative sector includes jobs in the fields of science, technology, art, design, entertainment, media, law, finance, management, healthcare and education. What remain out-

side are service sector, manufacturing and agriculture. According to his calculations, about third of the workforce work in the creative sector, about 45 % in service sector, a little more than 20 % in manufacturing and the rest in agriculture.

In the end of 2009, The International Council of Societies of Industrial Design chose Helsinki as the World Design Capital 2012 (see World Design Capital 2010). Although the design capital year will be based around the concept of Open Helsinki that “embeds design in life”, in this study only two professional groups were examined; ICT professionals and artists including industrial designers (cf. Ilmonen et al. 2000). In the city that is as small as Helsinki this was the only option given the aim that was to examine the phenomenon of “creativity” and to find structures within the city. By using the wider definition, this could not have been possible.

According to Florida (2008) the key factors in today’s economy – talent, innovations and creativity – are not distributed evenly. They tend to concentrate and this was observed to be the case also in Helsinki. In Helsinki the concentration has effects on city structures and on the other hand on structures of demand and supply patterns. Services concentrate to the areas where people live and work and if these happen to be exactly the same places, the concentration becomes even stronger.

Again referring to Florida (ibid.), in today’s creative economy the real source of economic growth comes from the clustering and concentration of talented and productive people. This is the case also in Helsinki. In Finland, a great deal of economic activities occur in Helsinki and in Helsinki the activities concentrate in the centre where creative people also seem to live according to the analyses presented earlier in this study.

Of the indicators presented in table 3 the ones indicating education, working locations of artists and ICT professionals and residential areas of artists showed the biggest differences between the city districts. If artists and industrial designers can be considered sufficient enough examples of creative people, it could be said that creativity of Helsinki concentrates in the western and southern parts of the centre and in Kallio in the eastern inner city. The dynamics between these most popular areas should be approached by taking structural background determinants and phenomena into account. It seems clear that the above mentioned

areas, that represent the most urban environments in the whole country, provide “creative professionals” with the best possible environment. As it is well known, and as Florida above highlights, creating and maintaining networks is pivotal in the context of creative sector. From this point of view, areas such as the inner city of Helsinki take advantage over other areas. Because everything is near, moving from place to place is easy – if needed at all – and cars are not needed. Urban activities are always near and available and networks can be reached easily whenever needed. On the other hand relatively old buildings and city structures based on post-industrial city planning provide with space for small enterprises.

Kortteinen et al. (2005; also Ilmonen et al. 2000) have examined the residential areas of the “elite” and noticed that central Helsinki is particularly favoured by educated people who do not necessarily belong to the highest income groups. This suits assumedly well to the case of the artists, although in this study examining income was beyond the capabilities. These educated but not necessarily the wealthiest people could, however, afford to live in other districts as well, and buy more spacious apartments. Despite, they have chosen the centre because of the reasons that can be connected to lifestyles and that have both historical and cultural roots (*ibid.*).

Bourdieu’s (1984) idea of habitus as a set of meanings that constructs one’s visible self surprisingly offers somewhat good explanation. It can be thought that those who choose to live in the centre “construct” their habitus not in the basis of income only, but on the basis of cultural and social meanings and if taken further, make distinctions (*ibid.*) between themselves and others who may earn more but who represent other lifestyles. Other, more down-to-earth explanation is that some people simply enjoy spending time in urban atmosphere created by historical structures, street life, cafés, restaurants, boutiques and such. According to the data used here, these people are more likely to be found amongst artists than amongst ICT professionals (*cf.* Ilmonen et al. 2000).

Not surprisingly, according to study of Kortteinen et al. (2005; see also Ilmonen et al. 2000), those who earn the most have settled to some particular areas in Espoo and on the other hand in Helsinki in some northern areas and in the islands of Kuusisaari and Lehtisaari – in addition to some areas of the centre of course. Kortteinen et al. (2005) explain this by stat-

ing that so called elite actually consists of different groups that differ from each others in terms of employment sector, for example. Stereotypically speaking, people who belong to the artistic oriented elite work commonly in the public sector and have traditionally lived in the centre whilst newer business oriented elite live further probably due to above mentioned cultural differences. Ilmonen (2001) on the other hand states that a large share of the ICT people has their roots outside the bigger cities and this partly explain why they seem to look further from the centre when searching for places to live.

If Florida is someone who should be believed in, and if creative people are searched for to help the economy to flourish, it is important to know something about these people. Like this study has shown, there are differences when residential areas of artists and especially ICT professionals are concerned. These groups differ remarkably from each other, but as noticed earlier, also artists and ICT professionals form very heterogeneous groups. ICT professionals working in Leppävaara may be very different from the ones working in Tapiola when lifestyles are concerned, for example. Similarly artists in Kallio and Vironniemi may not resemble each others at all when considering their consumption choices or spare time preferences. Thus, this small empirical study shows the evident fact; it is impossible to create a group of “creative class” that could be empirically examined. Rather, different sub-groups should be examined separately and also qualitative studies should be conducted.

