

Department of Social Research
University of Helsinki
Finland

FROM FACTORY TO CULTURE FACTORY
TRANSFORMATION OF OBSOLETE INDUSTRIAL
SPACE AS A SOCIAL AND SPATIAL PROCESS

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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Abstract

The thesis analyses transformation of obsolete industrial space as a contested socio-spatial process of urban restructuring and examines the way 'culture' becomes a planning instrument of the transformation. The thesis studies social practices that have influenced the process and examines the main actors, conflicts, and perceptions of obsolete industrial space. The main argument is the following. Artistic practices challenged negative perceptions of obsolete industrial space and represented and practised it as a space of the everyday. The practices have recognized and defended obsolete space in its present reality of obsolescence and their success has influenced urban planning and policies. Artistic practices have been labelled as 'culture' and 'culture' has become a planning instrument of regenerating obsolete industrial spaces. Case studies of the Cable Factory and the Suvilahti in Helsinki and the influence of the former on the latter give empirical evidence to the argument.

The main body of the thesis consists of four articles published in peer-reviewed scientific journals. Drawing on discussions from critical economic geography, art history, and urban semiology, the first article analyses speculative redevelopment, conservation, and speculative conservation as ideal-typical practices of transforming obsolete industrial space. In these practices, obsolescence of industrial space is understood as a 'problem to be fixed'. The role of architecture as signifying a static notion of time is discussed. By representing architectural object as situated in the future or in the past, respectively, the analysed practices obscure social and political context of the architectural process. The second article presents a study of art works by Gordon Matta-Clark, Robert Smithson and Bernd and Hilla Becher and introduces the concept of negativity in industrial architecture. Rather than representing and practising obsolete industrial space as a 'problem to be fixed', these works acknowledge obsolete industrial space in its present reality of obsolescence. The notion of representing negativity in industrial space is theorized in contrast to representing obsolete space as 'negative'. The third article studies the Pro Kaapeli movement and its role in the transformation of the Cable Factory in Helsinki during the years 1989-1991. The conflict between the Helsinki city administration and the Pro Kaapeli is examined. Introducing the concept of empty space, the article studies how the Pro Kaapeli made use of the emptiness of obsolete industrial space. The Pro Kaapeli did not contest the perception of obsolete space as empty; rather, it contested the interpretation of emptiness as negative. The movement challenged the planned demolition and redevelopment of the factory by appealing to its emptiness, not to its use or function. For the Pro Kaapeli, the emptiness of space was not something to be 'fixed'. Empty space, in its emptiness, was accepted as the starting point in the spatial practice of continuous alterations. The fourth article is a case study of the ongoing transformation of Suvilahti in Helsinki. The transformation of the industrial premises of Suvilahti has been a planning project of the city of Helsinki and 'culture' has been the main instrument used. The article introduces the

concepts of culture factory and cultural governmentality and examines the influence of the Cable Factory case on the planning of Suvilahti. The success of the Pro Kaapeli movement's defence of the Cable Factory contested negative perceptions of obsolete industrial spaces, but, unintentionally, it laid foundation for using 'culture' as an instrument of regenerating the obsolete spaces. Spontaneous practices of the Pro Kaapeli have been recognized as 'culture' and 'culture' has been employed as a planning instrument in the regeneration of the Suvilahti. The article discusses culture factory as a model of regenerated obsolete industrial space, which is the objective of planning in the Suvilahti. The planners encourage spontaneous 'cultural' practices for their perceived effects on regenerating obsolete industrial space. A form of planning practice that withdraws from planning the content of culture and instead plans or wishes for the social and urban effects of culture is conceptualized as cultural governmentality.

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List of original publications

This thesis is based on the following publications:

- I Krivý, M. (2011) Speculative redevelopment and conservation: the signifying role of architecture. *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action* 15.1, 42-62.
- II Krivý, M. (2010) Industrial architecture and negativity: the aesthetics of architecture in the works of Gordon Matta-Clark, Robert Smithson and Bernd and Hilla Becher. *Journal of Architecture* 15.6, 827-852.
- III Krivý, M. (2010) The idea of empty space: Pro Kaapeli movement and the Cable Factory in Helsinki. *Yhdyskuntasuunnittelu – The Finnish Journal of Urban Studies* 48.3, 9-25.
- IV Krivý, M. (2012) Don't plan! The notion of 'culture' and transformation of obsolete industrial space. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Studies* (early view).

The publications are referred to in the text by their roman numerals.

1 Introduction

In the thesis, the transformation of obsolete industrial space towards a 'cultural' use is studied. The transformation is understood as a contested socio-spatial process of urban restructuring and the following questions are asked: What are the main politico-economic and culturo-aesthetic practices of transforming obsolete industrial space? Who have the main actors been and how have they perceived obsolete space? What kind of discourses have these actors formulated? And what kinds of conflicts have structured the transformation of obsolete industrial space?

The following concepts form the backbone of the thesis. Firstly, *speculative redevelopment*, *conservation*, and *speculative conservation* are analysed as practices that transform obsolete industrial space. Secondly, artistic reception of what I call *negativity in industrial architecture* is discussed. Thirdly, the conception of obsolete industrial space as an *empty space* is studied. Fourthly and finally, *cultural governmentality* is analysed as a new form of planning the transformation of obsolete industrial space and *culture factory* is discussed as a new model of regenerated obsolete industrial space.

In the beginning of the introduction, the four articles of the thesis and a brief summary of their main arguments are presented. Discussion of deindustrialization and a spatial critique of deindustrialization theories form a theoretical background of the four articles. These are reviewed together with the notions of 'industry' and 'obsolescence' in the second chapter. In the third chapter, key arguments and concepts of the articles are presented at length. The methods and data used in the articles are introduced in the fourth chapter. The overall argument of the thesis as a whole is presented in the fifth chapter. Eventually, the conclusion and further research topics are presented.

1.1 Brief summary of the articles

In the article I, speculative redevelopment and conservation are analysed as important practices of transforming obsolete space. *Speculative redevelopment* is a practice in which complete or partial demolition of existing built structures is followed by clearing of the land and building on it. The objective of speculative redevelopment is maximizing the *future* rent. *Conservation* is a practice that safeguards rather than redevelops. Its proponents oppose demolitions and argue that the built environment they seek to safeguard has a *historic* value. The article studies differences and similarities between the two practices in the context of architectural production and imagination. The analysis of *speculative conservation* – conservation motivated by an objective of maximizing rent – is analysed as a third practice. In the article, the question of culturo-aesthetic representation of politico-economic practices is introduced. The role of architecture as a sign and signifier of the three practices is analysed.

The article II introduces the concept of *negativity in industrial architecture*. Through a study of art works of Gordon Matta-Clark, Robert Smithson and Bernd and Hilla Becher, the concept examines how they recognized obsolete space in its *present* reality, in its obsolescence. The analysis focuses on different artistic media, including photography, installation and site-specific interventions. Using a variety of strategies, the art works address a number of contradictions within industrial space and within concomitant narratives of industrial progress. The notion of representing *negativity* in industrial space is theorized in contrast to representing obsolete space as 'negative'.

The article III presents a case study of Finnish artists' movement Pro Kaapeli. The movement played a key role in the transformation of the Cable Factory in Helsinki during the years 1989-1991. The Cable Factory is a vast plant built between 1941 and 1954 and located in the district of Ruoholahti in Helsinki. The factory ceased production in the late 1980s. Using the concept of *empty space*, the role of the Pro Kaapeli in the transformation of the Cable Factory is analysed. The article studies the conflict between the movement and the city of Helsinki and discusses Pro Kaapeli's ideas and proposals for the future use of the Cable Factory. It is shown that the movement questioned the 'negative' representation of empty space. For the Pro Kaapeli the emptiness of obsolete industrial space was at the heart of its social and spatial practice.

