



Master's thesis
Urban Studies and Planning

Citizen participation in urban conservation
through the cases of Porvoo's Old Town and Helsinki's Puu-Käpylä

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<p>Abstract</p> <p>This thesis examines the themes of citizen participation and community co-production in the context of urban conservation. If we want to have more effective participatory processes, it is needed to identify how laymen can best supplement professional knowledge.</p> <p>The main research question “what can citizens offer to the process and decision-making related to urban conservation?” is approached through the qualitative research of two Finnish case studies: the Old Town of Porvoo and Helsinki's Puu-Käpylä. For this purpose, a content analysis of selected newspaper articles was conducted.</p> <p>The results tell us that engaging with the media through writing opinion pieces is very popular, and the media plays overall a very important role in covering the whole conservation process. Strong and transparent democratic institutions remain vital for the fair participation of citizens, as the lobbying of decision-makers and filing official complaints are important ways for citizens to affect the process. Sometimes the conditions are favorable for an Urban Social Movement to form, which can have a strong impact. Overall, to ensure a fair and representative process, a variety of different ways and forums for citizens to participate needs to be offered.</p> <p>It was also noted that citizens can bring knowledge and perspectives to the conservation process that might not necessarily come to light in a purely professional assessment. It seems that contrary to popular belief, aesthetic values are important factors for laymen when evaluating their living environment, as are also historical and cultural significance. Citizens also hold valuable information on the user experience of a neighbourhood (related to e.g., the community feeling or “special character”) that cannot be assessed by an outsider alone.</p> <p>It was also found out that it is usually the same groups of people that take part in the public discussion around a conservation process: the local intellectual elite, civil organizations, and homeowners (as opposed to tenants or other users of the neighborhood). The voices of certain groups are usually left out, which poses a challenge to the representativeness of the discussion and thus to the democratic legitimacy of the whole decision-making process.</p>			
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Tiivistelmä <p>Työssä tarkastellaan kansalaisten osallistumisen ja yhteistuotannon teemoja erityisesti kaupunkisuojeelukontekstissa. Mikäli haluamme tarkoituksenmukaisempia osallistumisprosesseja, on selvitettävä kuinka maallikot voivat parhaiten täydentää ammattilaisten tietämystä.</p> <p>Tutkimuskysymystä "mitä kansalaiset voivat tarjota prosesseihin ja päätöksentekoon kaupunkisuojaeluun liittyen?" lähestytään kahden suomalaisen tapauksen, Porvoon Vanhankaupungin ja Helsingin Puu-Käpylän laadullisella tutkimisella. Tätä tarkoitusta varten valikoiduista sanomalehtiartikkeleista suoritettiin sisältöanalyysi.</p> <p>Työn tulokset kertovat, että mielipidekirjoitusten kirjoittaminen on suosittu tapa saada äänensä kuuluviin, ja että medialla on kaiken kaikkiaan erittäin tärkeä rooli koko suojeleprosessin raportoinnissa. Vahvat ja läpinäkyvät demokraattiset instituutiot ovat edelleen elintärkeitä kansalaisten oikeudenmukaiselle osallistumiselle, sillä päättäjien lobbaus ja virallisten valitusten tekeminen ovat tärkeitä tapoja, joilla kansalaiset voivat vaikuttaa prosessiin. Joskus olosuhteet ovat suotuisat urbaanin kansalaisliikkeen liikkeen syntymiselle, jolla voi olla myös olla suuri vaikutus. Kaiken kaikkiaan oikeudenmukaisen ja edustuksellisen prosessin varmistamiseksi kansalaisille on tarjottava erilaisia tapoja ja foorumeita osallistua.</p> <p>Lisäksi selvisi, että kansalaiset voivat tuoda suojeleprosessiin tietoa ja näkökulmia, jotka eivät välttämättä tule esiin asiantuntija-arvioinnissa. Vastoin yleistä käsitystä esteettiset arvot näyttävät olevan tärkeitä tekijöitä maallikolle heidän arvioidessaan elinympäristöään, samoin kuin myös alueen historiallinen ja kulttuurinen merkitys. Kansalaisilla on myös arvokasta tietoa naapuruston käyttäjäkokemuksesta (liittyen esimerkiksi yhteisöllisyyteen tai "erikoisluonteeseen"), jota ulkopuolinen ei voi yksin arvioida.</p> <p>Tuloksista käy myös ilmi, että suojeleprosessista käytävään julkiseen keskusteluun osallistuvat yleensä samat ihmisryhmät: paikallinen älymystö, kansalaisjärjestöt ja asunnonomistajat (vs. vuokralaiset tai muut naapuruston käyttäjät). Tiettyjen ryhmien äänet jäävät yleensä pois, mikä asettaa haasteen keskustelun edustavuudelle ja siten koko päätöksentekoprosessin demokraattiselle legitimitetille.</p>			
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PART I: INTRODUCTION

This first part of the thesis introduces the research questions, methodology and material used. It also gives a short introduction to the most important themes discussed – those of citizen participation, community co-production, urban conservation theory, and urban social movements.

1. Background

Regardless of how we define citizen participation, or address its evolving level of equal representation, the phenomenon has a long history. In the western world its varying forms can be traced from the Ecclesias of the ancient Greek city-states, through the professional guilds of urban artisans in the European middle-ages, to the popular assemblies of Swiss cantons or Renaissance Italy. However, the “mainstreaming” of citizen participation didn’t happen before the 1970s’, with an exponential growth of federally mandated citizen participation especially in the US. (Roberts 2015)

The now popularised notion of citizen participation is a part of the “people-centred” or “human-centric” principles that have influenced the course of western culture since the early 1970s’. As part of larger humanist movements, these principles contributed to a certain paradigm shift in which centralized hierarchies were suspect and “more heads considered better than one” in order to achieve meaningful and sustainable results. (Jennings 2000)

Though citizen participation is in no means nothing new, it is still something very characteristic to this era. The current debate on these themes is taking place in a situation where new forms of participation have emerged alongside the traditional established representative democracy. These forms range from organized civic movements to direct action that test the limits of legitimacy. Despite its timeliness, the debate touches the age-old question of who has the right to use and enforce public power. (Bäcklund et al 2002)

Citizen participation and its sub-concept community co-production have thus been hot topics for the past years. Criticism, risks, and challenges related to the implementation of participatory methods have also been brought to light during that period. There seems to be difficulties in creating clear evidence of value for all stakeholders (Bovaird & Loeffler 2020). In order to have more focused, effective, and result-oriented participatory processes and to truly harness the assets of citizens it is needed to identify how the “common people” can best supplement professional knowledge.

Citizen participation is an embodiment of citizens' rights and responsibilities concerning themselves and their close circle in public decision-making (Bäcklund et al 2002). In the frame of this thesis the phenomenon is viewed in the particular context of urban conservation. The aim is to identify and analyse the characteristics of different actors, their ways or means to take part in the conservation process, as well as the type of knowledge usually applied to affect the decision-making. This is done through a comparative case study of two famous Finnish conservation cases: the one of the Old Town of Porvoo (1930s') and the residential district of Puu-Käpylä in Helsinki (1960s').

Even though having been the subject of much debate for already a while, citizen participation and community co-production have not yet been much discussed in the context of urban conservation. However, as there seems to be no end to the global trend of increasing urbanization (ESPAS 2019), more and more pressure is being applied on our built urban heritage in the (justified) quest for density, efficiency, and adaptation to changing needs of the urban population. The relevance of decision-making related to heritage conservation is thus not going to diminish in the following years, on the opposite.

The Finnish Land Use and Building Act requires the presence of citizen participation in land-use planning (MRL 132/5.2.1999 1, & 6 §). However, as a form of land-use planning, urban conservation is a very professional-led process (Kolbe 2020), where the municipality requests statements from experts and official institutions such as the National Heritage Agency (Kivilaakso 2010). The public's opinion is rarely heard, or at least not integral to the process. Yet citizens have great interest in their living environment, and there are examples where citizen activism especially has led to or at least greatly affected the conservation of certain areas, as is shown by the two case studies chosen for this thesis (City of Porvoo 1936; Rytsä 2007).

The research field of critical heritage studies has grown significantly during the past years, and according to it, culturally sustainable development stems from a strong local identity (Gentry & Smith 2019). As the local community is key in defining and nurturing the identity of a place, we can state that citizen participation is crucial in order to achieve socially durable heritage conservation.

2. Research problem and research questions

As discussed, built heritage conservation and the decision-making related to it will not lose any of their relevance in the near future. In order to achieve socially durable heritage conservation, citizens will need to be involved in the process. The aim of this thesis is to identify information that would facilitate the functionality of that involvement.

In order to better harness the assets that citizens can provide, it is needed to map what citizens have to offer in the first place – and to identify the inputs that are of actual value, best supplementing the possible gaps in professional knowledge. In addition, analysing the different ways and means through which citizens have usually taken part in the process in the past offers a view on what mechanisms and channels could be strengthened or developed. Identifying the most common characteristics of citizens that usually get involved in conservation decision-making might also reveal something of the representativeness of the knowledge and opinions expressed: is there a group of people whose views are left out, but who still have the same right to affect their living environment?

Against that background, a main research question was formulated:

- *Viewed against historical examples, what can citizens offer to the process and decision-making related to urban conservation?*

With the following three sub-questions:

- *Through what means have citizens affected urban conservation?*
- *What kind of knowledge and arguments do citizens usually present, and from what field or area?*
- *What kind of citizens, in what kind of situation, usually get involved – who's views are left out?*

3. Research ethics

In the frame of this thesis, reflexive localization has been used as a way to ensure that the research's ethical requirements are fulfilled. Outi Fingerroos has defined reflexive

localization in cultural research as consisting of four levels (see table 1 below). By localization, Fingerroos means the process of doing research and perceiving its subject-specificity, while reflection makes this structure visible (Fingerroos 2003). Although Fingerroos' point of view is specifically from cultural studies, it can be adapted also for other research fields.

<p style="text-align: center;">Self-reflection</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Defining and explaining the researcher's personal commitments</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Methodological reflection</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Defining and explaining methods, theories and concepts used</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Epistemological reflection</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Defining and explaining the concepts of information theory, and information interest</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Reflection on research commitments</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Defining and explaining commitments and implications of the research that are external, political, and related to the exercise of power</i></p>

Table 1. *The four levels of reflexive localization. Adapted by author from Fingerroos 2003.*

The first chapters dealing with the background, the research problem and question, the material used, and the definition of the concepts underlying the theory serve as the methodological and epistemological reflection of my research. In this chapter, I localize myself and my personal expertise as well as reflect on the research commitments and implications.

I am conducting this research primarily as an expert of the built environment who feels that in the current Finnish planning culture citizen participation is not always utilized in the most purposeful manner or in the right contexts, which often leads to insignificant results and a misuse of resources. I am an architect by background, and before embarking on my second studies in urban studies and planning I worked for years in different private architecture and planning consultancies. Thus, I am very familiar with the processes of zoning, planning, and

designing neighbourhoods, as well as the different stages, instances, and assessments those processes are required to involve.

As this work is an independently conducted (not commissioned) master's thesis, there are no major external or political commitments behind it. I hope that the results of this study will help to harness the assets of citizen participation more effectively so that, as a society, we can produce ever better and more functional living environments for all.

4. Theory

4.1 Citizen participation and community co-production

4.1.2 *Definitions*

In the scope of this study the urban conservation process is assessed from the point of view of both citizen participation and community co-production. Though not completely synonymous, their definitions do overlap, and a clear distinction between the two is not made in the frame of this study, but they are discussed side by side. Though there are some conceptual differences between disciplines (i.e., between design research and social studies) in the term of choice, the phenomenon they encompass can be seen as the same.

Many scholars have attempted to define citizen participation including its goals and implications, with some differences. According to Pateman (1970) one of the goals of participation is that “the individual will eventually feel little or no conflict between the demands of the public and private spheres” and “it increases the feeling among individual citizens that they belong in their community”. This definition privileges the “pacifying” role of the dialogue over the actual results of the participatory process, as do also many other definitions.

As already mentioned in the introduction, regardless of definition, citizen participation has a long history that can be traced back to the city-states of ancient Greece. However, it wasn't until the 1970s' that an exponential growth of federally mandated citizen participation was witnessed, especially in the US (Roberts 2015). The now popularised notion of citizen

participation can be seen as a part of the “people-centred” or “human-centric” principles that have been mainstreamed in the western culture since that era. As part of larger humanist movements, these principles contributed to a certain paradigm shift in which centralized hierarchies were suspect and “more heads considered better than one” in order to achieve meaningful and sustainable results. (Jennings 2000)

Different levels of participation have been recognized. In her much-quoted article “A Ladder of Citizen Participation” (see fig. 2 below) from 1969 Sherry Arnstein defined citizen control as the highest form of participation (Arnstein 1969). Reyner Banham on the other hand has stated that “do-it-yourself is the only real design participation” (Banham 1972).