When considering the results presented in this study, it seems that situation in Helsinki is relatively static. The centre of Helsinki and to some extent the eastern inner city attracts enterprises and creative mass. Despite this, the structures are dynamic and remarkable changes may occur in the future.

The strategy of the city of Helsinki for years 2009-2010 (City of Helsinki 2009) states flourishing and developing centre as one of the strategic aims for future years. If thinking of the artists and the areas where they live and work, this aim does not seem that difficult to accomplish. It seems very clear that amongst certain groups of citizens the centre and central areas of the inner city will be the most popular residential area as long as they choose Helsinki instead of some other cities abroad. From the viewpoint of working locations this is the case if location

is something that can be chosen. In the arts sector this is more probable than in the ICT sector. And if the rents and prices of the apartments together with general living costs rise too much, it is well possible that other cities especially in the southern Finland may start attracting creatives especially if the actual location of the work loses its meaning. Already now meetings and workshops can be held online.

The reasons and forces that prevent creative people from leaving Finland and Helsinki, and on the other hand the forces that draw people here, were beyond the scope of this study. By using the data in hand it was not possible to answer these questions. However, to understand fully the logics behind creative structures especially from the viewpoint of the future, these issues must be taken into account.

When thinking of the future, weak and sometimes surprising signals cannot be forgotten. One such signal is the rising amount of families with children in the central areas of metropolises around the world. Florida (e.g. 2008) has noticed in his own studies that "creative cities" have become more and more popular amongst families with small children – the phenomenon that is far from the stereotypical traditional ideas of changing preferences. The change has been so obvious, that in some cases the former thriving neighbourhoods have begun to decline due to increasing ethnic uniformity and rising rents (see Florida 2008b). Observations from U.S., however, are only partly comparable with the case of Helsinki. Helsinki is a city with one proper centre and the competitors of the centre are only kilometre or two away – and the great deal of the competitors of Helsinki are not in Finland.

Nevertheless, following the examples around the world, the amount of babies born in the centre areas of Helsinki has began to rise just a few years ago, which in the case of Helsinki is a remarkable finding. By exploring the population statistics, the number of babies under 1 year old has increased most rapidly in the southern major district and to some extent also in the central major district (see figure 4 & figure 12). Southern major district comprises of the central sub-districts Vironniemi, Ullanlinna and Kampinmalmi together with the districts of Taka-Töölö and Lauttasaari. Central major district instead comprises of the eastern inner city, Pasila and Vanhakaupunki (figure 4).

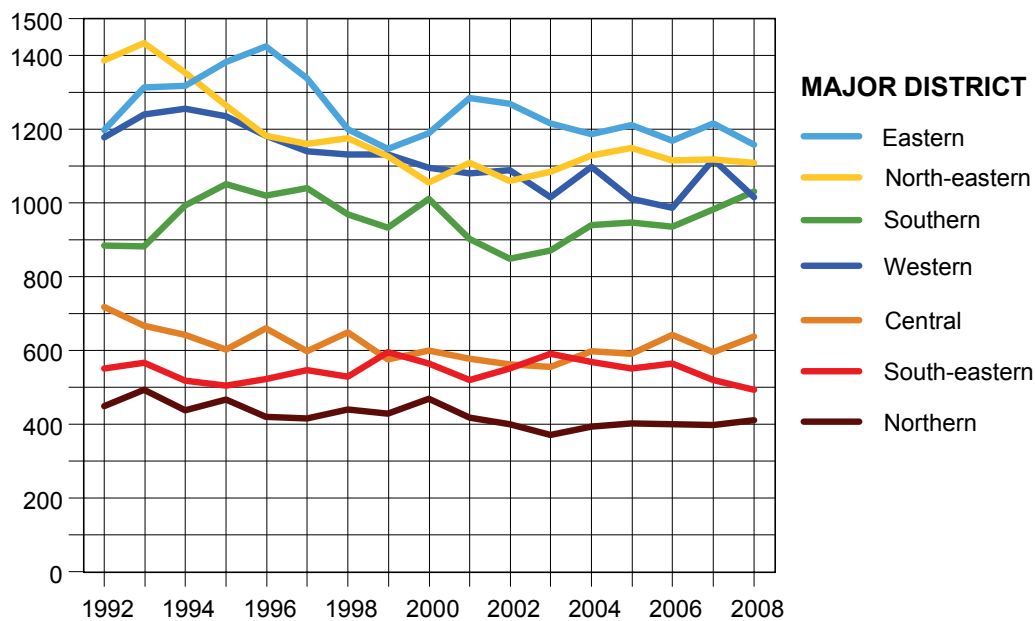
Preliminary examination of the population registers shows that the end of continuous decline in birth

rates in Helsinki is only due to the rise of birth rates in exactly the same areas that represent the "creative city". Even though from the point of view of the most popular areas the district of Vanhakaupunki did not stand out, when the number of babies is examined it seems to be the reason why the number of babies in the central major district has risen. The figure 12 shows clearly the differences between the major districts. The amount of babies is declining or remaining about the same in all the other major districts except the two mentioned. Of course there are some differences between the sub-districts. For example in Vuosaari in the east and in Latokartano in the north-east the number of babies has continuously risen.