The article IV is a case study of the transformation of Suvilahti industrial premises located in the Kalasatama area of Helsinki. Suvilahti consists of eleven smaller buildings, the oldest dating back to the year 1909. The industrial production in Suvilahti ceased in the 1990s. The city of Helsinki has plans to transform Suvilahti into 'cultural' use. In the article, motives and contents of this planning are questioned and the following paradox is revealed: in Suvilahti, the City of Helsinki aims at exactly the same type of transformation it opposed twenty years earlier in the case of the Cable Factory. The paradox is studied using the concepts of culture factory and cultural governmentality. *Cultural*

governmentality is a form of planning practice which encourages, promotes and enables spontaneous practices of small cultural producers and which has a *culture factory* as a model of transformed obsolete industrial space.

The arguments and methods of each of the four articles are developed further in the third and fourth chapter of the introduction. The articles are presented in the order of the development of the thesis' overall argument, which is then summarized in the fifth chapter. The following introduces key concepts and broader theoretical-historical context of the thesis.

2 Theoretical and historical background

2.1 Deindustrialization

The process of *deindustrialization* is one of key economic changes that have taken place in the western countries since 1970s. Deindustrialization is variously defined as “a widespread, systematic disinvestment in the nation's basic productive capacity” (Bluestone and Harrison, 1982: 6), “falls in the share of industrial output in total output” (Beenstock, 1984: 35), “a fall in the share of industry, especially manufacturing industry, in total employment” (Rowthorn and Wells, 1987: 5), and “decline of manufacturing employment relative to employment in other sectors” (Alderson, 1999: 702n).

Deindustrialization is a process of restructuring and transformation of spatial patterns of production and trade. In their classic work on the deindustrialization in the USA, Bluestone and Harrison (1982) analysed effects of foreign direct investments under the transition to what they called globalization of production. In the 1970s, more than 30 million US manufacturing jobs were lost due to private disinvestment. The factory owners' decisions to relocate capital cannot be explained simply as shifting capital from unproductive to productive sectors. Rather, the authors understand capital flight as a concerted attempt to reduce labour costs, circumvent taxation and regulation and prevent the decline of the rate of profit. This has happened – invoking the US situation – in order to keep the profit rates of 1960s and 1970s unchecked. As Bluestone and Harrison (1982: 16) write: “[C]apital flight has always been a tactic that management wished to have at its disposal in order to 'discipline' labor and to assure itself of a favorable business climate wherever it set up operations. But only in the last two decades [before 1982] has systematic disinvestment become, from management's perspective, a necessary strategy, and from a technological perspective, a feasible one”. A similar observation is made by the authors of the new international division of labour thesis (NIDL), who talk about the emergence of a world economy (Fröbel, Heinrichs and Kreye, 1980). The emergence of world-wide labour market, growing importance of low- and non-skilled labour force in the production process, and geographical fragmentation of the production process, enabled by new techniques of transport and communication have led to rationalization and reorganization of production.

Focusing on the role of trade restructuring in the deindustrialization, Gordon (1988) analysed the import competition from developing countries. Foreign affiliates of transnational corporations “choose to ship their capital overseas and produce for re-export rather than cope with production conditions in the domestic economy” (Gordon, 1988: 60). Developing countries have also benefited from indigenously generated and controlled capital. In a similar way, Beenstock (1984) and Wood (1994) linked deindustrialization of developed countries with the rise of manufacturing in developing countries. In the context of world trade

liberalization, the flow of manufactured goods from the former to the latter increased, and subsequently profitability of labour-intensive manufacturing in developed countries has dropped.

Deindustrialization consists of global spatial restructuring of production and trade, but also of local changes of labour patterns, land uses, and planning regulations. What are the specificities of deindustrialization in Finland and in Helsinki? In comparison to other western countries, in Finland, the process of deindustrialization took place relatively late (Alderson, 1999). During the first half of the 20th century Finland was mostly an agrarian economy. State-led industrialization took off only after the war and was concentrated in major urban centres. The building of the strong welfare state begun in the late 1960s and coincided with the state-led industrialization of peripheral regions in the 1970s (Kosonen, 1993; Tykkyläinen, 2002). Nationally, the share of employment in the manufacturing sector culminated in the early 1980s. The share of manufacturing on national employment and GDP declined during the 1980s. During that period, economic growth and domestic demand were maintained due to the credit expansion and opening up of the economy to foreign loans. Economic boom escalated in the late 1980s with the deregulation of capital markets. In 1989, the over-heated economy reached the peak and severe recession followed. The recession was amplified by the collapse of the Soviet Union, which in the late 1980s accounted for 15 percent of Finnish foreign exports. Between 1990 and 1992, GDP of Finland declined by 10 percent and unemployment rose from 3 to 15 percent. The economic recovery begun in 1993 and was led by high-tech sector, in which the Nokia company played the key role (Tykkyläinen, 2002).

In Helsinki, the process of deindustrialization started already in the late 1970s. Since then, the number of manufacturing jobs in Helsinki started to decline, but the decline intensified in the early 1990s. The loss of almost 17 percent of manufacturing jobs between 1990 and 1995 was largely due to the relocation of manufacturing employment to neighbourhood municipalities of Espoo and Vantaa (Tykkyläinen, 2002). A decision to leave Helsinki has been incorporated in the strategies of the largest manufacturers, including Nokia, the owner of the Cable Factory, already in the 1970s. These strategies were influenced by the Helsinki Inner City Master Plan from 1970, which limited industrial land use in the inner city (Pennanen, 2002).

Deindustrialization is a process that takes place at different geographical scales. One of the place-specific manifestation of deindustrialization are obsolete industrial spaces. According to deindustrialization theories, spaces are made obsolete and unproductive by global changes in production and trade. However, does space play an active role in influencing the process of deindustrialization? In the theories of deindustrialization, the concept of space is left untheorized.

2.2 Spatial critique

Theories of deindustrialization often contrast productive and unproductive investments. According to Bluestone and Harrison (1982: 6), for example, “the essential problem...can be traced to the way capital...has been diverted from productive investment in our basic national industries into unproductive speculation”. However, what is missing in these theories is an analysis of the intertwinement of 'productive' and 'speculative' investments. What is the reason for this? Could it be that although theories of deindustrialization refer more or less directly to industrial *space*, the process is theorized in terms of a conflict between global (capital flight and imports) and local (ghost cities or displaced workers) spatial scales? Without space being theorized as such, however, it is assumed to be an invisible or passive background on which economic processes *take place*.

A critique of spatial abstraction and observation that *cities* are key nodes of global economy have changed such a spatial view of deindustrialization. Drawing on the NIDL thesis, Robin Cohen introduced the concept of a *global city* and studied its role in “the coordination and control of the new international division of labor” (Cohen, 1981: 50). The concept has been elaborated further by Saskia Sassen (1991). The analytic category of space allowed her to challenge the conceptualization of investments as either productive or speculative. She showed that “geographical dispersal of manufacturing, which contributed to the decline of old industrial centres, created a demand for expanded central management and planning and the necessary specialized services, key components of growth in global cities” (Sassen, 1991: 12).

The global city theory by Sassen has been criticized for its claim that a new *urban* form has emerged (e.g. Smith, 1998). Such criticism is warranted in so far as it is aimed at the alleged positivist and essentialist features of global cities (e.g. in the ranking statistics of Taylor, 1997 or Beaverstock et al., 1999). However, there is no need to dismiss global city theories altogether. They can be read as theories about the dialectic *process* of localization and delocalization. Accordingly, Anne Haila (2006) suggested to talk about *politics of the global city* and Leslie Sklair (2005) introduced the term *globalizing cities*. Within such reading, the global city theory would be compatible with the processual, actor-based and scalar character of political economy (Brenner, 2000), including the continuing importance of nation states (Brenner, 1998).

Spatiality of politico-economic processes is emphasised also in the work of Doreen Massey (1984). She analysed the interplay between technical division of labour within production process and geographical differentiation of labour market. Massey reproached both social science and geography: the former for its ignorance of spatiality of social processes, the latter for its failure to acknowledge social character of spatial processes: “[i]t is not...just a question of mapping social relations...on to space” (Massey, 1984: 53), but affirming that “spatial structure...is an active element in accumulation”(Massey, 1984: 72).