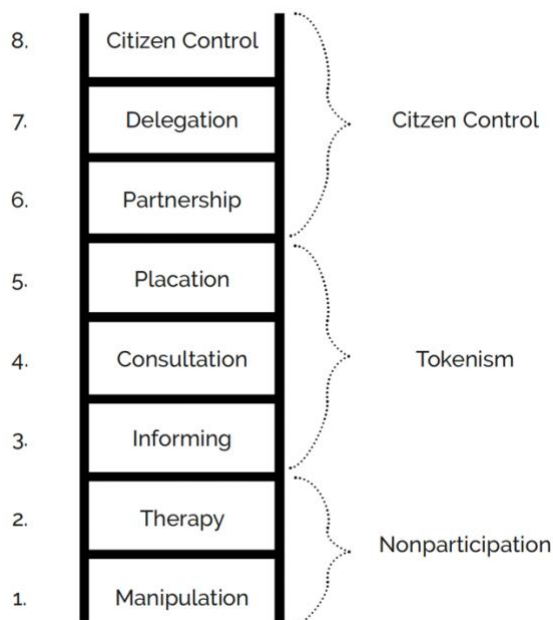


Figure 1. Arnstein’s ladder of participation. Adapted by author from Arnstein 1969.

User and community co-production on the other hand has usually more emphasis on the results and end-products than necessary the process itself. Co-production can be defined as the “public service organizations and citizens making better use of each other’s assets, resources and contributions to achieve better outcomes or improve efficiency” (Governance International 2020).

The original interest around the theme of community or user co-production in the USA in the 1970s and 1980s was grounded in empirical studies of the contribution made by citizens to urban government (i.e., Ostrom & Ostrom 2019, Parks et al 1981). However, in distinction to

this long research into the theme, many of the current discussion's strong claims for co-production's potential are not clearly referenced to the literature, and it is quite widely acknowledged that further research into the subject is needed (Loeffler & Bovaird 2016).

Even though citizen participation and community co-production are not new things, it was until quite recently still, that public services were seen as mostly something that experts produced to the citizens "to achieve results in the public interest". However, lately we have started to see co-production has as a key driver for improving public outcomes. We can say that there has been a shift from "public services *for* the public" to "public services *by* the public". (Bovaird & Loeffler 2012)

Co-production can be manifested by a wide range of service activities: co-planning, co-design, co-prioritization, co-financing, co-managing, co-delivery, co-assessment, etc. (Bovaird & Loeffler 2012). In the realm of the prevailing urban conservation process, co-production can be seen as at least co-design of the service (i.e., user consultation), co-prioritization (i.e., what subjects should be conserved), co-financing (i.e., agreeing to the possible costs caused by conservation) and co-assessment (i.e., monitoring and evaluation by questionnaires).

4.1.3 Why deploy citizen participation and community co-production?

Knowing the challenges, some questions arise: why should we try to facilitate citizen participation and co-production in the first place? What does the public really have to offer to the conservation process?

According to Bovaird and Loeffler (2012), service users are vital to making a service function in real-life by going along with its requirements. As urban conservation is usually most clearly manifested by regulations related to both physical appearance and building use, users are critical success factors regarding urban conservation. If public opinion is dismissed in the conservation process, citizens might feel overruled, resulting in lack of support or not claiming ownership of the conservation status. This poses a risk of regulations being left disrespected, rendering the conservation process pointless.

Additionally, citizens can hold a lot of “silent knowledge”. As active users of the urban environment citizens hold a lot of knowledge and opinions of which professionals might not be aware of – knowledge that can supplement the expert opinions utilized in the conservation process. (Bovaird & Loeffler 2012).

Citizens are also (selectively) willing to work for a shared purpose. They can thus be seen as resources: many of us are willing to invest time and energy for a common good, in example contributing to conservation decision-making.

Citizens are also known to provide legitimacy and testimonials: to promote the value of the received public service, affecting the general opinion about it. Successful harnessing of these factor requires meaningfulness and good marketing of the conservation preparation process, among other things. (Bovaird & Loeffler 2012)

Bovaird and Loeffler (2012) distinguish substitutive co-production (replacing government inputs) and additive co-production (supplementing government inputs) from each other. Assessing and evaluating if a building or urban environment meets the criteria of conservation requires expert knowledge that is essential in order to achieve an appropriate decision. Thus, in the process of urban conservation citizen co-production is of an additive nature, not of a substitutive one. The goal is not to replace expert knowledge with common knowledge, but to facilitate the two to supplement each other.

It must be acknowledged that citizen participation and community co-production also include some threats, and their application requires thorough consideration.

For example, there seems to be difficulties in creating clear evidence of value for all stakeholders (citizens, experts, funders, auditors). The effects of co-production are often long term and complex, and as such hard to evaluate. This is related to the fact that co-production is still seen as a highly risky process by many politicians, professionals, and government officials. The political and professional reluctance to lose status and control to the public is still prevailing (Bovaird & Loeffler 2020).

In the Finnish context, land-use planning and built heritage conservation are usually led by architects and planners. Jeremy Till argues that citizen participation presents a threat to the

normative values of the architect profession especially. Transformative participation would require a reformulation of expert knowledge and the citizen vs. expert roles. Yet architects, similarly to many other professionals, are often wary of relinquishing their specialist areas of expertise (Till 2005).

Successful mainstreaming of co-production would require the need to develop new professional skills from both the government and planners' side in order to harness the assets of the citizens (Bovaird & Loeffler 2012). It has been identified that designers who are not trained in participatory design might have trouble appreciating it (Salgado & Galanakis 2014).

Another challenge is that the public is usually willing to participate only in a quite small range of activities that they find truly meaningful. Additionally (even though in some cases quality assurance may be carried out more successfully if users are involved), justified concerns have been expressed related to co-production involving more risks than professional service provision. And lastly, while co-production might offer improvements and even cost-savings, it is usually quite resource-consuming. (Bovaird & Loeffler 2012)

Architects have a tradition of denying and overlooking politics. Yet in can be argued that every time in the negotiation of the personal with the social, political space emerges. The traditional reluctance of the architects and planners to embrace the political poses a challenge to successful citizen participation (Till 2005). In order to better facilitate community action, planners need to have a clear view the existing power relations and how they shape the planning process (Forester 1989, p. 27). This is also true in the case of urban conservation, as it is of a very political nature, regularly deployed for varying agendas such as nationalist politics, identity-building, or nostalgia (Glendinning, 2013). Architects and designers have usually held an ideal of neutrality in their work, but design and planning in almost all its forms, and especially when participation is involved, is undoubtedly political – here the participatory process can be seen as a space facilitating “political imagination” (Opazo et al 2017).

Citizen participation should be an essential part of democratic societies, but as the French philosopher Jacques Rancière states, democracy is not only the common shared notion of equality and self-determination, but it also has the power to “undo all partnerships, gatherings

and ordinations” (Rancière 1995, p. 32). A key issue in participation is determining who has the competencies to speak over this common ground (Opazo et al 2017).

4.2 Urban Conservation and its expert-driven nature

Ancient structures and built heritage have long been treated with respect and care in many societies. But it is only during the last two centuries that this habit has taken the form of an actual ideology: the “conservation movement” (Glendinning, 2013). The theme of urban conservation does not only embrace architecture, but also a variety of other aspects. In the frame of this study, built heritage conservation will be discussed from the point of view of the urban environment as a whole.

Conservation as a movement with a strong ideological background is considered to have emerged at the same time with the modernization of Europe and the Enlightenment Progress in the late 18th century. Seen from this perspective, it must be emphasized that the conservation movement is a specifically Western phenomenon, inseparable from the Western drive for a “codified, rational, secular exercise of power and knowledge”. Modern urban environments did not just happen, they were always made. Thus, conservation is an integral part of modern western cities especially and has been deployed regularly for varying agendas over time: nationalist politics, education, identity-building, and nostalgia (Glendinning, 2013).

Of these various agendas mentioned, the role of conservation as a tool for the identity-building is especially interesting from the perspective of citizen participation. Historical buildings and parks as well as statues and monuments play an important part in forming urban imagery where national history, local memory and urban identity are all interwoven together. In many European capitals the “old town” especially contributes to the strong identity of the urban community. (Kolbe, 2006)

Nowadays the aspects of heritage as a socio-cultural construct and a product of the present are strongly emphasized. Heritage is seen more and more as a process than a status, and thus the emergence of the term “heritagisation” (see for example Harvey 2001, Smith 2006).

Scholars seem to agree on the expert-driven nature of heritagisation. Art historian Juan Pablo Bonta's nine-step model showcasing the different phases that architectural objects go through in order to get canonised is strongly based on the gradual build-up of professional appreciation (Bonta 1975, 1979). In addition to canonisation, Bonta's model has also been used to analyse heritagisation processes. Using Bonta's model, Kalakoski et al concluded that in terms of built heritage, canonisation and heritagisation describe essentially the same development, stating also that it is very challenging for a pro-heritagisation view to break into wider recognition without significant professional contribution (Kalakoski et al 2020).

This role of heritage experts as practically the only group having the power to define whether an object is significant enough for conservation has been broadly debated and criticized within the field of heritage studies. One of the most active critics has been Laurajane Smith, who coined the term "authorised heritage discourse" (AHD), which according to her has a lot of negative consequences. These consequences include among other things the failure to consider varying local identities (both geographical and related to social class), as AHD builds on a very limited and "national" view of what is heritage. The passive nature that AHD often imposes on heritage is also criticized – it is not something that the public can engage with actively, but more the subject of a passive gaze. Furthermore, to underline the importance of the layman's perspective, Smith argues that "the past cannot simply be reduced to archaeological data or historical text – it is someone's heritage". (Smith 2006, p. 29-34).

It is acknowledged that there exists many different and partly contradictory ideologies and practices within the conservation movement, each a product of their own era. In many cases the ideology in question is characterized best by how it is positioned on the reconstruction vs. preservation axis, and this position is of course manifested in the nature of the conservation regulations formulated. This study does not directly take a stance on which approach is most beneficial, or what kind of regulations should or should not be made.

4.3 Information as a source of power in a planning process

One of the most important academic discussions around the themes of participatory planning and community co-production has been around role of information in a planning process, more specifically the role of information as an important source of power. The research questions here are tightly related to this theme: who or what groups of people have the power

and information to affect urban conservation processes? What are the ways this power is given to them, through what means are they able to deploy it? Is the information applied by citizens relevant and reflecting the reality?

According to scholar John Forester, “if planners ignore those in power, they assure their own powerlessness”. In a planning process, information is a complex source of power, and misinformation (both intentional and unintentional) hampers both functional planning and citizen participation. In order to fulfil their mandate of facilitating democratic citizen participation and improve the quality of their own analyses, planners need to be aware and react to the prevailing power relations through information and misinformation control as well as addressing the issue of distorted communication. (Forester 1989, p. 27-28)

Four traditional ways of seeing information as a source of power to planners can be identified (Forester 1989, p. 29-31):

- The perspective of the “technician”: power lies in technical data and information. This classic view reflects the already mentioned and much criticized ideal of the profession – the avoidance of politics.
- The perspective of the “incrementalist”: power lies in knowing how to navigate the organizational and institutional framework – where to get information, how to get a project approved with minimum delay, etc. This approach has been criticized for its limitedness, as the power of the incrementalist is constrained to the narrow field of organizational politics.
- The perspective of the “liberal-advocate”: power lies in how underrepresented groups can use information to participate in the planning process. This can be seen as the traditional advocacy planning perspective (Davidoff 1965).
- The perspective of the “structuralist”: power lies in how the information of the planner can legitimize the maintenance of existing power structures. This view keeps people in their place and protects existing power, so to speak.

Forester also introduces a fifth perspective that builds on the four traditional ones, the perspective of the “progressive”. This view sees information as a source of power since it facilitates citizen participation, while avoiding the legitimization of the structuralist. It anticipates structural misinformation and counteracts it (Forester 1989, p. 31-33).

As participatory planning is a communicative process, certain communicative distortions and misinformation are inevitable (see table below). If planners anticipate the different types of misinformation, they will be able to adapt their participatory and communicative approaches accordingly. (Forester 1989)

		Autonomy of the source of distortion	
		Ad hoc	Systematic / structural
Contingency of distortion	Inevitable	Idiosyncratic personal traits Random noise Cognitive limits	Information inequalities from legitimate division of labour Transmission/content loss across organizational boundaries
	Unnecessary / avoidable	Wilful unresponsiveness Interpersonal deception Interpersonal bargaining behaviour, e.g., bluffing	Monopolistic distortions of exchange Monopolistic creation of needs Ideological rationalization of power structure

Table 2. *The different types of misinformation and communicative distortions in a planning process (adapted by author from Forester 1989, p. 34).*

4.4 Urban Social Movements

This thesis also touches the theme of Urban Social Movements. They are especially relevant from the point of view of the second research sub-question: through what means have citizens affected urban conservation?

