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REMAKING INNER CITIES

A Case for New Spatial Forms and Financial Functioning in Finnish City Centers

H. Andersson: *Remaking Inner Cities: A Case for New Spatial and Financial Functioning in Finnish City Centers*. - Sborník ČGS, 98, 4, pp. 209 - 221 (1993). - The post-industrial renewal of urban structure is creating a new city center culture in which social, political and economic interests are intermingled. The current practice of city center renewal based on internal growth and partnership policy also causes undesirable consequences arising from the new form of service-based economy and the changes in space utilization and mobility associated with the future development of cities.

KEYWORDS: inner city restructuring - public-private partnership - 'casino-economy' - Finland.

Introduction - Prospects for Finnish Localities

The aim of this article is to look at recent changes in Finnish inner cities and evaluate the partnership between financial functioning and new directions in city center planning via the concept of economic and social space. This article is based on research project "Economic and social restructuring of Finnish city centers" which on the other hand is included in four-year (1989-1992) research programme "Prospects for Finnish Localities".

"Prospects for Finnish Localities" is a large, multidisciplinary programme of research which started in 1989 and was completed in 1992. The object of research under programme is generally speaking the Finnish city the aim being to describe the effects of the processes of change taking place in different types of Finnish urban places at the present time on the future development of these places. The programme has a dual purpose. First it aims to describe the current state of Finnish cities and their future development as part of a national and international process of social change. By adopting a multidisciplinary, problemcentred approach, it is hoped as one of the eventual products of the work to present a list of the aspects of urban development which would seem in terms of the physical, functional and social structures of the cities and their interactions with their environment and with each other to be leading in the direction which may be deemed undesirable and may call for a re-evaluation of the principles of urban planning. In this respect the research also seeks to stimulate critical discussion of matters of the policy of national and local state which are concerned with future urban development. The second task of the research is to employ interactive research practices to achieve a multidisciplinary outcome regarding urban research. It is proposed to employ research workers in a range of related fields each with their own contributory project, in order to combine the urban research traditions of different disciplines and practical orientations, which it is hoped will promote interdisciplinary discussion, open up new opportunities for postgraduate study and the training of research workers and create the methodological resources for practical urban planning work.

Certain periods of urban change can be distinguished which have outstanding features and problems of their own. The post-industrial society of the service-based economy has brought the cities to a new stage in their development, in the background

to which the crisis in the industrial society, the rapid advances being made in certain branches of technology and the changes taking place in social and economic organizations are now beginning to cast doubts on the rational foundations for urban development which prevailed at the height of industrialism. "Deindustrialization" is connected with business economics, in which the automation, closure or sale of whole factories, changes in the direction of production and the transfer of investment from manufacturing industry to the finance sector have meant in concrete terms a decline in employment opportunities and a crisis situation for those communities built up around such forms of employment. The rationalization of certain branches of industry and the restructuring of economic activity is emerging as a force for change in terms of urban structure in the late 1980's and early 1990's which will inevitably be reflected in a polarization of the country's cities and in social and environmental pathologies attributable to social problems and alterations in the urban space. The branches of technology that are of importance from the point of view of urban structure, information,