Introducing a concept of *spatial fix*, David Harvey (1982; 2001) studied the production of spatial configurations and their restructuring. He analysed a dialectical tension between concentration and dispersal of investments. *Spatial fix* describes the contradictory tendency of capitalism to *fix* (*qua* put down the roots) economic infrastructure in a particular place and *fix* (*qua* repair) the crisis by liberating circulating capital from its local embeddedness. In other words, there is a tension between a need to develop built structures, through which capital investments can circulate, and a tendency to abandon them once it is 'impossible' to meet required marginal rates of return. Processes of spatial fix do not take place in an institutional vacuum, but they are actively influenced by the state. In fact, industrial restructuring of 1970s was accompanied by a rise of entrepreneurialism of public administration – at the level of local and regional state (Harvey, 1989), as well as at the national and supranational level (Peck and Tickell, 2002).

Harvey also described the key role of land in financial accumulation: “The land becomes a form of fictitious capital... [T]he land is treated as a pure financial asset which is bought and sold according to the rent it yields. ... [W]hat is traded is a claim upon future profits from the use of the land or, more directly, a claim upon future labour” (Harvey, 1982: 347). Robert Beauregard and Anne Haila (1997) introduced an idea of delocalization and commodification of real estate as instances of the same tendency. They related the global ascendancy of transnationally operating real estate brokers and firms to the decoupling of use and exchange value of real estate.

The origins of the 'spatial' turn can be traced to the works of Henri Lefebvre. The ideas of Lefebvre were brought to the attention of English-speaking audience in the late 1970s and 1980s, when Manuel Castells (1977 [originally in French, 1972]), Neil Smith (1991 [originally 1984]), Mark Gottdiener (1994 [originally 1984]), Edward Soja (1989) and David Harvey (1992 [originally 1989]) discussed his work. The translation of *The Production of Space* (Lefebvre, 1991 [originally 1974]) to English has been followed by a rapid increase in the amount of publications referring to Lefebvre.

Today, when Lefebvre's concepts have been popularized, it has become a commonplace to invoke terms such as 'production of space' or 'spatial practice'. But paradoxically, these concepts have been often used for supporting ideas quite divergent from their original intention. As Łukasz Stanek writes: “Is it possible to sustain Lefebvre's discourse about the ludic city after it becomes the rallying cry in architecture and urbanism of the experience economies? What is the relevance of Lefebvre's call to go beyond functionalist separations of time and space in circumstances in which spatiotemporal flexibility becomes an essential part of the neoliberal urban reality? What can be retrieved from the project of the empowerment of inhabitants in circumstances in which participation becomes an essential component of governability? How can one celebrate the urban everyday, with the numerous gentrification projects carried out in its name? What is left of Lefebvre's embrace of the unforeseen when the event turns out to be the dominant paradigm for architectural practice?” (Stanek, 2011: 78)

To avoid such misconceptions, Stanek (2008) offers a new reading of Lefebvre, interpreting his theorization of capitalist space as an instance of *concrete abstraction*. Firstly, space enters the operations of capitalism as an abstraction, yet space is made real through concrete social and economic practices. Secondly, such space is simultaneously homogeneous and fragmented, acted upon as infinite yet broken down into interchangeable parts. Thirdly and lastly, this space acquires material form in a dialectic process of centralization and dispersion.

Taking distance from Soja's (1989; 1996) *postmodern* reading of Lefebvre, the concept of concrete abstraction is compatible with both Lefebvre's *politico-economic* interpretation (as mentioned above, in particular in Harvey, 1982; 2001) and Stanek's (2011) own empirical reading which situates Lefebvre's theory in the context of his research and critical engagement with architectural and urbanistic practices of his days. Building on spatial theories of deindustrialization, the thesis understands obsolete industrial space as simultaneously an abstract space utilized as an instrument and as a value and a concrete space of conflicting social, aesthetic, architectural and urbanistic practices.

2.3 The term 'industry'

I would like to make a few clarifications concerning the term 'industry' and its derivative term 'post-industrial' (cf. Frisch, 1998). In the context of deindustrialization theories, which are discussed above, the term 'industry' refers to the mass-scale, standardized and serial manufacturing. This is also the meaning in which the term is used in the thesis. In the same sense, the terms 'industrial space' and 'industrial architecture' refer to the built environment erected for 'industrial' use. The term 'factory' is used as a synonym.

Scholars have also talked about *post-industrial* society (Touraine, 1971; Bell, 1976) and *post-industrial* city (Lever, 1991; Mommaas, 2004; Gospodini, 2006). The term 'post-industrial' is deliberately avoided in the thesis, except when referring to *post-industrialism* as a specific discourse. In contrast to the theories of deindustrialization, theories of post-industrialism are ambiguous about the meaning of the term. This is misleading in two ways.

First, when theories of post-industrialism refer to 'industry' as manufacturing, the prefix 'post-' describes disappearance of manufacturing and its replacement by services (whether in terms of investments, employment, or productivity). But, as was discussed above, this process should be rather interpreted as an uneven spatial restructuring of manufacturing, in which, as Cowie and Heathcott (2003: 7) emphatically put it, "one town's deindustrialization might just be another town's industrialization".

Secondly, the term 'post-industrialism' also refers to 'industry' in a general sense of 'production' or 'sector of production'. The meaning is confusing. When used as a synonym of production, Saskia Sassen talks about "the *industrial* recomposition in the economic base of global cities", yet she characterizes the

cities as “*postindustrial* production sites” (Sassen, 1991: 126, my emphasis). In a similar vein, in his book *Post-industrial* cities, Henry Savitch asks: “What changes have taken place in...*industrial* order? How have planning and development responded to...*industrial* change?” (Savitch, 1988: 3, my emphasis). When used as a synonym of 'sector of production', post-*industrial* societies and cities are characterized by presence of tourism *industry* (Hoffman and Musil, 2009), communication technology *industry* (Mattar, 2008), or – ironically, being of a specific pertinence to the thesis – cultural and creative *industries* (Hesmondhalgh, 2002; Jeffcutt and Pratt, 2002; HKU, 2010; Raunig, 2011).

2.4 Obsolete industrial space

The process of deindustrialization leads to obsolescence of industrial spaces. When production is ceased and a factory's original use is brought to an end, industrial space becomes obsolete. The term *obsolete* (or *obsolescent*) comes from the Latin *obsolescere* (to grow old, to wear out, to fall into disuse); the term *obsolescere* is itself derived from Latin *solere*: *ob-* (away) + *solere* (to be used to, to be accustomed to). Obsolescence is preceded by a period of use that has lost its usefulness; it thus refers to a state of 'being after' this period of use. Closing down factories and ceasing production are not just passive results of abandonment or neglect. Rather, industrial space can be *made* obsolete by changing politico-economical conditions. Factory's *use* value depends on the *exchange* value of products made in the factory. As a form of fixed capital, factory differs from the circulating capital consisting of raw material and intermediate goods used in production. These two forms of investments have different turnover times (Harvey, 1982). When factory's operation becomes unprofitable, circulating capital can flee much faster than fixed capital that is embedded in the built form of a factory. As Rachel Weber (2002: 519) puts it, “prior investments create path dependencies that, because of the difficulties inherent in modifying physical structures, constrain future investments”.