In his book “The Urban Question” sociologist Manuel Castells introduced a model of the dynamics of the urban system and its mechanism for structural change – the “urban social movement”. In his framework organized social unrest, uprisings, pressure groups and

oppositional fronts are defined as Urban Social Movements, which claim political power and a right for participation. (Castells 1977)

Castells defined Urban Social Movements (USM) through the following aspects (Uysal 2011):

1. An USM must articulate its praxis in the three goals of: collective consumption demands, community culture, and political self-management
2. It must be conscious of its role as an USM
3. It must be connected to society through a series of organizational operators, particularly the media, the professionals, and the political parties
4. While an USM must be connected to the political system to achieve its goals at least partially, they must be organizationally and ideologically autonomous of any political party

The writings of Manuel Castells on USMs have inspired many scholars among the years, and since the 1970s' the concept has been revisited and re-formulated on multiple occasions, all the while we have witnessed some great changes and evolution in the manifestation of USMs (Uysal 2011). Mayer (2009) divides the history of USMs into four phases:

- 1960 – 1980: emergence and struggle for fundamental changes in politics and society
- 1980 – 1990: reaction to neoliberalism with increasingly varied but less political protests
- 1990 – 2000: focus against gentrification and urban regeneration of several cities
- 2000 –: rallies against entrepreneurial strategies used by cities to attract more investment at the expense of sustainability and less privileged districts; increasing level of organization and global links.

It must be noted that according to this historical division, USMs did not properly exist at the time of the first case study, the Old Town of Porvoo (conserved in the 1930s'). Even the other more recent case study, Puu-Käpylä (conserved in the 1960s'), is from the very first "emergence" phase of the evolution of USMs. However, this makes the two case studies interesting from the point of view of the historical evolution of USMs especially.

5. Materials and Methodology

5.1 Qualitative research and content analysis

The research conducted in the framework of this thesis is of a qualitative nature. Academics struggle to define qualitative research clearly – as a set of interpretive activities in an inter- and transdisciplinary field it doesn't privilege a specific discipline, paradigm, or methodology over another. Therefore, qualitative research is most commonly defined as opposed to purely quantitative research. (Denzin & Lincoln 2011)

Qualitative research can be roughly divided into two groups. The first group is characterised by the analysis being guided by a certain theoretical or epistemological positioning (for example grounded theory, phenomenological analysis, etc.). The second group on the other hand includes those forms of analysis which are not (usually) guided by any specific theory or epistemology, but a wide variety of different approaches can be applied relatively freely. This thesis makes use of the method of content analysis belongs to this latter group. (Sarajärvi & Tuomi 2017)

Content analysis is a basic method that is used in almost all qualitative research traditions. In addition to a specific method, it can be considered as a loose theoretical framework that can be applied in a wide range of studies. It can be said that most methods of qualitative research are in principle based on content analysis – in case we refer to content analysis as the analysis of written, heard or seen content. (Sarajärvi & Tuomi 2017)

In a broad sense, content analysis can be defined as "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (Holsti 1969 p. 14). It has to be noted that under this definition, the method of content analysis is not restricted to written material only but can be applied also to for example drawings or audio-visual data sets. However, it needs to be remembered that for replication to be possible, content analysis can only be applied to data that is durable in nature (Stemler 2000).

The focus of this thesis is on the content of the writings, not communication as a process, which makes this study a content analysis, not discourse analysis. It can be said that content analysis looks at communication as a "representation of reality" whereas discourse analysis as a "construction of reality". (Sarajärvi & Tuomi 2017)

In content analysis, the researcher's relationship to theory can be described, for example, with one (or a combination) of the following three terms: data-driven, theory-bound, or theory-driven. (Eskola 2001)

In data-driven analysis (e.g., grounded theory), the aim is to construct the theory based solely on the data used. Previous observations, data, or theories about the phenomenon under study should not affect the research. In practice it is very challenging to implement data-driven analysis since it is a generally accepted principle that completely objective or "pure" observations do not exist. The research setting and methods used (among other things) are set by the researcher and thus affect the results. (Eskola 2001, Sarajärvi & Tuomi 2017)

Some of the challenges of data-driven analysis can be addressed with theory-bound analysis, which is the approach used in this thesis. In the theory-bound analysis, previous knowledge is not disregarded, but it guides or supports the research. Theory-bound analysis contains theoretical connections but is not directly based on one specific theory (what differentiates it from a purely theory-driven analysis). In this case, the theory chapter is a (often eclectic) collection of different theories and previous research results related to the topic. The influence of previous knowledge is present in the analysis, but its purpose is not so much to test existing theory, but rather to open new avenues of thought. (Eskola 2001, Sarajärvi & Tuomi 2017)

In the classical model of theory-driven analysis, the existing theory works as a starting point from which one proceeds to empirics before finally returning back to the original theory. The analysis of the data is guided by a ready-made theory, framework or model based on previous knowledge. In this type of approach, the existing theory is first introduced, then it is operationalized into a measurable form, after which data is collected. In the end the researcher returns from the empirical world back to the original theory to check whether the theory and the hypothesis derived from it received support from the analysed data set. (Eskola 2001, Sarajärvi & Tuomi 2017)

1.	Choosing the theme and what is of main interest in the available material
2a.	Going through the material and marking the things that are of interest to the study
2b.	Setting aside the part of the material that is not of interest for the study

2c.	Collecting together the material that is of interest and separating it from the rest of the material
3.	Categorizing, classifying and potentially grading the material
4.	Summarizing

Table 3. Description of how the content analysis was performed in the framework of this study. Adapted by author from Sarajärvi & Tuomi 2017.

After going through the material and choosing the writings that are of relevance for this study (phases 2a to 2c in the table above), a categorization of the relevant writings was conducted (phase 3 in the table above). The final categorization is the following:

1. Means through which citizens have affected urban conservation
 - a. Public events organised mainly by the intellectual elite
 - b. Lobbying of decision-makers
 - c. Engagement with media
 - d. Official complaints
 - e. Urban Social Movements

2. Knowledge and Arguments applied by the citizens
 - a. Aesthetic values
 - b. Historical, cultural & societal significance
 - c. Tacit knowledge: special character, coziness and community feeling
 - d. “Pragmatic” arguments

3. Citizens and communities applying knowledge
 - a. The intellectual elite
 - b. Civil organizations and associations
 - c. Homeowners (as opposed to tenants)

5.2 Case studies

The research questions are approached through the comparison of two case studies. One of the advantages of a case study is that it usually helps to form a more detailed, complete, and variant picture of the case compared to a cross-unit analysis (Flyvbjerg 2011). The approach

of this thesis is multidisciplinary in both its methodology and theory - an approach whose benefits are also emphasized in today's Finnish science policy. (Häyrynen 2010)

When choosing to conduct a case study, “you are not so much making a methodological choice as a choice of what is to be studied” (Flyvbjerg 2011). As almost always in in-depth qualitative research, also in this case the selection of cases relied more on pragmatism than a systematic criterion (Healey 2006, p. 291). The cases chosen to be studied are the Old Town of Porvoo and Puu-Käpylä. Both conservation cases have societal significance in the Finnish context and are relatively well-documented. However, they represent two very different eras in terms of conservation ideology and citizen participation. The conservation of the Old Town of Porvoo happened in the 1930s’, whereas the competition over re-planning Puu-Käpylä was held in the 1960s’, a moment in time when the idea of urban conservation was gaining critical strength in Finland. Some famous examples of this evolution are the dispute over the demolition of the Hotel Kämp located on Pohjoisesplanadi in the early 1960s’, as well as the renovation of the Helsinki town hall block (Kervanto Nevanlinna 2012).

Both cases can be also considered as precedents of their own kind in Finland – the Old Town of Porvoo was the first entity to be granted the legal status of an “old district” (the second one would be the Helsinki Senate Square in 1952) (Kolbe 2000), whereas the Puu-Käpylä case was a pioneer not only in terms of civic engagement and the protection of residential areas, but also a precedent in the protection and development of 20th century architecture. At only roughly fifty years old, Puu-Käpylä was one of the youngest areas presented in the "Nordic Wooden City Project" (Kivilaakso 2010, p. 58).

One of the main goals of this thesis is to distinguish the more “permanent” (independent from changing societal trends) characteristics of citizen participation in the context of urban conservation from the more “non-permanent” (context-specific) ones. This is best achieved by comparing cases from eras whose prevailing ideologies differ in certain important aspects. As a method, case studies focus strongly on context – the case’s relation to its environment, and its evolvement in time (Flyvbjerg 2011).

The first case study chosen dates from the 1930s’ and the second one from the 1960s’. In terms of conservation ideologies, these eras differ greatly. Before, only single prestigious buildings were considered as worthy of preservation – the paradigm shift happened in the

1960s', as part of a global movement where urban heritage conservation was gradually integrated into urban planning, with a growing focus on preserving whole town- and streetscapes (Kalakoski et al 2020).

5.3 Newspaper archive research

As all methods, also archival research has its limitations. It is not assumed that the archival material chosen to be analysed in the frame of this study would be a perfect or complete reflection of reality. However, the benefit of archival research (among other things) is that it can provide us with inside accounts – “a glimpse behind the scenes” revealing ambiguities (Gidley 2004, p. 252) that would not have been uncovered through only i.e., the collection of statistical data. It is acknowledged that by limiting the analysed material to writings published in newspapers, some information has been left out. Such archived material includes for example the minutes of city council meetings, official complaints filed by citizens, etc.

For the case of Porvoo, in order to map out the 1) citizens' ways and means of affecting the process, 2) the arguments and knowledge applied, together with 3) the characteristics of citizens involved, a systematic word search from the digital collections of the national library of Finland was conducted. The digital collection includes all newspapers and magazines published in Finland since 1771 whose right of use has been separately agreed with Kopiosto (Finnish copyright organization), as well as old material that has been released from copyright.

For the writing to be selected in the material to be analysed in this thesis, it had to contain the expression of an opinion or other information related to the conservation or future of the selected case study.

For the case of Porvoo, the writings analysed in this thesis have been published between 1898 and 1937. The material analysed constitutes of 27 writings in total, in the languages of both Finnish (5) and Swedish (22). The journals and magazines in which the analysed articles were published are Aftonbladet (1), Borgå Nya Tidning (5), Borgåbladet (13), Hufvudstadsbladet (2), Karjala (1), Suomen Nainen (1), Svenska Pressen (1) and Uusimaa (3). The writings include news articles, causeries, and opinion pieces.

For the case of Puu-Käpylä I am using the material that Aura Kivilaakso collected for her doctoral dissertation about Puu-Käpylä. The writings in question have been published between 1960 and 1971. The material analysed constitutes of 154 writings in total, of which 130 in Finnish and 24 in Swedish. The journals and magazines in which the analysed articles were published are Helsingin Sanomat (46), Hufvudstadbladet (24), Kansan Uutiset (13), Käpylä-lehti (42), and Uusi Suomi (29). (Kivilaakso 2017)

PART II: CASE STUDIES

The following part II of the thesis focuses on analysing the two case studies, the conservation processes of the Old Town of Porvoo and Puu-Käpylä, from the point of view of the research questions. The ways of affecting, the arguments presented as well as the characteristics of citizens involved were mapped out using a newspaper search together with selected written sources, including the pamphlet by Louis Sparre on the Old Town of Porvoo as well as the dissertation of Aura Kivilaakso on Puu-Käpylä. The results of the mapping are analysed against the background of heritage conservation and citizen participation theory.

6. Introduction to the Case studies

6.1 Old Town of Porvoo

Porvoo is one of the oldest cities in Finland, first mentioned already in 1327 (Hiekkanen, 1981). Medieval Porvoo with its small wooden houses, riverside trade shops and the dome church was formed on the slope of the Porvoonjoki riverbank, making for the picturesque landscape (Edgren & Gardberg 1996). For Finns the Old Town of Porvoo often represents the emblem of the medieval “Nordic Wooden Town” (Kolbe, 2020).



Fig. 2: The Old Town of Porvoo has inspired many Finnish artists. This view looking over the river Porvoo was painted by magnus Enckell in 1899. Photo: Wikimedia Commons 2012)

The term “Nordic Wooden Town” emerged in the 1960s’. It represents the historical centres of Nordic small towns that share very similar and recognizable characteristics – the most notable shared characteristic being the use of wood, as timber was the principal building material in the Nordics until the early twentieth century. Many of these historical wooden

towns were either partially or completely demolished and replaced with concrete buildings during the 1960s' as part of massive real estate development processes taking place in the quest for modernization of cities. (Kalakoski et al 2020)

However, the most representative Nordic wooden towns that escaped demolition are nowadays included in the UNESCO World Heritage List and recognised as globally unique cultural-historical monuments (Vahtikari 2007, p. 107-8). Though the term "wooden town" (puukaupunki) was sporadically used in Finnish already before, it was not until the 1960s' that it became canonised as heritage, with the experts having a focal role in guiding the process (Kalakoski et al 2020).