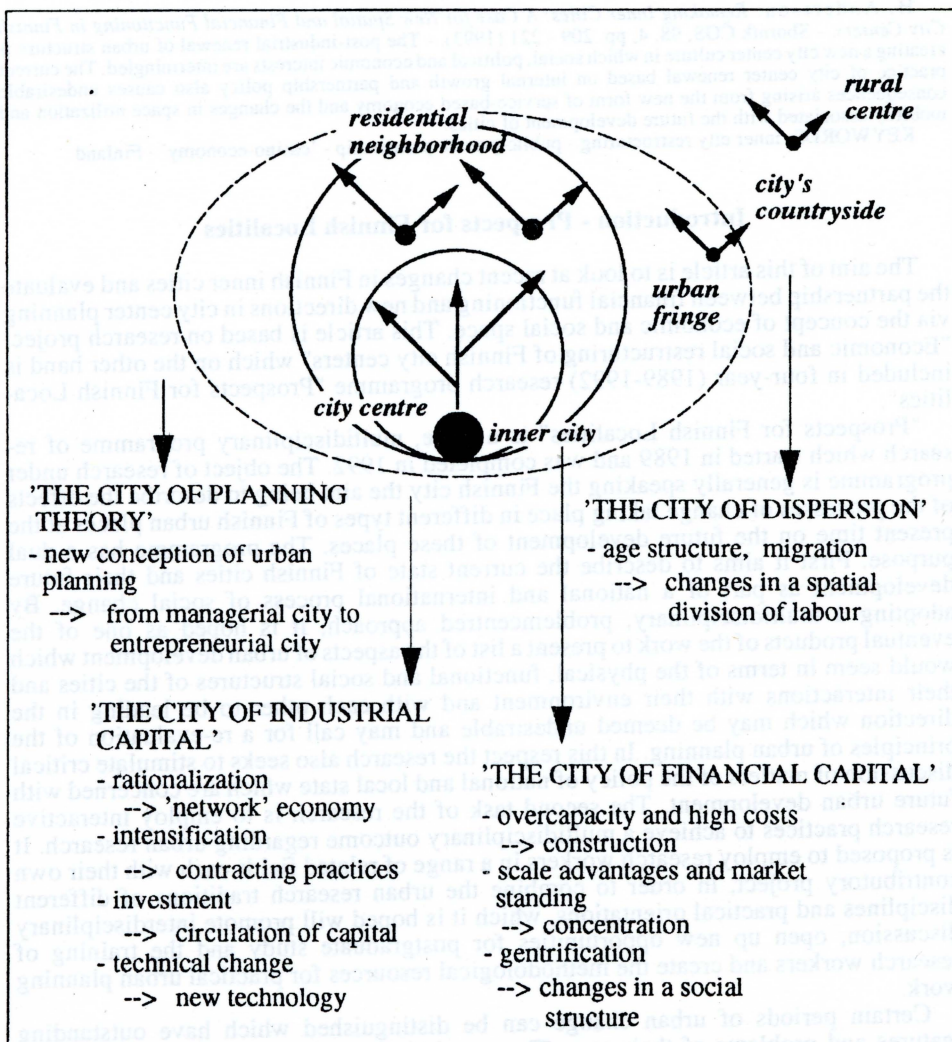


Fig. 1 - Cities and their "change factors".

energy and communications technology, are influential elements in the transition to a new service and knowledge society. Their effects are to be seen in new forms of economic pressures and a new constitution for the urban space, against a backcloth of an international technoculture. The analysis of international influences will indeed be of crucial importance for evaluating precisely this technological progress and its consequences. Mastery over this controlled process of urban change requires that planning should be linked more closely than ever to the social and economic structures of the cities, which in terms of the pragmatics of planning implies the emergence of processes that are non-spatial and difficult to comprehend as the new principles for the structure of cities.

As a consequence of the economic, political and social restructuring going on in society, a new trend of differentiation is to be detected in Finnish cities. Current developments in Finnish society, with all their crises and problems, have directed themselves, or are in the process of directing themselves, towards the cities, giving rise to new types of urban area and new partial structures in these urban areas. Rural communities are being reshaped as changes occur in the traditional functions of rural population centers, while urban communities are becoming service and knowledge communities based on modern technology, with an accompanying reanalysis of the physical form of the town or city and its social and economic functions and with a redefinition of the structures contributing to the urban space in accordance with the policies of internal growth, particularly the urban centers and the suburbs created in the course of earlier waves of differentiation.

The theoretical and methodological frame of the research programme lies in the concept of the economic, technological, social and political restructuring processes prevailing in society, which in the local context are reflected in various types of cities and their future development. The chief object of investigation for all those projects engaged in the research programme is a Finnish city or rural center or some part of such a locality. Some of the contributory projects represent a more extensive approach which examines the main change factors or restructuring processes lying behind urban development, and in these cases the points of view which run through the process of urban change are economic, social or technological in character or are concerned with planning principles. Other projects are more obviously directed towards certain city or rural center types or contributory structures, and are thus methodologically more intensive in character. It is in these latter that the new trend towards differentiation among the cities finds concrete expression via the set of change factors (see Fig. 1).

Economic and social restructuring of Finnish city centers

"Economic and social restructuring of Finnish city centers" is one of the projects within the "Prospects for Finnish Localities" research programme. The principal aim in this project was to describe the alterations and restructuring taking place in Finnish city centers and inner cities within a process characterized by social change and internal urban growth. Particular attention was paid to the changes introduced into the relations between commercial functions, residential functions and the urban space as a result of the city center reforms. An attempt was made to evaluate the new directions in city center planning in a suitably critical and problem-centered manner via the concept of economic and social space. The adoption of a critical approach in the face of the current practice of inner city renewal based on internal growth should permit attention to be drawn to any undesirable consequences arising from the new form of service-based economy, financial functioning and the changes in space utilization and mobility associated with the future development of cities.

Three approaches have been selected to the evaluation of the economic and social reforms of the inner cities: the functional and economic approach, the political approach and the social approach, each of which reflects in its own way the influence of developments in society as a whole upon the city centers. The functional and economic

approach emphasizes the center as a location for services. Particular attention was paid to the nature of the commercial services available, with the focus on changes in these, communications, rent levels and recycling urban space in the central areas of the city. The political approach lays stress on the role of urban planning in the development of the city centers. One desire was to determine the degree of originality attached to Finnish urban planning in city center development as it now is, and the relation of the principle for planning service areas to the overall planning of the city centers. The social approach highlights the city center as an area for living in, the aim being to obtain a socially viable urban environment in the city centers, i.e. to discuss means of reducing social insecurity and segregation and the legitimacy of gentrification process.

Social and economic changes in inner cities are strongly connected to the "tension" between industrial and post-industrial society (see Fig. 2). The city of industrial capital has had its own importance to the inner city concerning mainly "historical evolution" of city center characterized by a dynamic but restrained continuity (CBD development). The post-industrial renewal of urban structure is creating a new city center culture in which social, political and economic interests are intermingled. Alongside the natural spread of the central business district, this dynamism contains a pronounced internal renovation component which, by dint of considerable economic and political manipulation, has brought rapid (uncontrolled) changes and a showy reuse of urban space to the city centers under the banner of regeneration or intensification. The current practice of Finnish city center renewal based at the same time on internal growth (reurbanization policy) and privatisation (partnership policy) has a certain kind of incompatibility, which will cause undesirable consequences arising from the new form of service-based economy and the changes in space utilization and mobility associated with the future development of cities.