The factory as a key node of production and accumulation and the factory as a material space cannot be separated. The same is true for the obsolete factory. Obsolete industrial space is a product of social, economic and political processes, but it is also a specific material condition of industrial built environment. Variety of *terms* discuss the nature of this phenomenon and examine possible destinies of obsolete industrial space. Obsolete industrial space has been characterized as a dead zone (Doron, 2000), a wasteland (Lehtovuori, 2010), a terrain vague (Solà-Morales, 1995), as being derelict (Armstrong, 2006), ruined (Edensor, 2005), defeatured (Wall, 1970), and as a drosscape (Berger, 2006). Although the terms dead zone and wasteland refer to negative quality of space, the examination shows that their meaning is contested. According to Gil Doron (2000), the term *dead zone* is popular among planners, who in this way ignore informal practices taking place in obsolete spaces. In a similar argument, *wasteland*, in which nature and

urbanity are combined with qualities of uncertainty, undefinedness, contingency, and indeterminacy, is discussed by Panu Lehtovuori as a “promising kind of public space” (Lehtovuori, 2010: 142). Promise is also implied in the French notion of *terrain vague* (Solà-Morales, 1995). The meaning of 'vague' as wave portrays obsolete space as fluctuating and oscillating in time. In its meaning of vague (eng.) and vacant, the obsolete space is grasped as indeterminate, uncertain and unoccupied. According to Ignasi de Solà-Morales, 'terrain vague' is space which is 'available', yet it is also space of the possible. The temporality of obsolete space is implied in the term *derelict*. The effects of abandonment on industrial built environment signify failure. However, as Helen Armstrong (2006) argues, material dereliction can also stimulate sensual feeling of beauty. Hence, the question of temporality has also played a role in aesthetic theories of ruin. The discussion of *industrial ruins* by Tim Edensor (2005) focuses on the tactile materiality and aesthetics of disorder. The scholarly tradition, in which the ambiguous meanings of ruin were discussed, has given way to celebration of industrial ruins as critical sites of positive disorder. In contrast to the terms above, Jeff Wall's (1970) discussion of *defeatured* landscape is non-judgemental and interested in the landscape as being without particular qualities (Wall, 1970). Rather than evoking obsolete spaces in terms of their unique character, Wall portrays them as having no particular character. Finally, Alan Berger put forward the *drosscape* as a design and planning concept for adaptive reuse of obsolete spaces (Berger, 2006). The drosscape refers to a transformation by social programs superimposed on wasted landscape.

The rich variety of *terms* indicates that the phenomenon of obsolete industrial space is acute and contested. Is obsolete space produced, practised and transformed at different geographical scales? Is obsolescence an effect of spatial restructuring under the process of deindustrialization or is obsolete space a space of the everyday? If it is both, how are these two aspects reconciled? How is the tactile materiality of obsolete space determined by production of obsolete space as a social process? What are the associated politico-economic and culturo-aesthetic practices and representations?

Before examining the above questions, I would like to discuss three important *concepts* and the way they can be used in theorizing the dual character of obsolete industrial space as a social process and as a material space: spatial fix, obduracy, and resilience. I have already introduced David Harvey's (1982; 2001) concept of *spatial fix* that describes the contradictory process of socio-spatial restructuring, propelled by different turnover times of circulating and fixed capital. Fixed capital is left behind when circulating capital flees to more profitable uses. A significant part of fixed capital that is left behind is 'spatially fixed' in the form of built environment. Hence, devaluation of fixed capital devalues built environment. Fixed capital is place-specific and its devaluation produces obsolete buildings.

The question of the materiality of built environment is further theorized using the concept of *obduracy*. Annique Hommels (2005) identified a tendency of complex built environments and infrastructure networks to resist a change. She

referred to actors, technology and traditions as three possible explanations of the resistance. Hommels pointed out that obduracy of built environment is relatively high in comparison to obduracy of other socio-technological objects. The concept of obduracy has similarities with the concept of spatial fix. Industrial space is a complex built configuration embedded in space and it has thus relatively long lifecycle. In comparison to machinery and other forms of fixed capital it is relatively difficult to scrape and replace industrial built environment.

The complex processes of socio-environmental change have been recently analysed with the concept of *resilience* (cf. Churchill, 2003; Hornborg, 2009). Is this concept also applicable to explain socio-spatial changes of industrial built environment? Theories of 'adaptive management' have put forward resilience as a desirable objective in managing complex systems (cf. Nadasdy, 2007). Resilience is defined as a long-term stability of these systems and it allows for short-term instabilities and minor disturbances. However, as Matthew Gandy (2005; 2010) shows, in urban debates, the concept is predominantly used to examine new forms of adjusting, facilitating and adapting to capitalist urbanization. Within the framework of 'adaptive management', obsolescence of industrial environment can be understood as a short-term imbalance in the evolution of urban systems; and transformation of obsolete industrial environment as a process of adjusting, facilitating and adapting to capitalist urbanization.

Bruce Braun (2012) characterized such meaning of resilience as 'continuous modulation' and contrasted it to the concept of resilience, which focuses on systemic discontinuities. In its original introduction by Holling (1973), the systemic resilience was defined as having multiple equilibrium states. As Holling noted, systems might be resilient precisely because of their instability. Relying on the second meaning of resilience, it is possible to understand obsolescence as a new state of equilibrium, rather than a temporary imbalance.

The two meanings of resilience – as a 'continuous modulation' and as a systemic discontinuity – offer a frame for the analysis of obsolete industrial space throughout the thesis. Obsolete industrial space facilitates resilience of capitalism as a complex socio-economic system. Capitalism has adapted to new forms of production by leaving behind obsolete factories. And still, the notion of resilience raises the question of obsolete space as itself a resilient space of the everyday, in which capitalist adjustment is not only facilitated, but also challenged.

The concepts of spatial fix, obduracy and resilience explain obsolescence in relation to the processes of socio-spatial restructuring, yet at the same time they bring into light material and locally specific aspects of obsolescence. They conceptualize the dialectical character of obsolete space as a temporary imbalance of capitalism on one hand and as a space of the everyday on the other. In all the thesis' articles obsolete industrial space is understood in this way. The articles discuss and analyse specific politico-economic and culturo-aesthetic practices of transforming obsolete industrial space.

3 Summary of the articles: concepts and arguments

3.1 Speculative redevelopment and conservation

The article I is an analysis of *speculative redevelopment* and *conservation* as two important practices of transforming obsolete space. The objective of the article is to study the relation between the two practices: are they alternative methods or do they complement each other? I analyse this relationship by taking into account both the social dimension of the practices and their material expression: in what ways do speculative redevelopment and conservation affect and modify architecture and how is this imagined and understood? It turned out that these two practices do not exclude each other, but are combined in *speculative conservation*, which seeks to maximize rent by conservation.

The roles of actors, coalitions, finance and visions in the process of urban transformation are different in different countries and different cities (Haila, 1991; 1999). In the article, I analyse the process of urban transformation by focusing on architecture and built environment. Practices of speculative redevelopment and conservation are formulated as ideal types, in which obsolescence of industrial space is understood as a temporary imbalance and as a 'problem to be fixed'. Speculative redevelopment and conservation represent different methods of fixing the imbalance. Importantly, these are the contrasting alternatives through which the debate on urban transformation is framed in different cases (see e.g. Bakoš, 2004; Ondoš and Korec, 2008 on Bratislava; Haila, 2008; Kolbe, 2004 on Helsinki; Trumbull, 2012 on St. Petersburg; Charney, 2007 on London).

Speculative redevelopment is defined as a practice that seeks to exploit the gap between actual ground rent from the existing use and potential ground rent expected to be gained in *future* from the alternative use. A speculative developer expects that redevelopment will raise the value of the land and give him a rent flow that exceeds the amount of investment. Discussion of speculative redevelopment uses David Harvey's (1982) theory of financialization of land, i.e., a tendency to treat the land as a pure financial asset. Harvey postulated an emergence of a specific type of landowners who do not use their real estate for production, but for making money by renting. Such class of landowners, who own the real estate as an investment, stands in contrast to owner-producers, who own the real estate as a means of production.

Conservation is defined as a practice that aims at safeguarding rather than redeveloping. Conservationists resist demolitions and criticize rent maximizing activity of a speculative developer. During recent decades, organisations such as The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage or the European Route of Industrial Heritage have stood for conserving industrial buildings and built infrastructures. Factories, warehouses and other industrial structures have been frequently claimed as a 'heritage', 'architectural landmarks',

and a part of our 'cultural identity'. Civil activists, institutional actors and policy makers attempt to justify conservation by arguing that industrial structures have a *historic* value. They aspire to conserve the values of the *past* for the future generations.