As the Old Town of Porvoo was officially recognised and conserved already in the detail plan of 1936 (City of Porvoo 1936), decades before wide-spread expert recognition and canonisation of the Nordic wooden town, we can assume that citizen activity had a crucial role in preserving it.

The first time the Old Town of Porvoo was under evident threat of being demolished was in 1833, when the old town area was included in the grid plan of the city centre in the confirmed detail plan done by Carl Ludvig Engel (see fig. 3), in accordance with the planning ideals of the time. However, the plan in question was never realized for the parts concerning the Old Town. This was mainly due to the city's construction efforts being directed towards the expansion of the empire style part of town surrounding the new market square, as well as opposition from the public (Koskimies & Westerlund, 2008).

Engel's detail grid plan was part of the strong wave of modernisation going through the city in 1830s'. Many buildings in the older parts of Porvoo, including the City Hall, were planned to be demolished. However, a group of active residents protested against this and succeeded in saving the buildings. The fact that the buildings were evaluated to be in good condition strongly helped their argument. This was, according to intellect Louis Sparre, the beginning of actively working towards saving old buildings for future generations in Porvoo. The Heritage Agency was established and with that the Museum of Porvoo. (Sparre, 1898)

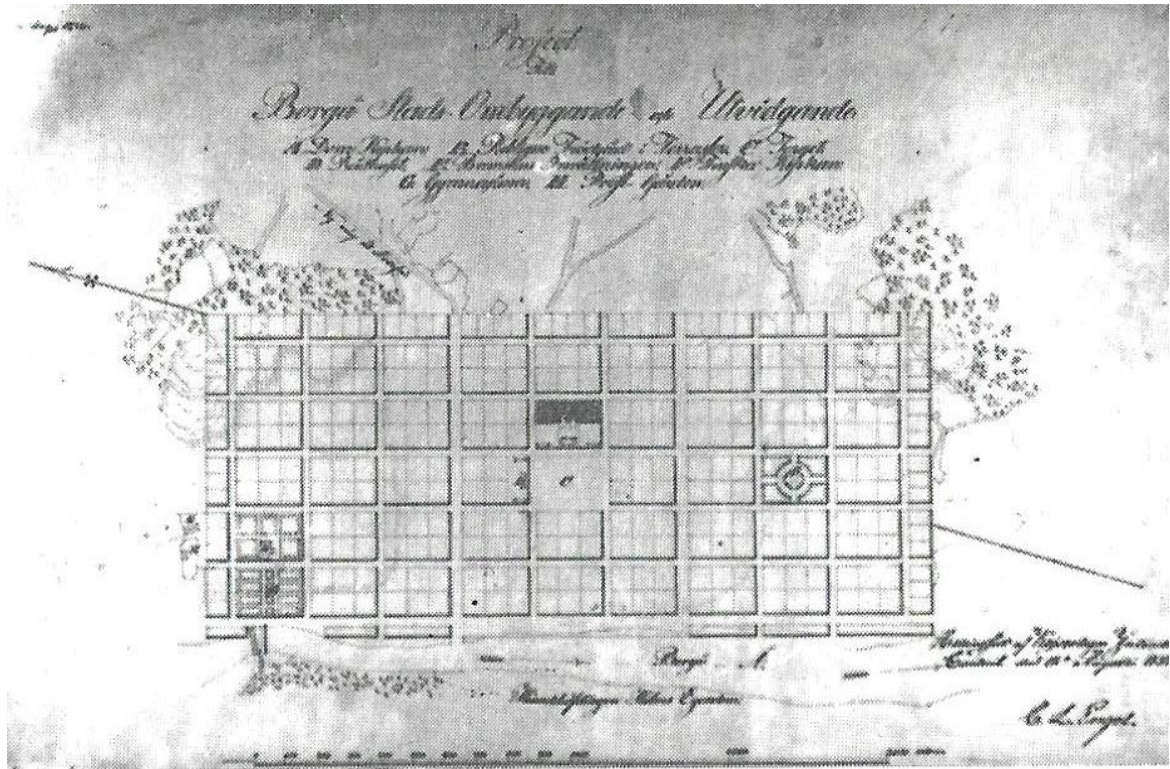


Fig. 3: Engel's plan for Porvoo from 1833, with the old town area taken as part of the grid plan in the lower left-hand corner (City of Porvoo, 1971). The plan was never realised for the parts concerning the old town. This map in part answers to the question "what would Porvoo look like without the conservation movement?".

However, in the town's building codes dating from 1883 and 1899, Engel's detail plan is still stated as the basis of city development (City of Porvoo 1936).

When urban heritage is under threat, it is often the concerns of the local intellectual elite of losing something valuable that help in really starting the supporting civic movements (Kolbe 2006). This was also the case with the fight over the Old Town of Porvoo. In 1898, Swedish intellect Louis Sparre held a lecture titled "Det Gamla Borgå" (see fig. 4) where he argued for the preservation of the Old Town. This speech was later written down as a pamphlet by professor J. E. Strömborg and sold to the public (Sparre, 1898). Sparre developed his ideas of saving the Old Town in close co-operation with his friend Albert Edelfelt, a famous artist and painter (City of Porvoo 1936).



Fig. 4: Louis Sparre's pamphlet from 1898 (Stockholms Auktionsverk Online, 2020).

The speech by Sparre was provoked by Engel's detail grid plan that was still in effect (but not yet realised). Engel's plan for the Old Town was mainly justified by the idea that linear streets would make the traffic flow easier and facilitate the rescue work in case of a fire. Sparre argues against this by confronting the idea that linear streets would be easier to travel when situated on a hill, but at the same time recognizes that the streets should be made wider. He is concerned that by forcing the area into a linear grid plan, the Old Town would lose its uniqueness and coziness. Sparre does not think that all buildings should be kept as they are. He recognizes that some of the buildings need to be renovated or rebuilt for health and hygiene reasons. However, he argues for the importance of doing this with care, so that the area will keep its character. Interestingly one of Sparre's main arguments for the preservation efforts in the Old Town is about attracting visitors. He argues that keeping the Old Town outside of the grid plan could make Porvoo the most beautiful city in the country – even in the Nordics. He talks about how saving only one building is not enough, but how important it is to preserve the surroundings as well, so that the building will fit into the context. When talking about the Old Town, he argues how the Porvoo Dome Church wouldn't fit into the modernized surroundings suggested by the new detail plan. (Sparre, 1898)

Consenting to the ideas promoted by Sparre and Edelfelt (and their followers), the municipality established a committee in 1898 whose responsibility was to suggest appropriate modifications to the detail grid plan of the Old Town, in order to preserve its historical nature. (City of Porvoo 1936)

Despite the efforts of the likes of Sparre and Edelfelt to conserve the Old Town of Porvoo, the area was still under threat in the new detail plan (made by the committee previously mentioned) that was confirmed in 1911. This time however, some consideration was put in preserving the historical characteristics of the area, but at the same time one of the main goals was still to widen and straighten the characteristic narrow and meandering streets of the Old Town (Koskimies & Westerlund, 2008).

On top of the lack of sufficient financial resources from the municipality, one of the main reasons why the Old Town was left almost untouched despite the detail plans of 1833 and 1911 was the reluctance of the property owners to execute the new plans. Many of the houses had been occupied by the same families for generations and families that had a will to conserve the historical aspects of the milieu. The enthusiasm of individual citizens towards the cultural heritage of their hometown contributed in part to the plans not being realized. (City of Porvoo, 1936)

The detail plan from 1936 (see fig. 5) marks a clear shift in the valuation of the old town: the plan in question proposes the conservation of the old town milieu, leaving it basically untouched (City of Porvoo, 1936). In the next detail plan from 1974 the conservation aspects were already systematically emphasized, and Porvoo's old town is referred to as "Finland's most important historical urban monument". This development favouring conservation aspects and preserving the old street network has continued until today: in 1989 the instructions for building practices (rakennustapaohjeet) of the Old Town of Porvoo were established (last updated in 2018), and the confirmed detail plan from 1993 is even more emphasizing the conservation of the characteristics of the existing buildings (Koskimies & Westerlund, 2008).

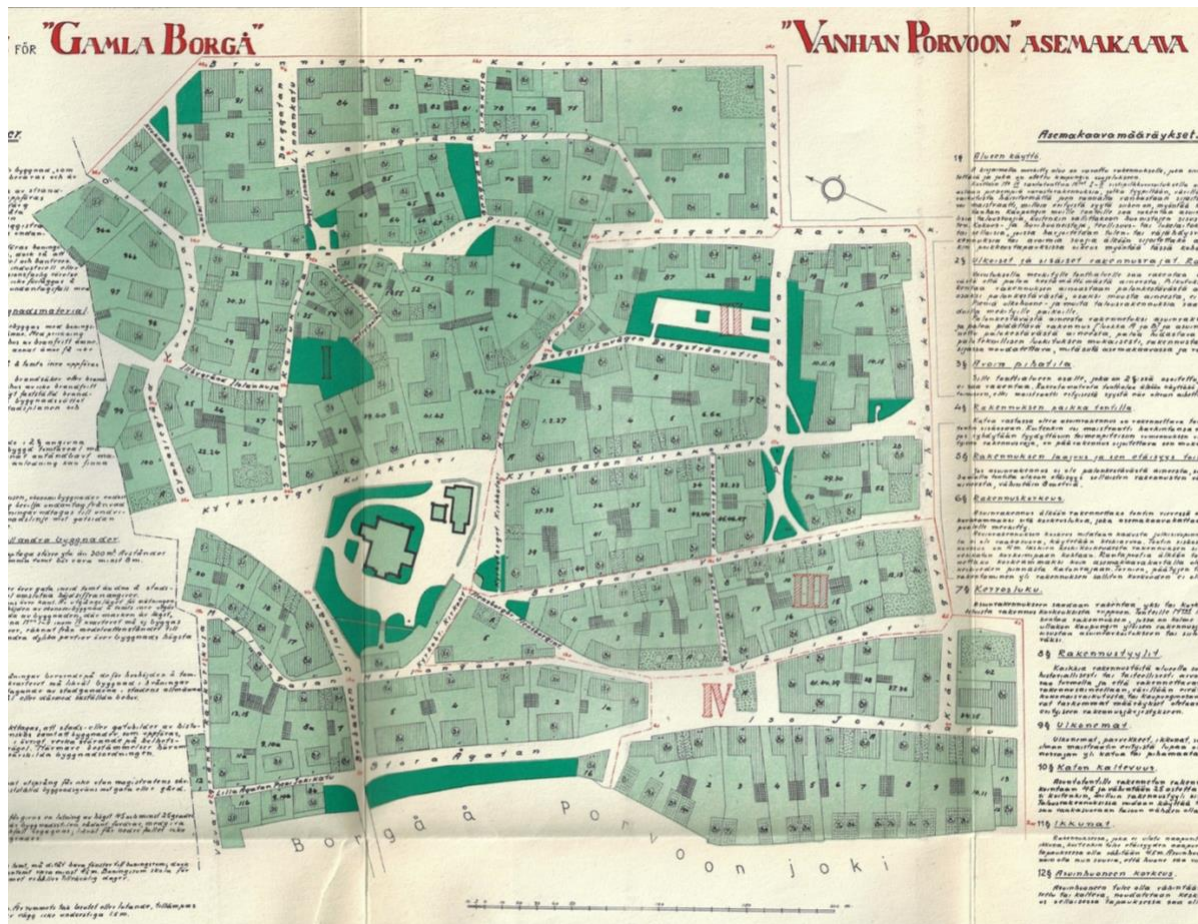


Fig. 5: The old Porvoo detail plan from 1936, when the old town was given its protective rights for the first time. The regulations state among other things that “street- and cityscapes that are important from a historical or cityscape point of view are not to be damaged and the buildings to be constructed should not disrupt the overall historical impression with their form, materials, colours or other external aspects”. (City of Porvoo, 1936)

The example of the conservation of Old Town of Porvoo shows that urban conservation decisions cannot be left only to the official governmental bodies. The citizens have great interest in their living environment, and as occupants and users hold historical and other knowledge that the professionals and decision-makers might not. Shifts in thinking and ideologies often start within the intellectual elite, not the governmental actors who hold the power.

6.2 Puu-käpylä



Fig. 6: View of the newly built neighborhood of Puu-Käpylä from the late 1920s. Photo: Helsinki City Museum.