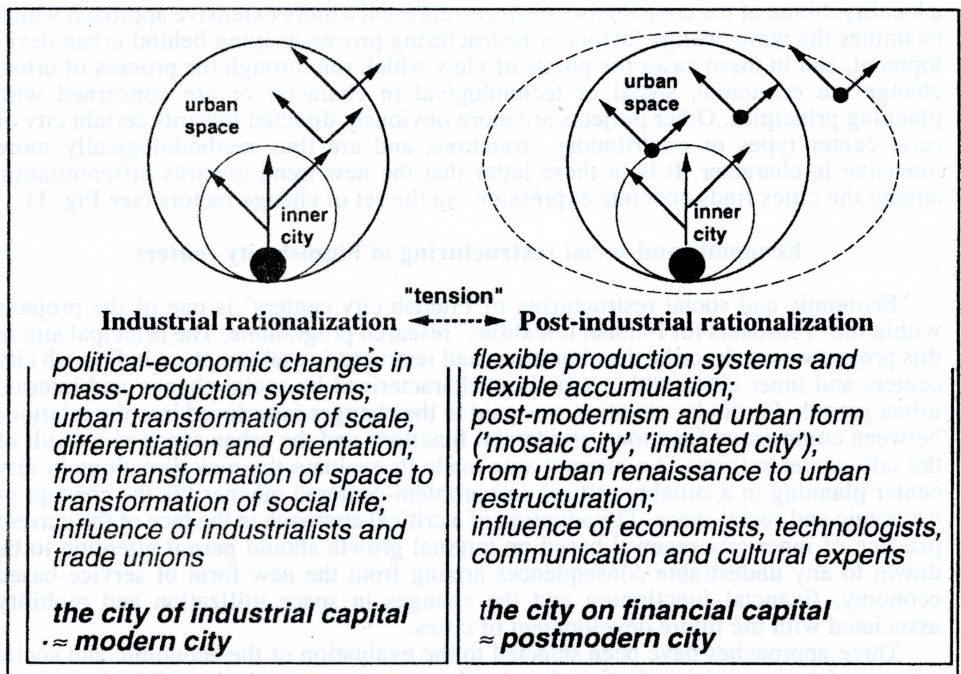


Fig. 2 - Urban space and a tension between industrial and postindustrial rationalization.

Inner city and its different roles

In this study there are three different roles or meanings for Finnish inner city. First, it is "history city", which definition gives it a spatial meaning (see Fig. 3). In Finland historical inner city is tightly connected to the mercantilist urban policy and urban planning. Towns were integral to the process of merchant capitalism, for both expenditure on consumption and the search for trading opportunities. The desire was that towns should be marked off more distinctly from their surroundings by building customs fences around them and adopting positive planning measures as a basis for urban building. The aim was to improve the outward appearance of the towns and protect them better against the risk of fire. Thus the basic principle of Crown urban planning policy from the 17th century onwards was the creation of broad streets intersecting at right-angles and dividing the town into a series of blocks or quarters resembling the squares on a chessboard. Thus all planning throughout the realm from 1634 to 1721 followed systematically an uncompromisingly rigid grid pattern, a style which paved the way for the grid-plan tradition which is so characteristic of the old inner city areas in Finland (cf. Andersson, 1, p. 215). This determined approach to urban planning meant that the grid pattern came to constitute the framework for the development of many Finnish cities up to the present day and the controlling factor in urban building concerning especially inner city areas. At the same time it performed a generative role in the shaping of the city as a whole, with an impact extending from its physical structure to the way of life and life-styles of urban community (cf. "urbanism" versus "suburbanism").

The second meaning of inner city is connected to its problematic nature. It is very common to understand inner city as an undefined area close to the city center with a wide range of economic and social problems like dilapidated and run-down housing, people with low incomes (cf. new immigrants) and economic polarization (cf. increasing informalization). In Finland inner city problems are mostly concerning aged "local" people and urban wastes created by changing patterns of urban industrial space. Inside old grid-plan quarters and along waterfronts there exist underutilized buildings with undefined "backyard" functions. These parts of the city are "footboard" to urban renewal which also gives third meaning of inner city.

As urban renewal area inner cities are tools of reurbanization policy. Reurbanization involves an intensification in the use of urban land, especially in the central core of cities. Intensification incorporates redevelopment, in-fill and structural conversion, all

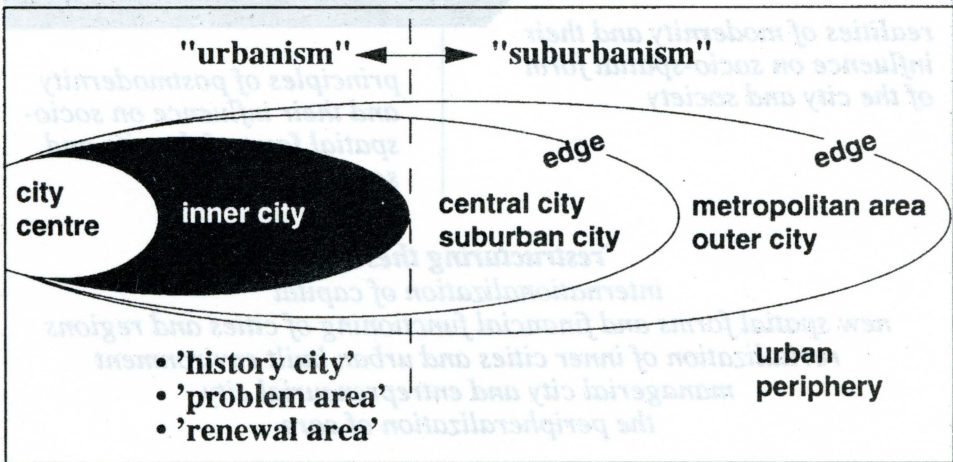


Fig. 3 - Conceptual differentiation of urban area.

of which typically result in higher densities of land use. Criticism against urban sprawl and dispersed development has led to urban planning policy which emphasizes advantages of urban reintegration or "inner growth". Financial advantages as a starting point for urban planning imply making more efficient use of the existing infrastructure (cf. recycling or reuse urban space). Existing building, e.g. old industrial premises, or railway and warehouse areas, can be a basic resource for urban renewal. Similarly the advantages of mobility may be achieved by a reduction in the scale of the residential, production and consumer functions. Special aims have to be laid down which take account of the needs of particular groups, e.g. children, the elderly, housewives and the poor, at the same time as experience of the urban space is associated with experience of the real world. The social advantages are concerned with internal social integration within the urban space and the making of more human use of this space. Urban restructuring inevitably involves the mixing of some social groups, but alienation can be prevented and social contacts promoted by an even distribution of functions and services. Finally the advantages for improving the quality of the urban environment imply the renovation of residential areas and business districts (cf. Tanghe et al., 10, p. 152-166).