Speculative redevelopment and conservation may seem to be in conflict with each other. However, studying them more closely shows that this is not necessarily the case. The article examines complementarity of the two practices by discussing architecture as an essential element in speculative redevelopment and conservation. Architecture is analysed as a *signifier* of the two practices and as a *sign* of itself. The complementarity of speculative redevelopment and conservation concerns their culturo-aesthetic expression in the architectural form.

As a *signifier*, architecture gives an imaginary expression and material form to speculative redevelopment and conservation. For example, we often associate speculative redevelopment with a 'glass box' or an 'iconic building', whereas conservation is connected to 'vernacular architecture' or a 'Gothic church' – and, recently, to an 'industrial building'. These popular imaginaries affect our understanding and normative attitude towards the two practices. Architecture as a signifier of speculative redevelopment and conservation resembles Bob Jessop's concept of economic imaginaries which “provide a semiotic frame for construing economic ‘events’ but they also help to construct such events and their economic contexts” (Jessop, 2004: 164). In our case, architectural form provides simple imaginary of the practices, “which are in their totality too chaotic and complex to be the object of analysis, management or governance” (Grubbauer, 2012).

What is signified through the imaginary content is related to the question of historicity: in speculative redevelopment, architecture signifies unproblematic future, in conservation, it signifies unproblematic past. In both practices, architecture conveys a message of a 'frozen time' (Till, 1999). Whereas in speculative redevelopment obsolete built environment is destroyed and replaced with 'forward-looking' architecture, conservation rests on a 'purified' notion of history. Whether the building is understood as a monument of the past or a monument of the future, it erases historicity and ignores obsolescence *qua* obsolescence.

The role of architecture as a *sign* of itself plays a complementary role. Represented as a monument, a unique work of art, or a work of a genius, the architectural sign-work depoliticizes, 'desocializes', and naturalizes the conflictual character of speculative redevelopment and conservation. Whether new monuments are constructed or the old ones are reclaimed, the game of architectural self-signification draws the attention away from social character of these practices.

From the perspective of speculative developers and conservationists, architecture is characterized as picturesque and sublime. In his study of Romanticism, Onno Oerlemans (2002) showed how the aesthetic category of picturesque played a role in dissociating landscape from the politico-economic context. Today, a similar role applies to architecture. What is picturesque is

understood as being aesthetically autonomous, independent of social, political and economic contexts. The architecture described as sublime is as well understood as aesthetically autonomous, but it is stripped off from social and political determination in a different way. Described as picturesque, architecture is 'naturalized'; described as sublime, architecture is elevated into a 'masterpiece' – an object of awe and veneration. Architecture no longer attempts to represent something else; instead, it is a sublime expression of the 'mastery of architectural form' (the notion of architectural sublime could be then further divided into mathematical sublime, derived from the scale of the architectural form and dynamic sublime, derived from the formal complexity of architecture). The architectural sublime is then an expression of the present 'drama of architecture', which Manfredo Tafuri saw as a “return to pure architecture, to form without utopia [and] ... to sublime uselessness” (Tafuri, 1976: ix).

To further analyse complementarity of speculative redevelopment and conservation, the concept of *speculative conservation* is introduced. Speculative conservation is conservation practice that is motivated by an attempt to realize profit. In a situation when a conservation of obsolete industrial space produces the highest potential rent, conservation itself can become an instrument of profit seeking.

In speculative redevelopment, conservation, and speculative conservation, obsolete industrial space is associated with *negative* qualities such as ugliness, dysfunctionality and uselessness. Speculative developers and conservationists perceive obsolete space as deficient and as a space to be changed.

3.2 Negativity in industrial architecture and empty space

Are there alternatives to speculative redevelopment and conservation? What kind of perception of obsolete industrial space are such alternatives based on and what kind of programs do they mobilize? The articles II and III analyse socio-spatial and aesthetic practices of selected artists and of an artist collective, respectively. The question being asked is: What did attract the artists to engage with obsolete industrial space? Their motive was primarily neither to make profit nor to save the space as a cultural heritage; rather, their practices recognized obsolete industrial space *in its obsolescence*. They engaged with obsolete industrial space *as it was*. Two aspects of obsolete industrial space that affected practice of the artists and of the artist collective are analysed: *negativity in industrial architecture* and *empty space*.

The article II offers an analysis of art works by Gordon Matta-Clark, Robert Smithson and Bernd and Hilla Becher. The analysis covers the period between mid-1960s and mid 1970s, coinciding with the process of deindustrialization. The two artists and one artist couple were chosen on the grounds of their career-spanning interest in the questions of space, architecture, industry, and

obsolescence. The objective of the analysis is to identify, describe and interpret the way the relationship between industrial obsolescence and production of built space is being explored in the artists' work. In the article, the following questions are asked: How is the obsolete industrial space represented? In what way do the art works challenge association of obsolete space with negative qualities? How do the art works solve the puzzle between spatial use and temporality of obsolete industrial space?

The art works of Gordon Matta-Clark, Robert Smithson and Bernd and Hilla Becher interpret *negativity* as an intrinsic part of *positive* (in the sense of normative and posited) urban projects. By negativity I understand the stages that come 'before' and 'after' a functioning period of an architectural object, the invisible parts of architecture and cities, and the repetitive cycle of construction and destruction that underlies the industrial progress. The art works portray the state of being abandoned, forgotten and left out as an inseparable part of the industrial glory of yesteryear. In other words, industrial progress and decline that are manifested in obsolete industrial space are represented as 'two sides of the same coin', two aspects of the one process of construction and destruction.

In the artists' works, the association of obsolete industrial space with *negative* qualities is challenged by recognizing *negativity* in industrial architecture. Through the concept of negativity, obsolete industrial space is acknowledged in its present reality, in its obsolescence. The analysed art works are concerned neither with forging new identity of a place (as in speculative redevelopment) nor with reviving the old one (as in conservation), nor in any way integrating the two (as in speculative conservation). On the contrary, the works recognize obsolescence as a process that contests the very concept of spatial identity, no matter whether it is framed in economic or cultural terms.

Another aspect of the negativity represented in the art works of Gordon Matta-Clark, Robert Smithson and Bernd and Hilla Becher is the contrast between continuous existence of space and spatial practices that reduce space to discontinuous and monumental parts. Factory, as a central node of productivity and social progress, is linked to neglected peripheries where raw materials are exploited (a quarry) and deposited (a slag heap). Production of space as a continuous and contested process is also contrasted to socio-spatial practices which put space 'in use' and 'out of use'. Periods of productivity and periods of obsolescence are presented as inseparable stages of the transformation of industrial space.

The article III studies the Pro Kaapeli movement and the role it played in the transformation of the Cable Factory in Helsinki during the years 1989-1991. It analyses the conflict between the city administration and the movement, which consisted of artists-tenants occupying, inhabiting and working in the obsolete factory. The following questions are asked: How was the emptiness of obsolete industrial space recognized, perceived and represented in the practice of the Pro Kaapeli? With what kinds of arguments did the movement defend the empty space

of the factory? What is the alternative use for obsolete industrial space the Pro Kaapeli suggested?

The Cable Factory was built during the years 1941-1954 by the Finnish Cable Factory corporation. It is a single building with the floor area of almost 50,000 m², situated at Helsinki's western waterfront in the Ruoholahti district. The cable production started in 1943 and most of its output had been exported to Soviet Union. In 1967, Nokia became the owner of the building. In 1970, The Helsinki Inner City Master Plan limited industrial land use in the inner city. The plan for redeveloping Ruoholahti into a commercial and housing district was laid in the 1980s and realized in 1990s. Nokia ceased production in the Cable Factory in the beginning of the year 1989 and put the space up for short-term rent. In June 1990, almost two thirds of the factory's space were occupied by artists and architects who had responded to Nokia's advertisement. According to the original contract between the city of Helsinki and Nokia, the company was to be compensated for the building and by the end of 1990, the Cable Factory was to be transferred to the city's ownership, partly demolished, redeveloped into smaller buildings, and used for services for the new residents of Ruoholahti. In 1990, the Pro Kaapeli movement, an association of short-term Cable Factory tenants, challenged this plan and put forward an alternative idea for the building.