The neighbourhood of Puu-Käpylä was built in the 1920s' to relieve the housing shortage that had affected the capital city of Helsinki since the beginning of the century. The neighbourhood was the output of a then new phenomenon, the worker's housing company (työväenasuntoyhtiö), through which the state and municipalities subsidised housing developments (Kärki 2001, p. 81). The location was on the then outskirts of Helsinki, a train ride away from the city centre (Ahmavaara 1965, p. 50).

Areas of detached housing aimed specifically for the Finnish working class population were already in the 1920s' mostly implemented by zoning. The quality and uniformity of the buildings was guided for example with the help of type drawings, as was in the case of Puu-Käpylä. Similar wooden neighbourhoods for the working class had already been built in Finland, such as Port Arthur in Turku and Amuri in Tampere (Lampi 2007, 26-32).

The detail plan of Puu-Käpylä was made by architect Birger Brunila. Since the municipality wanted the area to be coherent, the task of designing all the buildings to the area was given to one architect, Martti Välikangas, who designed the now famous wooden buildings. The neighbourhood was built in two phases between 1920 and 1925. (Nikula 1993, p. 125)

The most evident source of inspiration in the design of the neighbourhood are the garden city ideals developed by English urban planner Ebenezer Howard in the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Though at first the area was not received with praises from all sides, it can now be seen as the best example of a garden city in Finland. (Meurman 1981, 24-26)

Most of the area's 165 residential buildings consisted of two stories. The integrity of the streetscape was achieved in particular with the harmony of the façade detailing, including their classicist elements. There were originally two building types, each with four smallish dwellings with respective wood stoves. The cellars under the buildings, as well as the saunas, drying attics, and laundry rooms in the blocks were in shared use. Upon their completion, the buildings of Puu-Käpylä represented a then modern construction technology. The houses were assembled from pre-made standardized building components, using a specific log system developed by Akseli Toivonen. The system can be seen as an early version of the later generalized prefabricated construction method. (Kivilaakso 2017, p. 46)

Puu-Käpylä came under the threat of demolition in 1960 after a planning competition was organised by the company in charge of the land management in the area (Helsingin Kansanasunnot Oy), with the goal to make a detail plan for the area's redevelopment. The competition was in line with the prevailing urban planning ideologies of the 1950s' and 60s' in Finland. Replacing old neighbourhoods that were considered as unhealthy and in poor condition with new developments complying with modernist standards was common. (Kivilaakso 2017, p. 48)



Fig. 7: Delimitation of the competition area. Photo: Käpylä magazine 1/1960, 1.

However, the redevelopment plans provoked opposition in the form of a civic movement that advocated for preserving the area. In 1969 the city of Helsinki quickly set up committees to assess the condition of the old wooden houses and the financial costs of their possible renovation, as well as to map out the viability of different options for the area's redevelopment in terms of building density, materials, etc. According to the expert opinion requested from the Heritage Agency (then under a different name) Puu-Käpylä was one of the prime examples of Finnish urban culture, and though different in a sense that it is based on a holistic plan, it can be compared to the wooden old towns of for example Kristiinankapunki, Raahe and Porvoo. A team from the Technical University of Helsinki came into the conclusion that the thorough renovation and modernisation of the buildings would cost 75% of the costs of a completely new development. (Kivilaakso 2017, p. 51)

The detail plan conserving Puu-Käpylä came into force in 1971. In her doctoral thesis Aura Kivilaakso argues that the most important factors leading to the conservation of Puu-Käpylä were the official studies and surveys, especially the one on the economic viability of the renovation option. However, she also states that public discussion around the redevelopment vs. conservation conflict of Puu-Käpylä played a key role. It was the public discussion that brought into light the opinions of different stakeholders and led to the establishment of the committees. (Kivilaakso 2017, p. 52)



Fig. 8: One of the lush gardens of Puu-Käpylä. Photo: Volker von Bonin, Finnish Heritage Agency.

6.3 The chosen case studies in previous research

Urban history is a distinctively interdisciplinary research field that does not follow the conventional boundaries of established research disciplines (Kervanto Nevanlinna 2005). The Old Town of Porvoo and Helsinki's Puu-Käpylä represent two widely known cases of Finnish urban conservation that have been studied from the perspective of different research disciplines.

The urban conservation case of the Old Town of Porvoo has been somewhat less researched from the point of view of citizen participation than the case of Puu-Käpylä, though the role of the intellectual elite (Louis Sparre especially) in its conservation process has been widely acknowledged (see for example Koskimies & Westerlund 2008). The history of the city of Porvoo and its Old Town has been documented by (among others) Markus Hiekkänen (Hiekkänen 1981) as well as Jan Koskimies and Lars Westerlund (Koskimies & Westerlund 2008).

Some of the most prominent publications on the case of Puu-Käpylä include the works of Laura Kolbe (see for example Kolbe 2000 and 2002), as well as Puu-Käpylä's 50th anniversary publication edited by Eikka Mäkinen (Mäkinen 1970). An important publication from the point of view of citizen participation especially is the dissertation of Aura Kivilaakso from 2017, which is used as one of the main sources in this thesis.

The important role of Käpylä society (the first urban neighbourhood association in Helsinki) has been described for example in "History of Helsinki" (Kolbe 2002). Though the neighbourhood society indeed had an important role in the conservation process, it has been emphasized that the most important factor was nevertheless the positioning of important individuals of the academia and the city planning profession in favour of conserving the neighbourhood (Kolbe 2002, Kivilaakso 2017). The crucial role of this intellectual elite was also described in the Puu-Käpylä's 50th anniversary publication (Mäkinen 1970).

The different dimensions, phases and participants of the Puu-Käpylä's zoning dispute in the 1960s' is also well documented in the neighbourhood's 50th anniversary publication (Mäkinen 1970). In it, the role of newspaper writings as an important means of discussion is emphasized.

6.4 Legislation

The two chosen case studies take place inside the Finnish institutional context and operational culture and are thus characterised by nationally typical participatory processes especially (i.e., the Finnish tradition of forming residents' associations). Though the legislation related to conservation processes has in some parts changed since the time of the two case studies presented in this thesis, a short introduction to the Finnish legal framework surrounding the matter is given here as a background.

During the post-war period, Helsinki witnessed a trend of rapid modernization that included the demolition of much of the old building stock, though (due to mainly lack of funding) not to a same extent as in other European cities such as London or Stockholm. The general attitude towards preservation of the old built environment was negative, and Finland lacked legislation facilitating the protection of architecturally and historically valuable buildings. Some progress was achieved with the 1958 building act, which however included only limited tools for the preservation of old buildings. (Kolbe 2000)

The new building act of 1958 required that all densely populated areas (taaja-asutus) must be zoned (Meurman 1960). This new version of the law had also transferred the responsibility of urban conservation to the municipalities, which were also responsible for producing master plans. (Kervanto Nevanlinna 2012).

Today, the Finnish legal system recognizes two main means for built heritage conservation:

1. As zoning regulations in the municipalities' land use plans (132/1999)
2. By implementing the Built Heritage Conservation Act (498/2010)

Additionally, the conservation of ancient monuments (muinaismuistot) and church buildings are regulated by their own respective laws (Kivilaakso 2010). Because of the specific nature and smaller amount of these cases, they will not be further discussed in the frame of this study.

Zoning is regulated under the Finnish Land Use and Building Act (132/1999). The vast majority of conservation decisions are made through zoning regulations (Kivilaakso 2010). The Built Heritage Conservation Act is implemented usually only if the building in question

is situated outside of zoning areas, or if the building cannot be conserved through zoning regulations for a reason or another (Museovirasto 2020). One of the general goals of the Finnish Land Use and Building Act is to “ensure the possibility of each individual to participate in the preparation of matters, the quality and interactivity of planning, diversity of expertise and open communication”. (MRL 132/5.2.1999, 1 §)

As said, most of the building conservation in Finland is applied through zoning regulations, which is why the legal requirements concerning the Finnish land use planning process especially are of interest in the frame of this thesis. The Finnish Land Use and Building Act states as follows: “the preparation of a land use plan must include interaction with the individuals and communities that might be significantly affected by the plan, - -. The authorities preparing the plans must communicate about the land use planning process in a way that those concerned have the possibility to follow the land use planning and influence it.” (MRL 132/5.2.1999, 6 §)

When applying the Built Heritage Conservation Act, stakeholder participation is also required: “- - steps must be taken in order to enable the parties concerned to take part in the preparation of the case.” (LaRS 498/4.6.2010 1 §)

Whichever of the two acts is deployed, the processes have multiple phases and include a variety of stakeholders. Additionally, as highly specialised processes led by experts, the language used includes a lot of professional vocabulary and jargon that might make the process difficult for a citizen to approach (Savolainen 2020). If the goal is to achieve a truly transformative participatory process, the first step would be to reformulate expert knowledge and the way it is enacted (Till 2005).

Zoning is an important process also from the point of view of citizen participation, as it has built-in possibilities for citizens to express their opinion on the plans, in contrary to the situation where the law on built heritage conservation is applied. Hence, we can say that the best way for citizens to affect conservation decisions is through influencing the preparation of zoning. The challenge lies in finding the most efficient ways and media to inform the public about the process and the possibilities to influence the plans. Too often very few official opinions are expressed, and the public events might be attended by very few people (Virkki 2020).

What must be also noted in the preparation of zoning, is the presence of political power in the process. The plans must always be presented to and approved by a municipal board, which by definition is formed by municipal politicians chosen in elections. This presents another path for citizens to influence decisions: by expressing their concerns to the politicians. If the political pressure grows big enough, the plans will not be approved by the municipal board. This is very different from the situation when the Built Heritage Conservation Act is applied. The process of zoning demands for the planners to embrace the political, and not avoid it – something that Jeremy Till calls for from architects and planners in order to achieve truly transformational participation (Till 2005).

7. Means through which citizens have affected urban conservation

The issue of what means citizens are using to take part in the public discussion is an important one, as one of the challenges of participatory planning is how to ensure a fair process and diversity of different perspectives. One of the keys to reaching a representative group of participants is to offer a variety of different ways and forums to participate (Niemenmaa 2002).

According to the categorization conducted in the frame of the content analysis of this study, the main ways that citizens affected the discussion around the conversation of both Porvoo and Puu-Käpylä can be divided roughly into five categories that are further discussed in the following sub-chapters:

- *Public events organised mainly by the intellectual elite*
- *Lobbying of decision-makers*
- *Engagement with media*
- *Official complaints*
- *Urban Social Movements*

7.1 Public events organised mainly by the intellectual elite

In the cases of both of the Old Town of Porvoo and Puumä the local intellectual elite were active in organizing events of different kind open to public in order to influence the discussion surrounding the future plans of the neighbourhoods in question. This is no surprise, as already mentioned, when urban heritage is under threat, it is often the concerns of the local intellectual elite of losing something valuable that is the first kickstart to the supporting civic movements (Kolbe 2006). As Kalakoski et al also already conducted in their study, it is very challenging for a pro-heritagisation view to break into wider recognition without significant professional contribution (Kalakoski et al 2020).

In the case of Porvoo, the main actor of local elite was artist and writer Count Louis Sparre, who developed his ideas of saving the Old Town in close co-operation with his friend Albert Edelfelt, a famous artist and painter (City of Porvoo 1936).