It has also been pointed out that the renewal policy that have appeared in the urban structures, and particularly in the centers, with the restructuring of inner cities have given rise to, or are giving rise to, problems which have not been adequately taken account of at the planning stage. The question has been raised of the justice of social

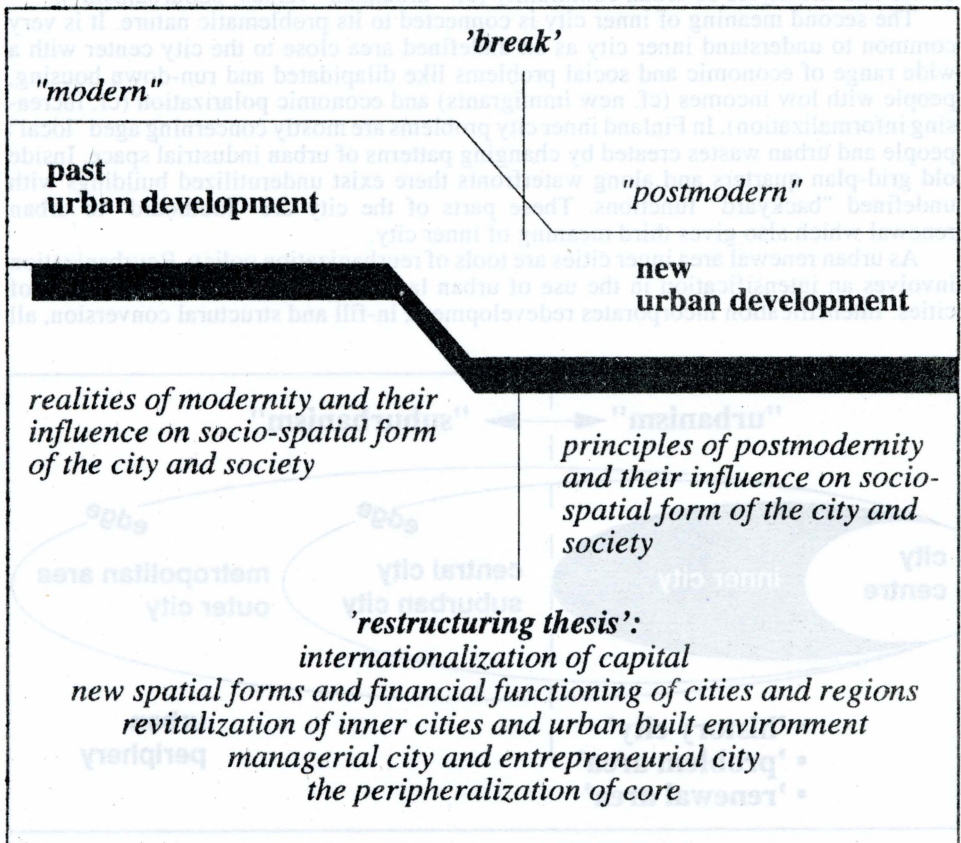


Fig. 4 - Restructuring thesis: between modern and postmodern.

and commercial gentrification. All the time that market economy is the principal force generating and regulating central district functions within the urban spatial system, any renewal will inevitably be connected more clearly with the service sector economy of the city center than with matters of housing, quality of life and improvement of the built-up environment. The postmodernist built form has tendency to connect urban developments and especially those in inner city areas to the global competition and reorganization of capital instead of local planning ideas and goals. The tension here is between modern and postmodern city.

Restructuring urban space: new dynamics of inner cities

In its most general sense, restructuring is meant to convey a break in secular trends and a shift towards a significantly different order and configuration of social, economic and political life. It thus evokes a sequential combination of falling apart and building up again, deconstruction and attempted reconstruction, arising from certain incapacities or perturbations in established systems of thought and action. The old order is sufficiently strained to preclude conventional patchwork adaptation and to demand significant structural change instead. This evolutionary idealism in the competitive conflict between the old and the new has clearly been dealt with discussions about modern and postmodern urban development (Fig. 4).

In social development modernization has meant socioeconomic changes generated by scientific and technological discoveries and innovations, industrial upheavals, population movements, urbanization and the formation of national states (welfare states) and mass political movements. According to Cooke (5, p. 483) the socio-spatial form of modernization included in a more general sense: the relatively even geographical spread to the periphery, semi-periphery and suburbs of modernization processes (cf. residential neighbourhoods), a characteristic posture towards producing standardized products for volume markets (the city of mass-consumption) and economic development in close proximity to new collective consumption environments (cf. city center).