Introducing the concept of *empty space*, the article studies how the Pro Kaapeli made use of the emptiness of obsolete industrial space. Obsolete space was perceived by the public administration and the media as empty and *in this sense* negative. The Pro Kaapeli did not contest the perception of obsolete space as empty; rather, it contested the interpretation of emptiness as negative. The conflict between the movement and the Helsinki city administration played a key role in deciding the transformation of the Cable Factory. The Pro Kaapeli opposed the plans for partial demolition of the Cable Factory. The conflict was focused on the immense and empty Sea Cable Hall, spanning more than 100 metres in length and four floors in height. The official plans called for the division of the Sea Cable Hall into smaller units; the Pro Kaapeli movement campaigned for its preservation as a single unit. In its alternative plan, the collective did not treat the emptiness of space as something to be fixed, repaired, or filled. The emptiness was acknowledged and recognized as such. Empty space, in its emptiness, was accepted as the starting point in the spatial practice of continuous alterations. The Pro Kaapeli collective did not seek to establish a new identity for the space; on the contrary, the obsolete space of the Cable Factory was acknowledged because of its emptiness and non-defined function and use.

The Pro Kaapeli collective was successful in its defence of the Cable Factory. However, the impact of the success on planning and transforming obsolete industrial spaces by the city afterwards is ambiguous. At least in the local context of Helsinki, the Pro Kaapeli movement successfully challenged the predominantly *negative* perceptions of the emptiness of obsolete industrial space. However, the unintended consequence of a *positive* interpretation of obsolete industrial space was that the practice of the Cable Factory's tenants was recognized as 'culture' and

that 'culture' was recognized as a convenient instrument for planning future transformations of obsolete industrial spaces.

Already the discourse and practice of the Pro Kaapeli itself juxtaposed recognition of obsolete industrial space as empty space without an identity with a marketing logic that emphasizes identities and differences. On one hand, the Pro Kaapeli put stress on 'empty halls' and 'undefined space'; on the other, it praised the Cable Factory as 'one of the best' and as 'unique in Scandinavia'.

The role of the Pro Kaapeli movement is interpreted as a vanishing mediator. In Helsinki, the movement played a key role in changing perceptions and practices of transforming obsolete industrial space. But the very success of the Pro Kaapeli propelled the use of 'culture' that contradicts the movement's original motives. The idea of empty space has turned into the idea of 'culture' that can be employed as a technique of governmentality and as an instrument of planning the transformation of obsolete industrial spaces. This conclusion of the article III is further analysed in the article IV.

3.3 Culture factory and cultural governmentality

The article IV is a case study of the Suvilahti project in Helsinki. It analyses the use of 'culture' as a planning instrument in the transformation of obsolete industrial space by urban planners. It finds out that urban planners and policy makers believe that 'culture' has positive socio-spatial effects. But the question is, how do they understand 'culture' in the context of the obsolete industrial space of Suvilahti? And how does this understanding shape their belief in the supposedly positive transformative effects of 'culture'?

Construction of the Suvilahti industrial premises begun in 1909 and it has undergone several transformations during the 20th century. Today, the Suvilahti consists of an electric power plant, a gas tower, and 9 smaller buildings with the overall floor area of 12,500 m². The power plant went out of service in 1974 and the gas production was stopped in 1994. In 1993, the National Board of Antiquities declared the premises of Suvilahti as a nationally significant cultural monument. Suvilahti adjoins Helsinki's eastern waterfront and the district of Kalasatama. The Helsinki Master Plan from 1992 stipulated the relocation of the cargo harbour away from the Kalasatama area and the Master Plan from 2002 marked Kalasatama as a future residential and commercial district. The Kalasatama redevelopment is currently under way and it is expected to be completed in 2035. The Suvilahti land has been owned by the City of Helsinki, but it was rented to the gas company Gasum until 2006. In 2007, the working group founded by the mayor of Helsinki recommended 'cultural use' for Suvilahti. In 2008, the city authorities delegated the management of Suvilahti to Kaapelikiinteistö, the same organization that manages the Cable Factory. Kaapelikiinteistö is a city-owned, non-profit, real estate company established in 1992, in which the board of directors consists mostly of established and well-

regarded artists. The organization's revenues come from tenants' rents and short-term leases of premises for events and are fully reinvested in the maintenance and renovation of the Cable Factory and the Suvilahti. The city of Helsinki does not contribute to Kaapelikiinteistö's budget.

In the article, firstly, relying on Michel Foucault's (2007; 2008) concept of governmentality, the 'cultural' planning promoted and practised in the Suvilahti project is conceptualized as *cultural governmentality*. The city authorities and planners hope to encourage spontaneous practices of cultural actors – that is, the tenants of Suvilahti. The case of the Cable Factory has influenced the planners' notion of 'culture' and such notion is applied in the planning of Suvilahti. In documents I studied and interviews I conducted, planners and city managers envisaged the community of Suvilahti tenants as a 'living organism' and stressed that their own task vis-à-vis this community was not to interfere and intervene, but to enable and maintain indefiniteness.

What cultural governmentality shares with governmentality concerning urban space is the focus on the practices of activating urban populations (e.g. Cheshire, Rosenblatt, Lawrence and Walters, 2009). The governmentality approach has been criticized for its malleable concept of political rationality, which seemingly proliferates through all sorts of institutions (Wacquant, 2012). As opposed to this approach, I am interested in applying the concept of governmentality to analyse the role played by urban planning authorities (cf. Murdoch, 2004; Pløger, 2004; Law-Yone, 2007). In the case of Suvilahti, activation of citizens through 'culture' – a cultural governmentality – is steered by local planning institutions.

Secondly, *culture factory* is defined as a model of regenerated obsolete industrial space pursued by planners and city authorities from the perspective of cultural governmentality. A culture factory is an obsolete industrial space transformed by the means of 'culture'. A culture factory is perceived as a space of 'difference' – an enclave within a city to be secured by playful, spontaneous and non-planned practices performed by independent cultural actors (artists, grassroots cultural organizations, small cultural entrepreneurs).

Urban planners and policy makers value the spontaneous practices of cultural actors for their potential to generate a 'difference' – to attract visitors, to raise the land values in the surrounding areas, or to contribute to citizen's 'positive' well-being. Hence, the transforming of the Suvilahti can be described as a paradox of 'planning by non-planning'. As to the content of culture, there is a withdrawal of planning, whereas what is planned or wished for is the effect of culture – i.e., conservation and regeneration of obsolete space, increase of land values, and enhancement of citizens' well-being. 'Culture' is a key instrument in the planning of regeneration of the Suvilahti into a culture factory.

4 Data and methods

Multiple data sources and methods were employed throughout the thesis. The choices were based on specific character of objectives and specific types of questions raised in each one of the articles.

The article I is a theoretical and conceptual discussion integrating debates from critical economic geography, art history, and urban semiology. The objective was to develop a conceptual framework for understanding the transformation of obsolete industrial spaces and to identify characteristic features and similarities in the debates and practices that shape the transformation. The article conceptualizes speculative redevelopment and conservation as ideal-typical practices of transforming obsolete industrial space and presents exemplary cases from different urban and geographical contexts.

The article II studies the way obsolete industrial space has been represented in the works of art by Robert Smithson, Gordon Matta-Clark and Bernd and Hilla Becher. The article focuses on well-known artists, whose career-spanning interest in the questions of obsolescence, industrial production, and architecture has been identified by art historians and scholars. Robert Smithson and Gordon Matta-Clark did the majority of their works in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, at the time of the onset of deindustrialization. Therefore, they provided a good case for the study of obsolete industrial space. Bernd and Hilla Becher, on the other hand, started already in the 1950s and worked almost half a century. Hence, their works can be analysed in the context of a longer time period of deindustrialization. Indeed, many of Bechers' photographs were taken just prior to the abandonment of industrial buildings.