In April 1898, Louis Sparre gave an open lecture in the ballroom of the Swedish lyceum of Porvoo. The purpose of the lecture was to raise funds for the Porvoo Museum and to wake up residents of the city to protect their old neighbourhood. The lecture was also made into an illustrated booklet. Together, the lecture and the pamphlet are considered as crucial elements in the conservation of the Old Town of Porvoo. (Kiuru 1998)

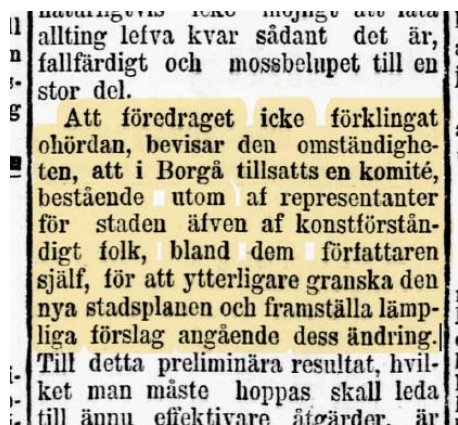
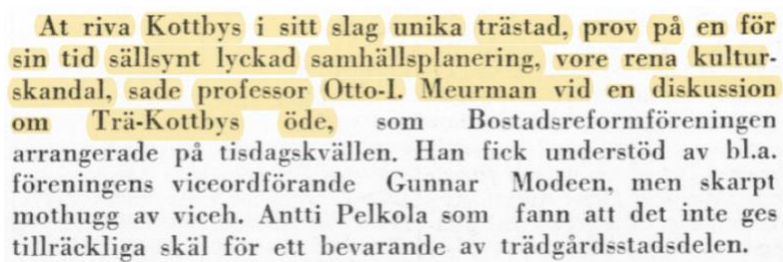


Fig. 9: Hufvudstadsbladet writes of the aftermath of Count Sparre's lecture in 1899 as follows: "The fact that the lecture was not left unheard is proven by the fact that a committee was appointed in Porvoo, consisting not only of representatives of the city but also of art-savvy people, among them the author himself, to further examine the new city plan and make suitable proposals for its amendment." (Hufvudstadsbladet 8.1.1899 p. 6)

In the case of Puu-Käpylä, the most central opinion leaders were experts from the fields of architecture, urban planning and cultural heritage who positioned themselves as supporters of the preservation of the wooden buildings. The group included architects, historians, academics as well as influencers of the museum industry. The most prominent figure was the influential architect and urban planner, professor of town planning Otto-Iivari Meurman. (Kivilaakso 2017, p. 73-74)

Many open discussions events were held around the fate of Puu-Käpylä by various parties along the process. Among other actors, the Society for Architecture (rakennustaiteen seura) organized many discussions on the subject during the late 1960s. One example of these numerous discussion events was one organized by the Housing Reform Association (asuntoreformiyhdistys) in the premises of Tekniska Föreningen i Finland on 10 May 1966, where architect and professor Otto-Iivari Meurman acted as the initiator. (Kivilaakso 2017, p. 61 & 88)



At riva Kottbys i sitt slag unika trästad, prov på en för sin tid sällsynt lyckad samhällsplanering, vore rena kulturskandal, sade professor Otto-I. Meurman vid en diskussion om Trä-Kottbys öde, som Bostadsreformföreningen arrangerade på tisdagskvällen. Han fick understöd av bl.a. föreningens viceordförande Gunnar Modeen, men skarpt mothugg av viceh. Antti Pelkola som fann att det inte ges tillräckliga skäl för ett bevarande av trädgårdsstadsdelen.

Fig. 10: “To demolish Käpylä’s unique wooden town, proof of once successful social planning, would be a pure cultural scandal, said Professor Otto-I. Meurman during a discussion about the fate of Puu-Käpylä”. (Hufvudstadsbladet 11.5.1966)

7.2 Lobbying of the decision-makers

According to the material active lobbying of decision-makers by the citizens was an important aspect in both of the cases, and especially so in the case of Puu-Käpylä.

In the case of the Old Town of Porvoo, Citizens submitted petitions and pleas to both Porvoo City Council and the Ministry of the Interior. The principal author of these letters was usually the Porvoo Homeowners' Association.

**Gårdsägarföreningen om stadens
skyldigheter mot gamla Borgå.**

I den skrivelse Gårdsägarföreningen i Borgå vid sitt årsmöte beslöt avlåta till stadsfullmäktige beträffande värnandet av »Gamla Borgås» skönhetsvärden konstaterar föreningen att i ett nyligen utkommet finskspråkigt bokverk om byggnadskonsten i Finland's gamla städer »Gamla Borgå» nämnes som Finland's vackraste stad och det ej endast med hänsyn till helheten, utan också med avseende å de inre detaljerna. Detta utgör, framhålles i skrivel-

Fig. 11: "In the letter that the Porvoo Homeowners' association decided at its annual meeting to hand over to the City Council regarding the protection of the beauty values of »the Old Town of Porvoo», the association states that in a recently published Finnish-language book about architecture in Finland's old towns «Old Porvoo» is named as Finland's most beautiful town as a whole, but also with regard to its details." (Borgåbladet 28.3.1929, p. 2)

As mentioned, lobbying of the decision-makers by the citizens was especially active in the case of Puu-Käpylä. Here again, the main authors were usually civil organizations, such as the Käpylä Society. A relatively large amount of media attention was also received by a petition submitted to the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior by the State Architecture Commission (valtion rakennustaidetoimikunta) in the autumn of 1969. (Kivilaakso 2017, p. 61)

**Kirjelmä vanhan
Käpylän puolesta**

— Sosiaallisesti Käpylän puutarhakaupunginosa on yhä Helsingin parhaita asumisalueita. Taloudellisesti ja teknillisesti sen säilyttäminen on täysin perusteltua, todetaan kirjelmässä, joka eilen jätettiin kaupunginhallitukselle puutarhakaupungin säilyttämisen puolesta.

Kirjelmässä, jonka on allekirjoittanut 46 henkilöä, todetaan

Fig. 12: "- Socially, the Käpylä garden district is still one of the best residential areas in Helsinki. Economically and technically, its preservation is fully justified, according to a statement submitted to the city government yesterday in favor of preserving the garden city." The statement was signed by 46 individuals. (Helsingin Sanomat 20.5.1965)

7.3 Engagement with media

In both of the cases citizen engaged proactively with media to get their opinions heard. The most prominent way for citizens to engage with the media was through the writing of opinion pieces in local newspapers. These were signed either by individual citizens or civil society organizations. It has to be noted that although the cases of the Old Town of Porvoo and Puu-Käpylä were important and much publicised issues in their time, opinion pieces form only a small minority of the material collected for this study (the majority being news articles and statements by professionals). This is mainly because the writing of opinion pieces became more common in Finland only in the late 1970s – for example, Helsingin Sanomat has had its special section reserved for opinion pieces only since 1977 (Blåfield 2014, p. 241).

In the case of the Old Town of Porvoo a majority of the opinion pieces were written by individual citizens and signed with their whole name. In some of the cases the writings were signed under a pseudonym or only initials, such as “J. E.” (Borgåbladet 28.4.1908, p. 4). In the case of Puu-Käpylä, most of the opinion pieces were written under pseudonyms.

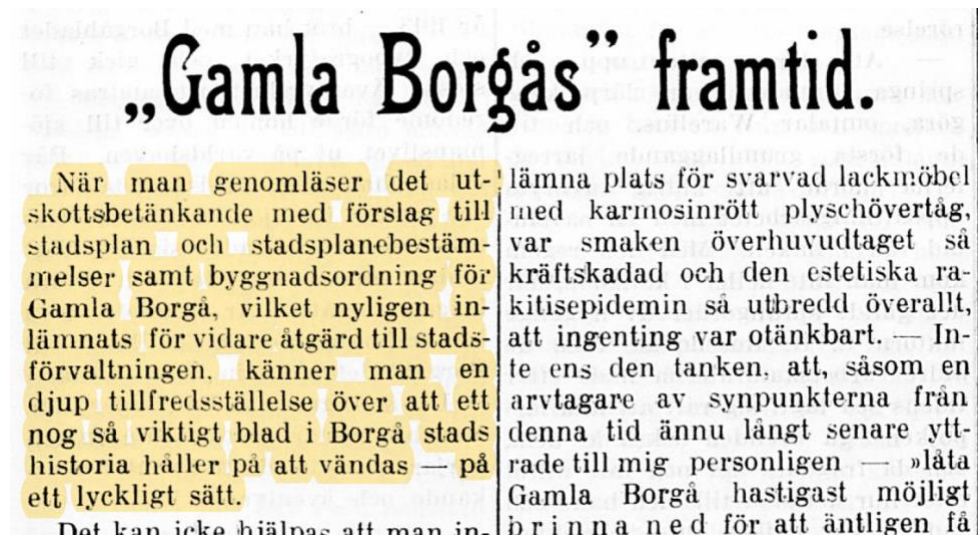


Fig. 13: Lennart Segerstråle writes followingly in his opinion piece dating from 1935:

“When reding through the committee report about the proposals for the city plan and building regulations for the Old Porvoo, which were recently submitted for further action to the city administration, one feels a deep satisfaction that a rather important page in the history of the city of Porvoo is turning – in a good way.” (Borgåbladet 14.12.1935)

45 vuotta ei ole mikään ikä kun-
 nolla hoidetulle puutalolle. Asun-
 to-osuuskuntien ja Kansanasunto-
 jen talot olivat alkujaan saman-
 laiset, mutta osuuskunnat ja nii-
 den asukkaat ovat kunnostaneet
 omat talonsa ja hankkineet niihin
 lähes kaikki nykyajan mukavuudet.

Tyytyväinen
35 vuotta Käpylässä
asunut

Fig. 14: The pseudonym "Satisfied inhabitant of Käpylä for 35 years" ends his opinion piece from 1969 in Helsingin Sanomat followingly: "45 years is not old for a properly maintained wooden house. The buildings of the housing cooperatives and Kansanasunnnot were originally similar, but the cooperatives and their inhabitants have renovated their own houses and acquired almost all the modern amenities." (Helsingin Sanomat 19.11.1969, p. 26)

7.4 Official complaints

Filing official complaints of a new city plan is an important way of affecting the conservation process for citizens. The right of citizens to affect the preparation of zoning is stated in the Finnish law, and the official complaints are a way to exercise that right. As the material in this study includes only newspaper archives, only the few complaints that were discussed in the newspapers were brought to light. A more thorough search into the archives of the cities of Porvoo and Helsinki would probably reveal more official complaints.

Eräs valitus.

Neljännän neliön tontteihin nro
 39, 40 ja 41 nähden oli rva Sofia
 Hurin esittänyt muutamia muu-
 toksia tehtäväksi vanhan kau-
 punginosan uuden asemakaava-
 järjestelyn johdosta, ja oli kau-
 punginhallitus ehdottanut ne hy-
 lättäväksi, mihin valtuusto yhtyi.

Fig. 15: "A complaint. With regard to the plots of the fourth square n. 39, 40 and 41, Mrs. Sofia Hurin had proposed a number of changes to be carried out as a result of the new town-planning arrangement for the old district, which the city government had proposed to be rejected, to which the council agreed with." (Uusimaa 14.12.1935, p. 2)

7.5 Urban Social Movements

According to the material collected as part of this study about the Old Town of Porvoo, we cannot make a direct claim that an USM was present at the time. Civic engagement was present through the efforts of certain active individuals, but we cannot say they formed an organized movement that would have articulated its praxis or been conscious of its own role.

In Puu-Käpylä civic engagement was already more organized than in Porvoo. Based on the material collected, we can say that it must have been conscious of its own role in the discussion. The core people and organizations involved in the movement had clear goals concerning the fate of the neighborhood, they were actively engaging with the media, decision-makers, and professionals, and they were not organized under any political party.

As mentioned, in both cases only a small minority of the material analyzed in the frame of this research were opinion pieces by citizens (a majority being news articles or statements by professionals). Aura Kivilaakso states that this fact does not directly support the view that Puu-Käpylä would have been the first residential area in Finland to be protected thanks to a social movement (unless architectural experts are included as part of it), as is often repeated as part of the narrative associated with the zoning dispute of the neighborhood. It is therefore essential to realize that, in this case, the civic engagement was not only resident-driven, but strongly expert-driven. (Kivilaakso 2017, p. 65-66 & 204)

The same can be said at least to some extent about the case the Old Town of Porvoo – even though there were active citizens involved in the discussion, it was the support of the intellectual elite and experts that especially resulted in the final conservation decision.

However, civic engagement was nevertheless present in cases, and in Puu-Käpylä we can say that it took the form of an USM. The importance of its role, however, is up for debate. The somewhat smaller role of direct civic engagement in the Old Town of Porvoo and Puu-Käpylä can in part be attributed to their historical contexts, as the emergence of USMs is dated to the 1960s (Mayer 2009), and before that period civic engagement was not yet as big of a phenomenon as it is today (Kivilaakso 2017, p. 66).

8. Knowledge and Arguments applied by the citizens

According to the categorization conducted in the frame of the content analysis of this study, the arguments used in the discussion around the conversation of both Porvoo and Puu-Käpylä can be divided roughly into four categories that are further discussed in the following sub-chapters:

- *Aesthetic values*
- *Historical, cultural & societal significance*
- *Tacit knowledge: special character, coziness and community feeling*
- *“Pragmatic” arguments*

8.1 Aesthetic values

In environmental psychology the social and functional aspects have traditionally been emphasized when discussing the laymen’s relationship to their environment, whereas aesthetic evaluations have been the realm of experts (Kyttä 2021). However, the view that aesthetics would not usually be a top priority for the laymen, has been challenged in recent studies. For example, in a study by Richard Florida from 2011 that surveyed approximately 28000 dwellers in the United States the attractiveness of the surroundings was the most mentioned factor contributing to residential satisfaction (Florida et al 2011). Additionally, in a study published in 2016 by Marketta Kyttä, participants were asked to mark on a map the quality criteria that are important to them, using an online public participation geographic information system (PPGIS) methodology. Result: beauty and appearances were the most mentioned quality criteria (Kyttä et al 2016).