The development of urban centers during the present century modernization has been a "historical evolution" characterized by a continuous but moderated dynamism. In most instances the historical evolution of urban centers in their capacity as central business districts has been a slow process of change from areas occupied by a mixture of retail premises and dwellings to areas characterized by offices and more specialized services. Frequently this development has at the same time meant a shift of the urban center away from the oldest part of the city to become concentrated in a more narrowly delimited serviced and finance area. A real understanding of the spatial processes prevailing in the development of urban centers requires a broader outlook which takes account of economic changes, administrative and political representativeness and aspects of social inequality.

Although the spatial role of the center in an urban system of modern society was that of providing spatial integration and symbolizing the system as a whole, the major background force behind the development of the center, urban centrality, can be manifested at a variety of levels in the urban system (cf. Castells, 4, p. 221-233). At the economic level centrality expresses the relations between the various economic elements in the urban structure. The influence of this economic level is to be seen especially clearly in city core area, where the trend has been abstract commercial functions characterized by consumption and exchange, functions typified by the handling and dissemination of information and including such branches of the economy as financial and credit markets, information technology, specialized consultants in various fields and highly specialized retailers. It is easy to explain the location of these functions in the urban center in the case of market economies, which emphasize the role of private business sector as a regulator of the spatial system. An opposing centrality force comes into play at the politico-institutional level, however, which employs the

instruments of urban planning to lay stress on the public sector. The role of public sector in modern society has been as a controlling force with respect to the use of urban space (managerial city) and as a bearer of the economic pressures exerted by the private commercial functions. The politico-institutional center is itself an instrument in the hands of the public authorities in relation to the urban space (regulative planning).

In new urban and inner city development postmodernism means 'fragmented' social structure. Instead of homogeneity, rationality, mass production and metanarrative which were prevailing in modernism there is postmodernist principles with pluralism, power and desire, small batch production, local narrative and indigenous architecture (cf. Graham, 6, p. 60). Postmodernizations socio-spatial form consist in: a markedly uneven spread of postmodernization characteristics, production disposed towards customized output, for niche markets aiming for economies of "scope" and economic development occurring in areas of privatized consumption (Cooke, 5, p. 483). Postmodernism is represented in the city's built form particularly clearly because architecture and city planning are tightly bound to the economic sphere of land values, on the one hand, and the patronage of multinational business, on the other (public-private partnership).

The pressure to reorganize the interior space of the city has been considerable under conditions of postmodern principles. The vitality of central city core has been reemphasized, themes such as the quality of urban living (gentrification, consumption palaces and sophisticated entertainment), and enhanced social control over both public and private spaces within the city, have been widespread significance. During this postmodernization process "public-private partnership" of today amounts to a subsidy for affluent consumers, corporations and powerful command functions to stay in town at the expense of local collective consumption. Urban governments have been forced into innovation and investment to make their cities more attractive as consumer and cultural centers. Such innovations and investments have quickly been imitated elsewhere. Inter-urban competition has thus generated leapfrogging urban innovations in lifestyles, cultural forms, products, and even political, and consumer based innovation. Herein lies part of the secret of the passage to postmodernity in urban culture (Harvey, 7, p. 265). Markets, overconsumption and "hyperspaces" are characteristic of postmodern urban form. According to Zukin (11, p. 435) postmodernization refers to the structural polarity between markets and places, between the forces that detach people from or anchor them to specific spaces. Postmodernization refers also to the institutional polarity between the public and private use of urban space. The analysis of postmodern urban forms emphasizes markets over places and denies the separation of private and public space.

In spite of differing starting points for urban development, analogical features are to be seen in new inner city dynamics which are present just as much on a global as on a national, regional or local scale. Alongside the natural spread of the central business district a pronounced tendency towards internal rebuilding of the city centers, a process which, whether viewed as "revitalization", as is the American practice, or "intensification", as is more common in Europe, has brought areas of highly specialized services to inner cities as a result of a combination of economic and political manipulation. These (post)modern urban center innovations have reached the towns and cities of Finland in recent years in the form of the cross between the American and European renewal model. These new areas of services are being brought about by a combination of public sector planning and private building technology and site ownership, to produce new 'marketing space'. On a wider scale one may speak of megastructures, massive buildings or groups of buildings comprising retail shops, offices and recreational and accommodation functions (cf. Andersson, 2, p. 9-10).

In this inner city renewal process the cities of Finland have inherited a European model of urban development, and the reurbanization and revitalization measures used for the qualitative and functional improvement of their centers tend to follow European practices, in which the aim is to achieve even increases in accessibility, attraction and

increment in property prices. The centers of the Finnish cities have also retained their importance as the principal location for urban functions. Even so, "internal expansion" has still adopted some American features, as seen in the fragmentary development of the inner cities and parts of these in a manner divorced from that of the urban area as a whole. Commercial renewal of the urban centers only reached Finnish society around 1985, and the "fashion" for restructuring retail trading and services in the centers is now spreading from the larger urban communities to progressively smaller ones in the form of a series of national and international innovations (Fig. 5).