The analysed art works were created between mid-1960s and mid-1970s and they include site-specific architectural intervention, photography, and installation. Gordon Matta-Clark's *Conical Intersect* (1975) was a short-lasting architectural intervention into the building slated for demolition, and it was documented by photographs and video recording. The work of the Bechers consists of photographs of industrial built structures arranged into 'grid' form that represents their underlying typological principles. Robert Smithson's *A tour of the monuments of Passaic, New Jersey* (1967) is a documentation of a walk in suburban industrial landscape of Passaic and it combines the narrative forms of diary, newspaper commentary, scientific article, poetry and photographic illustration.

The analysis of the works addressed the aesthetic forms of recognition of obsolete industrial space in its obsolescence. Using different strategies, the analysed works *intervene* into obsolete built environment and *represent* the obsolescence of industrial architecture. The art works were interpreted with the help of audio-visual documentation of the works, art-historical studies, curatorial statements, commentaries, published interviews with artists, and newspaper reports.

The article III is a historical case study of the Pro Kaapeli movement's role in the transformation of the Cable Factory in Helsinki. The most important source of data was the extensive archive of the Pro Kaapeli movement collected by Pia Ilonen, the head architect of the movement. The archive contains documents pertaining to the conflict between the movement and the city administration and it offers a valuable testimony on the pre-Pro Kaapeli period, the period of the movement formation, and the 'post-success' period of the Cable Factory's transformation. Documents in the archive include city council decisions, working group proposals, architectural plans and drawings, photographs, meeting minutes, invoices, unpublished manifestos, newspaper clippings, personal letters, Post-it notes, and various technical instructions.

Semi-structured interviews with former members of the Pro Kaapeli movement, the head of the Cultural Department of the City of Helsinki and the director of the Cable Factory managing organisation were conducted and transcribed and served as further valuable source of data. The topics included the events that preceded the founding of the Pro Kaapeli movement, the plan proposed by the Cable Factory working group, the history of the movement, the history, motives and objectives of the alternative plan, the reception of the alternative plan, the conflict and negotiation with the city administration, and the 'post-success' events. Further, the topics included tenants' spatial experience of the building, the character of daily life in the Cable Factory, and the architectural solutions and interventions in the building. Nonetheless, the interviewees were given free hand to raise issues that they themselves considered relevant. Finally, the tours of the Cable Factory and the Sea Cable Hall provided understanding of the architectural form of the building.

The article IV is a case study of the ongoing transformation of the Suvilahti industrial premises in Helsinki. I relied on policy recommendations, administrative documents, decisions, and planning maps, most of which are publicly available. I conducted and transcribed semi-structured interviews with key decision makers, including the head planner of the Kalasatama project, the head architect responsible for the Suvilahti renovations, the cultural director of the City of Helsinki and the heads of the City of Helsinki Real Estate Department and Economic Planning Division. The majority of the interviewees were also members of the Suvilahti working group. The relevance of the selection was backed up by the fact that the interviewed experts frequently referred to each other as to key players in the planning project. The topics raised in the interviews included the proposal of the Suvilahti working group and the preceding events, the influence of the Cable Factory case on the Suvilahti planning, the Suvilahti's management structure, the meaning of 'culture' and the motives and objectives of using 'culture' in planning, the architectural configuration of the site and the approach to Suvilahti's regeneration and the relationship of Suvilahti planning to the planning of Kalasatama. As in the Cable Factory case, the informants were encouraged to voice their opinion on other relevant and important issues. In the study, I also used the interviews conducted during the Cable Factory research. A

guided tour of Suvilahti was valuable for understanding the spatial configuration of its premises.

Being a 'student from abroad' might have influenced the interviewees' willingness to disclose information and contributed to their urge to explain and justify the practices which they talked about. In particular, I used this to my advantage in the article IV, in which the way problems are framed by the key actors represents an important element in my interpretation.

5 The argument of the thesis

The question of the relationship between politico-economic and culturo-aesthetic practices in transforming obsolete urban spaces forms the core of each article. This relationship is also analysed in the overall argument of the thesis. The thesis contributes to the understanding of conflictual emergence of 'culture' as a tool of planning the transformation of obsolete industrial space.

The two case studies – the Cable Factory and the Suvilahti – and the influence of the former on the latter give empirical evidence to the theoretical argument of the thesis. The case studies analyse a practice of transforming obsolete industrial space that is alternative to the practices of speculative redevelopment, conservation, and speculative conservation. The study of representation of obsolete industrial space in the art works of Gordon Matta-Clark, Robert Smithson and Bernd and Hilla Becher complements the argument made in the Cable Factory study.

The introduction of the concepts of speculative redevelopment, conservation, and speculative conservation forms the first part of the overall argument. The objective was to create a typology of the practices of transforming obsolete space, in which obsolescence is approached as a 'problem to be fixed'. Such typology then enabled to introduce contrasting practices in which obsolete industrial space was approached without the intention of 'fixing'.

The conceptualization of speculative redevelopment draws on David Harvey's (1982; 2001) and Anne Haila's (1991) analysis of land as a financial asset, Harvey's concept of spatial fix, Neil Smith's (1979; 1987) and Eric Clark's (1995) concept of rent gap, and Nicholas Blomley's (2002) critical discussion of the concept of highest and best use. The production of new architectures is interpreted as driven by potential of future rent.

Conservation is then conceptualized as a practice that aims at safeguarding and preventing demolitions. Its origins can be traced back to the 19th century romantic and nostalgic idea of the past. Speculative redevelopment is a practice that is oriented to economic possibilities of the future; conservation looks backward to symbolic values of the past. Conservation is an attempt to safeguard the built environment through moral appeals, civic protests, legal actions, or institutional and political reforms.

How are the two politico-economic practices mediated by the culturo-aesthetic practice of architecture? I have argued that both speculative redevelopment and conservation understand architectural form as aesthetically autonomous. As a sign of itself, architecture is construed as either a picturesque 'naturalized' tradition or a sublime work of art, whereby the conflictual process of production of architecture is decontextualized and depoliticized. I have also argued that from the perspective of speculative developers and conservationists, obsolete space is contrasted to its past splendour and to the splendour of its future, respectively. Architecture signifies a static notion of time and reified temporality and it is represented as a monument 'frozen' either in the past or in the future.

Speculative conservation of obsolete industrial built environment is conservation driven by the potential future rent – it is speculative redevelopment *and* conservation. I argued that the complementarity is determined by the fact that speculative redevelopment and conservation have a similar conception of architecture as an object, which is aesthetically autonomous and which signifies a 'frozen' moment in time. As a contrast to such architectural notion of a 'frozen time', Jeremy Till formulated an idea of thick time as “[e]veryday time...of the extended present which avoids mere repetition of past times or the instant celebration of new futures” (Till, 1999: 291). The notion of thick time inspired the following question: what would be a practice that understands architecture as a temporal process, that is not propelled by the intention to 'fix' obsolete industrial space, and that recognizes obsolete industrial space as a space of the everyday?

The identification and analysis of such a practice was influenced by Jacques Rancière's (2006; 2007) theorization of the relation between politics and aesthetics. In contrast to materialist theories, in which politics is theorized in terms of economic redistribution and social critique, Rancière conceptualizes politics as a *redistribution of the sensible*, which always precedes economic or social action. In other words, politics is understood as a practice of challenging and intervening into common sense of what is visible and invisible, or thinkable and unthinkable. In contrast to thinking architecture as aesthetically autonomous, I approached architecture as an aesthetic phenomena in the Rancière's sense. The 'politics of architecture' would then consist of challenging the border between what counts as architecture and what does not, interrogating how spaces are made and represented as either functional or dysfunctional, and contrasting the visible manifestation of obsolescence in obsolete industrial space and the invisibility of obsolescence as a social, political and economic process.