The case of the Old Town of Porvoo points to this same direction – the aesthetics of the living environment seem to actually be very important to also non-expert citizens. The existing beauty was one of the most mentioned arguments against the redevelopment of the neighbourhood. During their 1929 annual meeting the Porvoo homeowners’ association decided to appeal to the city councilors that the “ancient beautiful entity” of the Old Town should be preserved (Uusimaa 27.3.1929, p. 2). Many also claimed that the new plan was ugly and would destroy the current existing beauty of the Old Town. For example, the pseudonym “J. V-dt” credits Louis Sparre for the fact that “hostile powers failed to shackle that memorable, beautiful little town with their ugly plans” (Karjala 25.3.1922, p. 5).

in mk. vuodessa.
k. Päätettiin olla ottamatta osaa
le talonomistajien tapettitehtaan
s- perustamiseen Tampereelle.
ä- Päätettiin kääntyä kaupungin
-, valtuutettujen puoleen toivomuk-
k- sella, että »Vanhan Porvoon» pa-
le rantelu- ja uusimistöitä tehtäes-
s- sä säilytettäisiin kaupunginosan
m ikivanha, kaunis kokonaisuus.
k. Kaupungin poliisikamarille
n päätettiin lähettää kirjelmä ja
k. kiinnittää viranomaisten huomio
n- hurjaan ajoon, joka pimeään tul-
m- len vallitsee asemalle johtavalla
tiellä.

Fig. 16: An extract from a news piece published in the Uusimaa newspaper in March 1929 concerning the decisions of the annual meeting of the Householders' Association reads as follows: "It was decided to turn to the city delegates with the hope that the age-old beautiful entity of the "Old Porvoo" will be preserved during the improvement and renovation work of neighborhood." (Uusimaa 29.3.1929 p. 2)

17 kuvattavakseen. Maalareista mai-
4- nittakoon ensisijassa Albert s
7- Edelfelt, jonka mestarillisten a
t- piirrosten, akvarellien ja öljyvä- r
n- rimaalausten kautta „Vanha r
a- Porvoo” monille meistä on tullut t
3- tunnetuksi ja kreivi Louis Spar- k
l- re, jolle piirtäjänä, taitavana ky- s
- nänkäyttäjänä ja varsinkin ete- l
ä- vänä esitelmänpitäjänä tulee r
3- kunnia siitä, etteivät vibamieli- t
1- set vallat onnistuneet tuota iki- l
3- muistettavaa, kaunista pikkukau- j
punkia kalseilla kaavoillansa j
i- kahlehtimaan ja „autuaaksiteke- v
s- vää” suorarantaista katuverkko- c
n- ansa sen ylitse levittämään. | Äl- b
? , käämme myöskään unhoittako, et- t
: | tä kansamme kohottaminen kan- c

Fig. 17: An article from 1922 in the newspaper Karjala cherishes that the Old Town of Porvoo has so far remained preserved: "... that hostile powers did not manage to shackle that memorable, beautiful small town with their cold plans and spread their "blissful" street network with a straight waterfront across it." (Karjala 25.3.1922, p. 5)

Aesthetic values were one of the main arguments used by citizens opposing to the complete redevelopment plans of Puu-Käpylä, although to perhaps a slightly lesser extent than in the case of Porvoo. One worried citizen wrote in the first issue of Käpylä-Lehti in 1967 as follows: "Is there a danger even here that our home village, which has been recognized as beautiful, can be "renovated" to the ground, the greenery ruined?" (Käpylä-lehti 1/1967, p. 2). The Writer Pekka Lounela also took a stance for preserving the neighborhood in his 1965 pamphlet, which was partly published in Käpylä-lehti the same year: "Our authorities and other regulators do not seem to have a full understanding that not everything beautiful is new and not everything old is ripe for disposal. " (Käpylä-lehti 1/1965, p.2).

In environmental psychology aesthetic experiences have been mainly assessed according to two models: The Kaplan & Kaplan model and Appleton's prospect-refuge theory. The Kaplan & Kaplan model focuses on four cognitive needs that people have: coherence, complexity, legibility, and mystery (Kaplan & Kaplan 1987). Both case neighborhoods are uniform in terms of construction materials (timber) but also in the color palette and building style, contributing for a pleasant coherence. However, in both cases the disposition and detailing of the buildings also contribute the richness of information, that can be seen as complexity. Interestingly, legibility has been found out to predict preferences the least from the four factors, and mystery on the other hand the most (Kytä 2021). The mystery factor can be translated as "the promise of the scene offering additional information upon exploration". This fits especially well the Old Town of Porvoo with its meandering and hilly streets.

	Murheellinen epäkohta.	
ul-	Porvoo on viehättävä pikkukau-	kin
iän-	punki, mutta se onkin sitä vain siltä	ja
ästä	eli niiltä paikoin, missä entistä van-	vai
raa-	han hyvän ajan Porvoota pienoisine	sin
90,	mutkitteline katuineen ja ahtaine	sel
ar-	kujineen on vielä tallella. Nuo kadut	nu-
raa-	ja kujat voivat olla jotakin muutakin:	tää
elee	runollisia ja, voipa sanoa, mystillisiä	hy
den	ja mystillisyydessään joko romanttisia	vai
var-	tai peloittavia. Jos nimittäin siirtyisi	siil
903	hengessä monia vuosikymmeniä taakse-	se
ja	päin tai vaikkapa keskiaikaan. Kellä	kir
		väl
		ett

Fig. 18: An excerpt from an opinion paper published in a newspaper in August 1929 declares: "Porvoo is a charming little town, but only in places where the good old days of Porvoo with its small winding streets and narrow alleys are still preserved. Those streets and alleys can be something else: poetic and, you could say, mystical, and thus either romantic or scary. " (Uusimaa 17.8.1927 p. 4)

Appleton's prospect-refuge theory on the other hand is based on the evolutionary perspective, according to which people prefer environments that allow them to hide, as well as to survey the environment (Appleton 1984). Both case neighborhoods offer a lot of places that allow you to see but not be seen. Puu-Käpylä does this mainly with the neighborhood's gardens that are abundant with vegetation as well as with smaller shared utility buildings placed inside the blocks, forming smaller, more intimate outside spaces. In the Old Town of Porvoo the varying topography as well as the meandering streets with their varying street corners offer positively limited views.

It has also been found that an abundance of vegetation and / or water are properties to which people usually have an innate preference (i.e., Schroeder and Daniel 1981; Ulrich 1981, 1983, 1993; Yang and Brown, 1992). Puu-Käpylä is especially famous for being designed according to the Garden City ideals (Meurman 1981), making it a lush green neighborhood with very sought-after gardens. The Old Town of Porvoo on the other hand is situated on the picturesque banks of the Porvoonjoki river, adding a pleasant water element to the district.

Thus, we can say that both case neighborhoods are aesthetically pleasing when objectively analyzed against widely recognized theories of environmental psychology. Especially in the case of the Old Town of Porvoo the laymen's opinion of aesthetics was in line with the theorized view. However, when it comes to aesthetical values, we cannot solely rely on environmental psychology. According to value relativism, values are cultural - different groups of people and even disciplines have different ways of defining the values that make up a community's characteristic perception of what is worth pursuing (Tuominen 2001, p. 182-183). This is true also for aesthetic values. The state and future of the cultural environment is influenced by a broader set of values: the attitudes of the general public. If we want to make use of the full benefits of the existing environment, its values must be made public (Kivilaakso 2017, p. 13).

We can say that since the aesthetical values of their living environment are a of great significance to the citizens, and since according to value relativism different groups of people have different ways of defining what is worth pursuing, citizens should also be heard when assessing the aesthetic values of neighborhoods in a conservation process.

8.2 Historical, cultural & societal significance

One of the recurring arguments defending the conservation of both Puu-Käpylä and Porvoo is their cultural, societal and (especially in the case of Porvoo), historical significance. It is also noteworthy that in both of the cases of the Old Town of Porvoo as well as Puu-Käpylä, there are clearly fewer references in the research material related to the fear of regression and the glorification of modernity than to the historical significance of the neighborhoods.

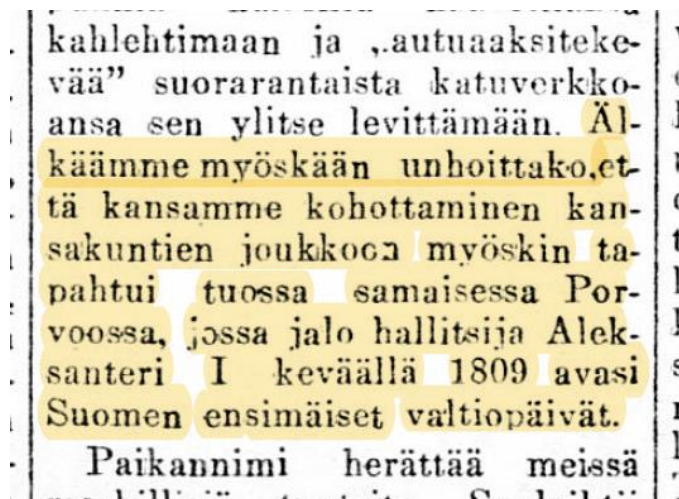
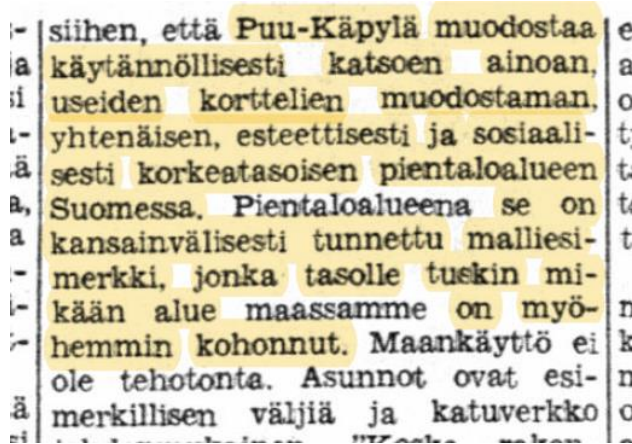


Fig. 19: The Pseudonym “J. V.-dt.” emphasizes the historical significance of Porvoo in 1922 followingly: “Let us also not forget that the ascension of our people among other nations also took place in that same Porvoo, where the noble ruler Alexander I in the spring of 1809 opened Finland's first parliament.” (Karjala 25.3.1922, p. 5)

As Puu-Käpylä was only roughly fifty years old at the time of the debate around its possible redevelopment, its historical significance in terms of architecture and housing cooperatives was only beginning to be acknowledged. In the writings, the societal significance of the area was assessed more as “discussion openings” rather than in a consistent way (Kivilaakso 2010, p. 141). However, for example the writer Pekka Lounela appealed in his already mentioned pamphlet to the historical significance of the area: “The most beautiful milieu in Helsinki is

Puutarha-Käpylä, which is also historically the most significant thing we have achieved in the field of housing cooperatives.” (Käpylä-lehti 1/1965, p. 2)



siihen, että Puu-Käpylä muodostaa
käytännöllisesti katsoen ainoan,
useiden korttelien muodostaman,
yhtenäisen, esteettisesti ja sosiaali-
sesti korkeatasoisen pientaloalueen
Suomessa. Pientaloalueena se on
kansainvälisesti tunnettu malliesi-
merkki, jonka tasolle tuskin mi-
kään alue maassamme on myö-
hemmin kohonnut. Maankäyttö ei
ole tehotonta. Asunnot ovat esi-
merkillisen väljiä ja katuverkko

Fig. 20: An article from 1967 in the Uusi Suomi Newspaper states as follows: “Puu-Käpylä forms the practically only unified and aesthetically and socially high-quality detached house area in Finland that is formed by several blocks. As a residential area, it is an internationally known model example, to the level of which hardly any area in our country has risen since.” (Uusi Suomi 2.2.1967, p 13).

We can argue that cultural, societal, and historical significance are characteristics that can (and should) be assessed by professionals. They are examples of explicit knowledge (as opposed to tacit knowledge): knowledge that can be codified and easily transmitted to others. However, as the same issues of cultural relativism apply to assessing the historical significance of a subject as they do in assessing the aesthetic values, citizens should also be heard in this matter.

As already mentioned, Bovaird and Loeffler (2012) distinguish substitutive co-production (replacing government inputs) and additive co-production (supplementing government inputs) from each other. In this case, citizen co-production is of an additive nature, not of a substitutive one. The goal is not to replace expert knowledge with common knowledge, but to facilitate the two to supplement each other.

8.3 Tacit knowledge: special character, coziness and community feeling

A very popular argument defending the conservation of both Porvoo and Puu-Käpylä was their “coziness” or “homeliness” as well as the “special character” or “strong identity” of the neighborhood. These arguments were very often emphasized by opposing them to the “coldness”, “rigidness” and “facelessness” of the new proposed plans.