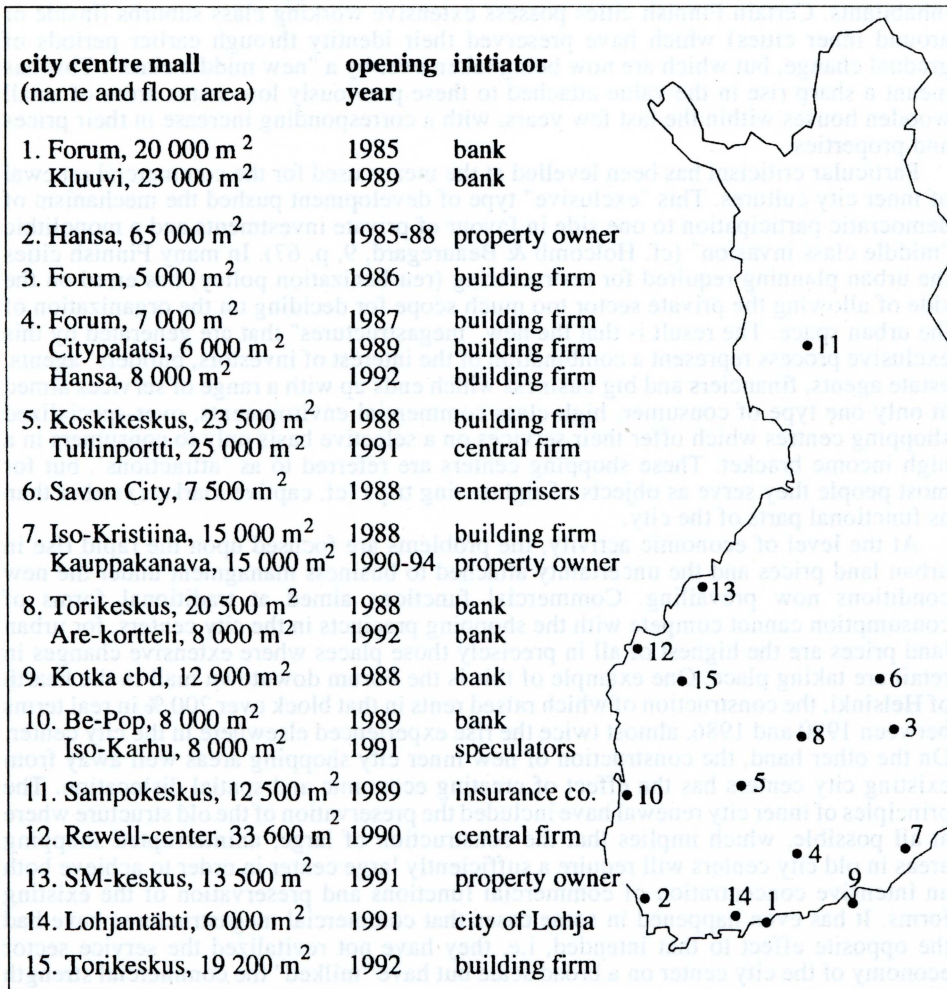


Fig. 5 - Downtown malls and shopping quarters in Finnish city centres 1985-1992. (Cities: 1. Helsinki, 2. Turku, 3. Varkaus, 4. Lahti, 5. Tampere, 6. Kuopio, 7. Lappeenranta, 8. Jyväskylä, 9. Kotka, 10. Pori, 11. Rovaniemi, 12. Vaasa, 13. Kokkola, 14. Lohja, 15. Seinäjoki.)

New dynamics of inner cities: problems and criticism

As pointed out in Figure 5 in most cases the initiators of commercial restructuring in Finnish city centers has been financial institutions and building companies which means obvious links with capital and speculation. As an ideology, inner city renewal produces good commercial climate and healthy residential areas in places which had previously been degenerating, and profit in places where there had previously been poverty. The ideology tells us nothing of the dynamics of capital (or flexible) accumulation which lie behind the process, however. The illusion of urban renewal as an integration in which the basic attribute of the urban space is a "richness and variety" of relationships between people from different social and consumption groups falls down because of solutions dictated by the power of capital. This becomes particularly apparent in situations where building companies acquire properties for renewal by purchasing them from the most "vulnerable" sectors of the population, renovate them, and sell or rent them at high prices to shopkeepers and upper or middle-class urban inhabitants. Certain Finnish cities possess extensive working class suburbs (inside or around inner cities) which have preserved their identity through earlier periods of gradual change, but which are now being taken over by a "new middle class". This has meant a sharp rise in the value attached to these previously low-status areas of small wooden houses within the last few years, with a corresponding increase in their prices and properties.

Particular criticism has been levelled at the means used for the commercial renewal of inner city cultures. This "exclusive" type of development pushed the mechanism of democratic participation to one side in favour of private investments and a monolithic "middle class invasion" (cf. Holcomb & Beauregard, 9, p. 67). In many Finnish cities the urban planning required for restructuring (reurbanization policy) has erred on the side of allowing the private sector too much scope for deciding on the organization of the urban space. The result is that the new "megastructures" that are generated by this exclusive process represent a combination of the interest of investors, builders' agents, estate agents, financiers and big business which ends up with a range of services aimed at only one type of consumer, high-class commercial environments, over-specialized shopping centres which offer their services on a selective basis only to consumers in a high income bracket. These shopping centers are referred to as 'attractions', but for most people they serve as objects of sightseeing trips (cf. captive markets) rather than as functional parts of the city.

At the level of economic activity, the problems are focused upon the rapid rise in urban land prices and the uncertainty attached to business management under the new conditions now prevailing. Commercial functions aimed at traditional forms of consumption cannot compete with the shopping precincts in the city centers, for urban land prices are the highest of all in precisely those places where extensive changes in retail are taking place. One example of this is the Forum downtown mall in the hearth of Helsinki, the construction of which raised rents in that block over 200 % in real terms between 1980 and 1986, almost twice the rise experienced elsewhere in the city center. On the other hand, the construction of new inner city shopping areas well away from existing city centers has the effect of creating economic and spatial dislocation. The principles of inner city renewal have included the preservation of the old structure where at all possible, which implies that the construction of large, uninterrupted shopping areas in old city centers will require a sufficiently large center in order to achieve both an intensive concentration of commercial functions and preservation of the existing forms. It has even happened in some cases that commercial megastructures have had the opposite effect to that intended, i.e. they have not revitalized the service sector economy of the city center on a broad scale but have "milked" the commercial strength from the remainder of it, giving rise to an imbalance in the internal hierarchy of retail trading in the city as a whole (Claims of this kind have been made regarding both the Forum precinct in Helsinki and the Hansa center in Turku).