The amount of babies started to rise also in the eastern inner city but unlike in the case of central Helsinki the change has occurred just recently. Like mentioned earlier, Kallio is traditionally favoured by young people and small apartments don't often contain enough space for families. Thus, for now, it is impossible to say whether the recent rise is just coincidence. However, the tendency seems clear. Areas in the centre are now more and more popular amongst families with children. The change can be traced to 2002-2004, depending on the area. Preliminary examinations show that the amount of children has remained in the higher level since that, and despite some families have moved out increasingly more families stay. Statistical analysis shows also that families with children also move to these areas. For example in Kruununhaka and Katajanokka the number of five year olds in 2006 was clearly higher than the number of four year olds in 2005. However, further examination of this issue is beyond the scope of this study and because of this the more detailed figures are not presented. Nevertheless, these are interesting findings and will have impact on how these areas develop. If assumed that the increasing amount of people will live in the same areas where they spend their free time and work, the appeal of the centre will remain. However, due to the relatively small size of the 'creative Helsinki', creative activities may find new places from the borders and new hubs and 'stroller-villes' (see Florida 2008: 264) may be born nearby.

Although it now seems that the popularity of the centre will remain also in the future, it is possible that new creative hubs will be born near the current borders of the inner city. This, however, requires the support from structural determinants connected to urban

**Figure 12. Number of newborn babies in the major districts of Helsinki 1992-2008. (Figure in Finnish on page 9.)**



lifestyle and possibilities of different families to co-existence in the same areas (cf. Florida 2008: 264). Districts of the eastern inner city will also remain popular in the future especially amongst younger people and students. These areas are filled with small apartments and this fact inevitably prevents household structures from changing remarkably.

Eastern inner city has spread slowly towards north and east and from certain perspectives this process is just beginning. Totally new residential areas will be built near the furthest borders of the eastern inner city. Flats for thousands of people will be built to Kalasatama, for example, that is a district between Sörnäinen and Arabianranta. Another smaller new neighbourhood of Konepaja between Alppila and Valtila is already partly ready. Konepaja has got its name from old factory-like halls and the area of Kalasatama is an old harbour. Thus, utilizing the old estates is something that these areas bear in common and in a way, this could be positive from the viewpoint of emerging creativity that, no doubt, will be sought after also in these areas. It is not possible to forecast the popularity of these new areas amongst urban families with children and on the other amongst “creatives” just yet. The huge potential is not enough even though there are not many competitors.

It can be said that gentrification continues in the eastern inner city whilst in other areas such as

in Punavuori the development is practically over. In the eastern inner city the amount of small apartments is one reason why the development, however, is quite slow. The areas further north, including Arabianranta, remain still behind the areas of the inner city from the viewpoint of creative activities and this is partly due to the structures. Lack of the sufficient structures makes the development slower and in some cases actually prevents areas from developing further. This is the reason why Arabianranta, despite being one of the most often presented cases of Helsinki, remained almost totally in shade in this study. It can be assumed that for many the location of Arabianranta is too remote. In addition to this, Arabianranta lacks urban atmosphere and inner city feeling partly because the residential buildings are new and small shops or spaces for small enterprises do not exist. Also the number of visible “creative” companies is after all quite small.

District of Töölö, especially its northern part Taka-Töölö, remained almost totally in shade when considering the observations presented above. Taka-Töölö has good potential of becoming more important area also from the viewpoint of creative activities. Now Taka-Töölö, despite some old blocks and good location is more or less a residential area lacking the urban vibe found from the centre or Kallio. During the past few years some creative activities has established in

Taka-Töölö, Cultural Centre Korjaamo being the most important, but to become a notable hub more activities and companies would be needed. Because of the potential, Taka-Töölö is another area to be watched;

the eastern inner city will be in the centre anyway. And yet again, what will happen to Pasila and what about the weak signals heard from Herttoniemi?



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## s t u d y r e p o r t s

**Structural views over 'creative' Helsinki**

Lately the topics around creativity have been widely discussed also in Helsinki not least because of the recently gained status of World Design Capital. The brand of Helsinki in the field of creativity culminates around design and on the other hand around ICT driven industries. The aim of the study was to examine the areas where people working in these sectors of economy live and work. The main focus was on the inner city of Helsinki.

It is well known that the key factors in today's economy – talent, innovations and creativity – are not distributed evenly. They tend to concentrate and this was observed to be the case also in Helsinki where creative people seem to be concentrating in two areas: to the southern and western parts of the centre and to the eastern inner city. This seems to be particularly the case when thinking of people working in art and design sector. Concentration of the people from ICT sector was not as clear.

The study showed that it is impossible to create a group of "creative class" that could be empirically examined. The two examined groups differed remarkably from each other, and in addition to this, also artists and ICT professionals seem to form very heterogeneous groups. This small empirical study reminds that different sub-groups should be examined separately and in order to get more information of the phenomenon of creativity, also qualitative studies should be conducted.

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