The study of Gordon Matta-Clark, Robert Smithson and Bernd and Hilla Becher, who in their works explored the relation between industrial production, architecture and the problem of obsolescence, analysed such 'politics of architecture'. With the concept of negativity in industrial architecture, I analysed different forms of aesthetic recognition of that which is invisible, forgotten, and unacknowledged in architecture. I argued that these works, which dealt with the materiality of obsolete industrial space and represented this space as a space of the everyday, saw obsolescence as a temporal and spatial process.

The study of *aesthetic* recognition of obsolete industrial space lead to the following question: what would be a similar *spatial* practice? In the study of the Cable Factory in Helsinki, I analysed the 'politics of empty space' practised by the Pro Kaapeli movement. The Cable Factory study also draws on Jacques Rancière and relies on his distinction between *politics* and *policy* (Rancière, 1992; 1999). Whereas, as described above, Rancière understands politics as a dissensual practice of collective challenging of the borders between visible and invisible, or thinkable and unthinkable, policy is defined as a consensual order, in which the visible and the thinkable governs the assignment of people and spaces to particular locations and functions. The 'politics of empty space' is understood in

this sense. In the context of Helsinki, the Pro Kaapeli movement gave a visibility to obsolete space and made it thinkable as a space of the everyday. It successfully defended obsolete space as empty space, and challenged the negative judgements on spatial emptiness. The movement defended preservation of the large and empty Sea Cable Hall by appealing to its largeness and emptiness, not to its use or function. The Pro Kaapeli asked the following question: “What if we defend this space, because it is empty? What would be the consequences?”

In the Cable Factory study I also came up against the limits of Rancière's approach. Its problem is that it does not theorize how the practice of politics transforms into the order of policy. In other words, the question that troubled me was what happens after the dissensus, dispute, or conflict is 'settled'. The Pro Kaapeli practice was soon classified as 'culture' – by the city and planning authorities, by the media, but also by the movement itself. In a similar way, soon after the Pro Kaapeli's success, the Cable Factory became to be known as a 'cultural centre' and a 'culture factory'. In this way, the Pro Kaapeli movement and the Cable Factory were linked to a particular urban function of 'culture'.

Hereby emerged the use of 'culture' as an instrument of transforming obsolete space. This argument was then developed in the Suvilahti case study. In contrast to the Cable Factory, in the Suvilahti case, the concept of 'culture' was used in the policy and planning debate right from the beginning. I analysed the influence of the Cable Factory case on the planning of Suvilahti. While there is a certain 'direct' influence (today, both places are managed by the same organization), I analysed the 'indirect' influence of the latter on the former. To sum up, the Pro Kaapeli movement gave recognition to obsolete industrial space in general. The Cable Factory case manifested a new and viable approach to transforming obsolete industrial spaces. This approach was recognized and labelled as 'culture'. Understood in this way, the notion of 'culture' entered urban policy and planning debates in Helsinki and it has been used as a planning instrument in the regeneration of Suvilahti.

In theoretical terms, the Suvilahti case showed the downside of applying Rancière's concepts of politics and policy to the problem of transforming obsolete industrial space. Drawing on Michel Foucault's concept of governmentality (Foucault, 2007; 2008; Lemke, 2002) and its applications to urban questions (Cheshire, Rosenblatt, Lawrence and Walters, 2009; Murdoch, 2004; Pløger, 2004; Law-Yone, 2007), the concept of cultural governmentality enabled me to characterize the following paradoxical situation. In Suvilahti, non-hierarchical 'cultural' practices and self-organization have been actively encouraged by planning authorities. The planning authorities withdrew themselves voluntarily from the planning of 'culture', and have used instead 'culture' as an instrument in regenerating the neighbouring industrial harbour into a residential and commercial district. In the case of Suvilahti, I characterized cultural governmentality as a paradox of planning by non-planning. I have shown that the notion of 'culture', as it has developed since the early days of the Pro Kaapeli movement, is associated with non-hierarchical, spontaneous, voluntary and non-

planned practices. This notion of 'culture' has been used by policy and planning authorities as an instrument of shaping the transformation of Suvilahti and of the surrounding areas.

6 Conclusion

The objective of the thesis is to show that there is nothing inevitable in the transformation of a factory into a culture factory. The transformation has been propelled by artistic practices, in which obsolete space was recognized in its present-day obsolescence. These practices were alternative to speculative redevelopment and conservation, which regarded obsolete space as a 'problem to be fixed' and valued it on the basis of its future or past. But while artistic practices succeeded in contesting the negative perception of obsolete industrial spaces, they unintentionally laid the foundation for using 'culture' as an instrument in the regeneration of these spaces. Having culture factory as a model of regenerated industrial space, cultural governmentality was established as a new form of planning the transformation of obsolete spaces.

7 Further research topics

The thesis studied the idea of culture factory and cultural governmentality in Helsinki and opened some new questions. Does the use of 'culture' as a planning instrument in the Suvilahti reflect a broader turn to participation in urban planning in Finland? Planning studies and critical urban research have widely documented negative impact of cultural mega-projects and mega-events on urban space. Could these analyses be complemented by taking into account the effects of participatory-oriented cultural projects on uneven urban restructuring? How does planning for 'cultural participation' stand in relation to citizens' participation in the actual urban planning procedures?

For example, the Finnish Land Use and Building Act (MRL, 2000) stipulates that municipalities must enable participation in land use planning. The act requires that “those on whose living, working or other conditions the plan may have a substantial impact” (MRL, 2000: §62) have the opportunity to participate on preparation of local master and detailed plans. The act creates a national framework for participation in land use planning; it does not actually make citizens participate (Leino and Laine, 2012). Could the planners' and policy makers' concern with 'culture' be interpreted as an actual attempt to make citizens participate? For example, the main themes of the European Capital of Culture in 2011, hosted by the city of Turku, were active participation and everyday culture. As part of the program, free tickets to cultural events were distributed through local health stations. In connection with a standard appointment, doctors were asked to hand out these cultural 'prescriptions' and discuss the type of cultural event that could suit the patient best (Turku 2011 Foundation, 2011a). In the program, the objective of active cultural participation of citizens was framed in rather loose terms of personal well-being and mental health (Turku 2011 Foundation, 2011b).

A further research should elaborate the forms of the relation between participation and planning in the Finnish context. Is participation something to be made possible by planning procedures and their legal framework? Does participation actually challenge these procedures and the legal framework? To what extent are the patterns of participation planned and predetermined? Is participation a conflictual practice led from below or is it a consensual practice planned from above? When is participation a political practice and when it is rather a form of population management? When does participation politicize urban planning and development? And when is participation used in depoliticizing the urban questions and in framing of these questions as cultural or even psychological? The relationship between planning and participation could be further investigated by studying different actors and their initiatives, claims, and justifications. How do actor networks emerge, in what ways are the lines of conflicts structured, which actors initiate participation and which actors participate and what are their respective motives and expectations?

How does cultural governmentality reflect the current political and economic tendencies in Finnish urban planning, policies and development? This question should be elaborated in the context of recent research, in which participation is critically discussed in the context of broader political, economic and urban changes (Silver, Scott and Kazepov, 2010; Mayer, 2011; Miessen, 2011; Bishop, 2012). Which of the features of cultural governmentality and planning by participation are determined by local contexts of Helsinki and Finland and which reflect global politico-economic changes? Does cultural governmentality require a strong welfare state, or, on the contrary, is it determined by dismantling of the welfare state? Does the use of instruments of 'culture' and 'participation' represent a form of outsourcing of public services? Are the planning measures for cultural participation related to 'production' of self-responsible and employable citizens and is participation an instrument for adapting them to new models of service-based economies? In the end, such questions would suggest a multi-dimensional and comparative inquiry into participation as a two-edged, contested urban practice.

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