One question which emerges above all others is that of the relationship between the "private sector" city and the "public sector" city or between "managerial" city and "entrepreneurial" city as David Harvey (8) express it. A "public-private partnership" has risen or is rising a leading instrument for urban development, especially when reusing or recycling urban areas. In the case of Wärtsilä dock area in Turku a public-private partnership policy has adopted for large inner city restructuring (Fig 6).

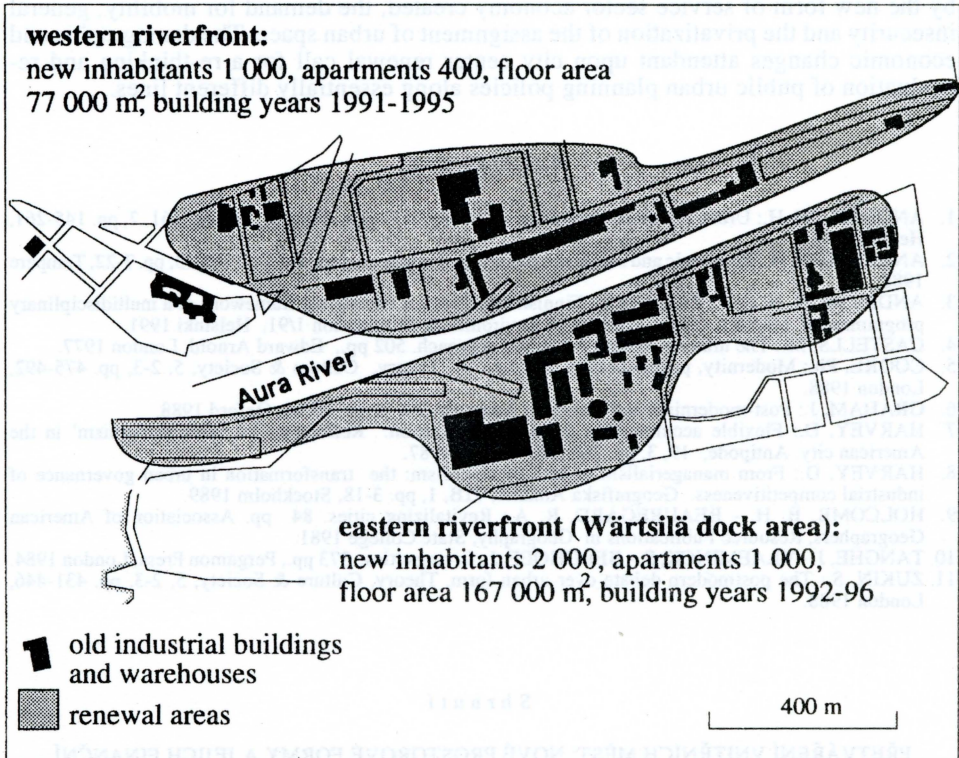


Fig. 6 - The renewal areas of Aura River in Turku.

A question is about land-use and zoning agreements, where the city of Turku is selling zoning privileges (from industrial use to residential and commercial use) to the private land and property owner. The original price 75 million Finnish marks is now 50 million marks and a development time has changed from six year to ten year because of dominant recession. Both trends are for the benefit of land owner and for the loss of local government (and local people). Relations between the public city and the private city in "remaking inner cities" might be problematic because of different kind of view on urban development. According to the public city center should be based primarily on residents' needs and it should consist of subareas each with its own identity. Existing built-up environment should be preserved where possible or used as a basis for new building. Variation in property values within the city center should be reduced and economic and social renewal of the center should be based on a general plan for the whole area. According to private city center is primarily a location for high-class services (an area for service and finance). Floor area efficiency of city centers should be increased and land value and property rents should be highest in the areas of new building in the centers (cf. speculation). In private city economic and social renewal takes place via individual projects.

Many crucial questions remain unanswered regarding new inner city cultures aimed mainly at revitalizing the residential and commercial functions of these areas. Measures for reviving and renovating the city centers all too frequently look for, and find, analogies in individual economically successful projects, the results of which are too restricted to allow any evaluation or explanation of the implications of city center renewal for the urban structure as a whole. The temporary attraction of a recently restored area in a city center can effectively obscure the long-term problems generated by the new form of service sector economy created, the demand for mobility, general insecurity and the privatization of the assignment of urban space. The demographic and economic changes attendant upon city center renewal call for a re-thinking and re-evaluation of public urban planning policies along essentially different lines.

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Shrnutí

PŘETVÁŘENÍ VNITŘNÍCH MĚST: NOVÉ PROSTOROVÉ FORMY A JEJICH FINANČNÍ ASPEKTY V CENTRECH FINSKÝCH MĚST

Článek přibližuje nedávné změny vnitřních měst ve Finsku a pokouší se o zhodnocení vztahu mezi finančními otázkami a novými směry v plánování městských center. Příspěvek vychází z poznatků získaných při práci na projektu "Ekonomická a sociální restrukturalizace městských center ve Finsku", který je součástí rozsáhlejšího multidisciplinárního výzkumného programu "Šance pro finské lokality".

Autor využívá tři přístupy k zachycení ekonomické a sociální restrukturalizace vnitřních měst. Funkcionalistický a ekonomický přístup pohlíží na městské centrum jako na místo lokalizace služeb. Politický přístup zdůrazňuje roli sídelního plánování v rozvoji městských center a sociální přístup vidí centrum města jako arénu, ve které probíhá společenský život, rozebírá otázky veřejné bezpečnosti a segregace či legitimitu gentrifikačního procesu.

Sociální a ekonomické změny vnitřních měst jsou těsně spojeny s přechodem od industriální k post-industriální společnosti a napětím, které v tomto období vzniká. Postindustriální restrukturalizace měst přináší do center novou kulturu, kde jsou sociální, politické a ekonomické zájmy navzájem promíchány. Vývoj se vyznačuje regenerací a intenzifikací využití městských center. Tento proces je ve Finsku založen na prosazování vnitřního růstu a na politice privatizace. Tento trend však může v průběhu dalšího vývoje přinést i některé nežádoucí důsledky.

Finská vnitřní města mají tři významy. "Historické město" poukazuje na historickou podmíněnost současné fyzické struktury vnitřního města a na roli centra při utváření města jako celku. Druhý význam definuje město jako "problémovou oblast". V současném finském kontextu jde především o koncentraci starší populace a neadekvátní využití některých budov a nedefinovatelných ploch, jež je obklopují. Vnitřní město jako "oblast obnovy" zrcadlí trendy v současné intenzifikaci využití ploch v centrálních částech měst. Vnitřní

regenerace (postmoderního) města je spíše podmíněna procesem globalizace kapitálu než cíli místního plánování.

Restrukturalizace znamená zlom vedoucí k novému řádu v sociálním, ekonomickém a politickém životě. Konkurenční konflikt mezi starým a novým řádem byl názorně nastíněn v diskusích o moderním a postmoderním vývoji měst. Socioekonomické změny byly v období modernizace vytvářeny vědeckými a technickými objevy, industrializací, urbanizací, formováním národních (*welfare*) států a masovými politickými hnutími. Městská centra ztrácela funkci bydlení a koncentrovala se v nich administrativa a specializované služby. Často došlo k vytvoření nových, speciálně zaměřených finančních a obchodních center, která zdůrazňovala roli soukromého sektoru v prostorovém systému města. Na druhou stranu bylo městské centrum sídlem úřadů sílicího veřejného sektoru pokoušejícího se o ovlivňování a řízení vývoje města.

Postmodernizace přináší fragmentaci sociální struktury. Místo homogenity, racionality, masové produkce a velkých myšlenek se prosazuje pluralismus, moc a touha, malosériová výroba, místní duch a architektura zrcadlící specifika domácího prostředí. Principy postmodernismu vedou k reorganizaci vnitřního prostoru měst. Do jejich center znovu proniká funkce bydlení (gentrifikace), na významu nabývá spotřeba a zábavní funkce. Postmoderní vývoj popírá vzájemné oddělování soukromého a veřejného prostoru a proces postmodernizace je podporován na základě spolupráce veřejného a soukromého sektoru. Cílem společného úsilí je zvýšit dostupnost a atraktivitu městského centra a dosáhnout růstu cen nemovitostí.

Restrukturalizace center finských měst je ve většině případů iniciována finančními institucemi a stavebními společnostmi, což poukazuje na zřejmé spojení s kapitálovými spekulacemi. Obnova městských center je z ideologického hlediska prezentována jako vytváření vhodného obchodního prostředí a příjemných obytných čtvrtí v původně zdevastovaných oblastech a zisku v místech předchozího úpadku. Tato ideologie však nic neříká o dynamice akumulace kapitálu, která leží v pozadí procesu. Zatímco se argumentuje o "bohatství rozmanitosti", dochází k vytlačování původního obyvatelstva s nižšími příjmy novou sociálně homogenní vrstvou obyvatel se středními a vyššími příjmy. Nová obchodní centra jsou sice právem označovaná jako atrakce, ale pro většinu obyvatel slouží spíše jako objekt podívané než funkční součást města. V některých případech obchodní centra přinesla namísto očekávaného celkového oživení úpadek ostatním obchodním aktivitám.

Nejdůležitější otázkou je vztah mezi soukromým a veřejným sektorem. Spolupráce veřejného a soukromého sektoru představuje základní nástroj sloužící při prosazování restrukturalizace vnitřních měst. Příklady však ukazují, že spolupráce přináší zisky soukromým vlastníkům půdy, ale ztráty místním úřadům (a místnímu obyvatelstvu). Vztah mezi veřejným a soukromým sektorem může být při restrukturalizaci městských center problematický, neboť každý pohlíží na rozvoj z jiné perspektivy. Zatímco by podle snah veřejných představitelů mělo být centrum formováno podle potřeb obyvatelstva, pro soukromý sektor představuje střed města především lokalitu potenciálních zisků. Dočasná atraktivita obnovených městských center může zakrývat budoucí problémy vytvářené projekty prosazovanými v současnosti. Mělo by tudíž dojít k podstatnému přehodnocení politiky urbanistického plánování.

Obr. 1 - Faktory ovlivňující proměnu měst.

Obr. 2 - Urbanizované území a napětí mezi industriální a postindustriální racionalizací.

Obr. 3 - Koncept vnitřní diferenciacie urbanizované oblasti.

Obr. 4 - Teze restrukturalizace: mezi modernitou a postmodernitou.

Obr. 5 - Obchodní domy a nákupní střediska v centrech finských měst, postavené v letech 1985-1992.

Obr. 6 - Oblast přestavby kolem řeky Aura v Turku.

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