The “coziness” or “special character” are quite typical arguments when promoting for the preserving for a certain neighborhood – for example the Helsinki Society (Helsinki-Seura), a pioneer of Finnish urban district work, debated for the preserving of the “homeliness” and “uniqueness” of the city in the 1940s’ (Kolbe 2000).

In both of the case studies, citizens seem to especially emphasize the strong identity and unique atmosphere of the place. In the case of Puu-Käpylä, the presence of a strong community feeling was also mentioned multiple times. This is of significance regarding citizen participation especially because they are examples of tacit knowledge (vs. explicit knowledge): characteristics founded on personal experience that “outsider” professionals might not be aware of, or that might not come into light in official assessments. As widely agreed by theories arguing for stronger citizen participation, citizens can hold a lot of “silent knowledge”: as active users of the urban environment citizens hold a lot of information and opinions of which professionals might not be aware of – knowledge that can supplement the expert opinions utilized in the conservation process (Bovaird & Loeffler 2012). The professionals cannot know how the citizens experience their environment without strongly engaging with them through means of citizen participation.

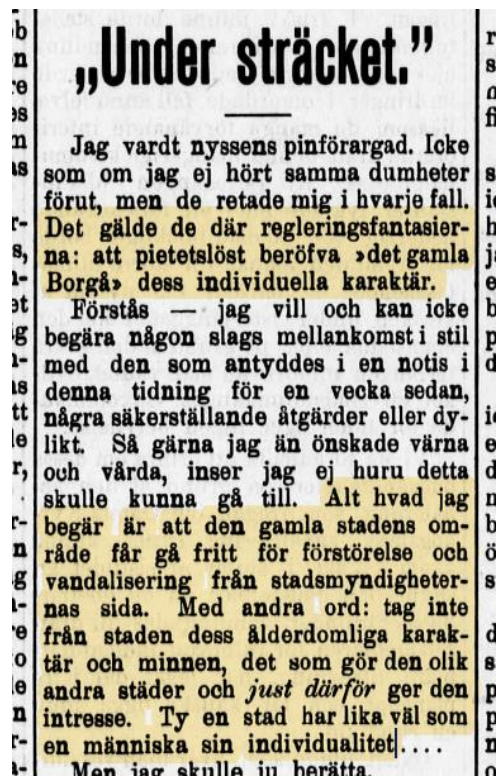


Fig. 21: The pseudonym “Pär” writes in 1898 as follows: “It was about those regulatory fantasies: to mercilessly deprive “the old Porvoo” of its individual character.” / “All I ask is that the the old town area is allowed to be free from destruction and vandalism from the side of the city authorities. In other words: do not take from the city its ancient character and memories, the things that make it different from other cities and that make it interesting. For a city as well as a human being has its individuality.” (Borgå Nya Tidning 4.3.1898 p. 2)

The difference between the views of professionals and citizens is manifested among other things in the way how both Puu-Käpylä and the Old Town of Porvoo were looked down at by many of the contemporary authorities before their conservation. This was because their living conditions were considered somewhat lower than the national average. Puu-Käpylä was for example still equipped with dry outdoor toilets. However, most of the inhabitants seemed to value the special atmosphere and community feeling of the neighbourhood higher than the possible nuisances caused by a lack in amenities.

As the strong identity of an area seems to be something that the inhabitants see as especially worth preserving, and in case there is a common goal to build neighbourhoods that would last as long as possible, it should be defined as an objective for planners to use their tools

available to aim a for a distinctive identity in new developments. It seems that neighbourhoods that lack identity are more prone to be demolished ore redeveloped.

8.4 “Pragmatic” arguments

One distinctive type of argument used were the ones that are here called as “pragmatic” arguments – appeals to the economic viability of renovation, the high costs of possible new developments, the non-functionality of the proposed new solutions, etc. We could say that these are arguments that appeal to the rational thinking of a potential decision-maker who doesn’t have a personal attachment to the neighborhood in question.

It is to be noted that far less arguments falling to this “pragmatic” category were applied in the case of the Old Town of Porvoo than in Puu-Käpylä. However, Louis Sparre, one of the first and most active individuals fighting for the conservation of the Old Town of Porvoo, stated in his pamphlet that the straight streets of the new proposed grid plan would not fit the naturally hilly terrain of the Old Town, making circulation in reality more difficult, and not easier as was one of the main goals of the proposed new plan (Sparre 1898). This argument was also later used by some other individuals in different contexts.

One important theme in the case of Puu-Käpylä was the economic dimension of zoning - the juxtaposition of the costs associated with the demolition and on the other hand of the renovation of the wooden houses. According to Aura Kivilaakso, this pragmatic economic dimension was perhaps the most crucial theme in the debate surrounding the development of Puu-Käpylä – the final conservation decision was not taken until the reports establishing the renovation costs as economically viable were published (Kivilaakso 2017, p. 138).

Tieto siitä, että Käpylän puutarhakaupunginosaa varten on teetetty uusi asemakaava, jonka mukaan alueen nykyinen rakennuskanta purettaisiin ja korvattaisiin matalilla kivitaloilla, on aikaansaanut jo kaksi Helsingin kaupunginhallitukselle lähelettyä mielipiteenilmaisua. Molemmissa todetaan, että Käpylän 40 vuotta vanhojen hirsirakenteisten talojen kunnostaminen on sekä teknillisesti että taloudellisesti mahdollista ja kannattavaa. Paria tyyppitaloa varten teetetty korjaussuunnitelma osoittaa, että korjaamalla ja ajanmukaistamalla nykyiset talot varsin perusteellisesti, asuntoja voitaisiin tuottaa 140—250 markan neliömetrihinnalla, toisin sanoen puoleen hintaan uusiin asuntoihin verrattuna. Uusi puutalo maksaa nykyään 600 mk neliömetrillä.

Fig. 22: Helsingin Sanomat wrote followingly in May 1965: “... the renovation of Käpylä's 40-year-old log houses is both technically and economically possible and viable. The renovation plan commissioned for a couple of model houses shows that by renovating and modernizing the existing houses quite thoroughly, apartments could be produced at a price of 140-250 marks per square meter, i.e., half the price compared to new apartments.” (Helsingin Sanomat 22.5.1965, p. 14)

9. Citizens and communities applying knowledge

According to the categorization conducted in the frame of the content analysis of this study, we can say that three main groups of actors using their voice arise:

- *The intellectual elite*
- *Civil organizations and associations*
- *Homeowners (as opposed to tenants)*

Following this division, it is also possible to make some conclusion on what groups of people are left outside the public discourse.

9.1 Intellectual elite

As mentioned before, as Kalakoski et al already conducted in their study, it is very challenging for a pro-heritagisation view to break into wider recognition without significant professional contribution (Kalakoski et al 2020). When urban heritage is under threat, it is often the concerns of the local intellectual elite of losing something valuable that is the first kickstart to the supporting civic movements (Kolbe 2006). This was also the case with the fight over both the Old Town of Porvoo and Puu-Käpylä.

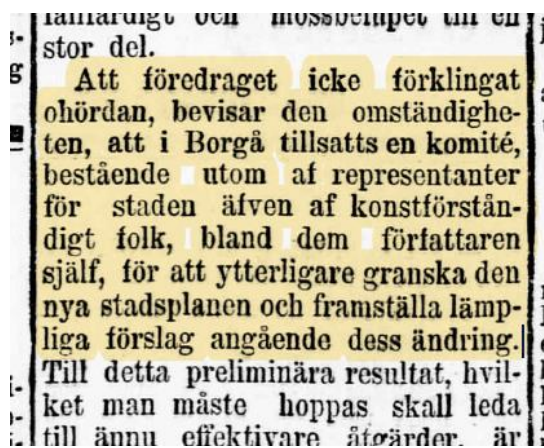


Fig. 23: Hufvudstadsbladet writes of the aftermath of Count Sparre's lecture in 1899 as follows: "The fact that the lecture was not left unheard is proven by the fact that a committee was appointed in Porvoo, consisting not only of representatives of the city but also of art-savvy people, among them the author himself, to further examine the new city plan and make suitable proposals for its amendment." (Hufvudstadsbladet 8.1.1899 p. 6)

In the case of Porvoo, the main actor of the elite was artist and writer count Louis Sparre, who developed his ideas of saving the Old Town in close co-operation with his friend Albert Edelfelt, a famous artist and painter (City of Porvoo 1936). The painter Venny Soldan-Brofeldt is also among the many artists who have immortalized the picturesque riverbanks of the Old Town of Porvoo in their works, and as such contributed to its preservation (Suomen Nainen 1.11.1933) and even canonization. An important and long-time spokesperson for the preservation of the Old Town of Porvoo was also the head and curator of the Porvoo Museum, artist and built heritage enthusiast Evert Roos, who has been partly credited for the

fact that the Old Town has kept so much of its authenticity. Sadly, Roos died in 1933, before the detail plan of 1936 preserving the old town came into force (Svenska Pressen 18.12.1933).



Fig. 24: Evert Roos' death announcement in the Uudenmaan Sanomat newspaper in 1933 points out that "It is indeed thanks to Evert Roos that the Old Town of Porvoo has retained so much of its old character." (Uudenmaan Sanomat 19.12.1933 p. 2)

In the case of Puu-Käpylä, the most central opinion leaders were experts from the fields of architecture, urban planning and cultural heritage who positioned themselves as supporters of the preservation of the wooden buildings. The group included architects, historians, academics as well as influencers of the museum industry. The most prominent figure was the influential architect and urban planner, professor of town planning Otto-Iivari Meurman. However, the opinion of the architect profession was not unanimous, though the preservation of the wooden houses gained more and more support as the process evolved. Other important members of the intellectual elite that used their authority to promote Puu-Käpylä's

preservation were Professor Bengt Lungsten from the Technical University of Helsinki, professor of history of architecture Nils Erik Wickberg, and the head of the Finnish museum of architecture Kyösti Ålander. (Kivilaakso 2017, p. 73-74)

Lammasten vaatteissa

— Uusi asemakaava on susi lammasten vaatteissa: Se näyttää siltä, kuin se voitaisiin toteuttaa alueen luonnetta muuttamatta, vaikka se toteutettuna rikkoo tämän harvinaislaatuisen yhtenäisen kokonaisuuden, sanoi professori Meurman. — Lämpökeskus on sijoitettu alueen herkimmin suunnitellulle paikalle, siten että pergola- ja porttirakennelmia joudutaan purkamaan.

Fig. 25: Helsingin Sanomat cited professor Meurman in May 1967 followingly: “The new town plan is like a wolf in sheep’s clothing: it looks as if it could be implemented without changing the character of the area, even though, when implemented, it breaks this exceptional coherent entity.” (Helsingin Sanomat 11.5.1967)

9.2 Civil organizations and associations

In both of the cases the organized civil society was also actively taking part in the conservation debate, especially so in the case of Puu-Käpylä.

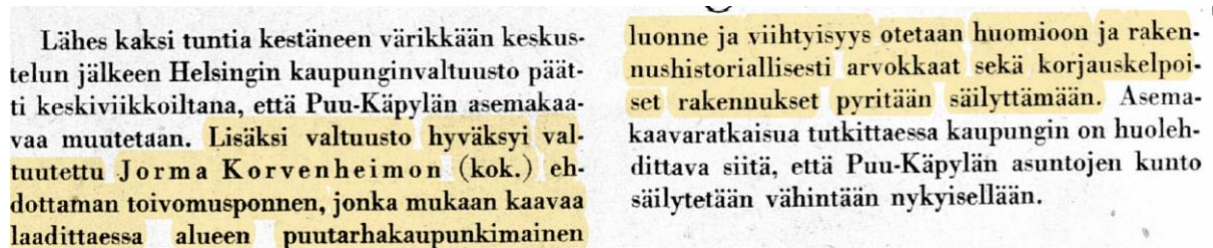
In Porvoo the Householders’ association took a strong stance in favour of the conservation of the Old Town, to conserve its “age-old beautiful entity” (e.g., Borgåbladet 14.5.1929 p. 2).

1 och ändstycken av granit. Skrivelse
s sen utmyunnar f. ö. i en förhopp-
d ning om att stadsfullmäktige ville
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- underlydande verk komme till in-
t. sikt om att arbeten och anstalter i
»gamla» Borgå böra handhas pie-
tetsfullt.
På förslag av allm. berednings-

Fig. 26: A 1929 issue of Borgåbladet informs of a letter that the Householders’ association addressed to the city council, with the hope that “the city council would take measures so

that all contractors working for the city would realise that works and arrangements in "old" Porvoo should be treated with respect." (Borgåbladet 14.5.1929 p. 2)

The most active associations in that wrote statements in newspapers supporting the preservation of Puu-Käpylä's buildings were the Finnish Architecture Society (Suomen rakennustaiteen seura) and its women's committee, the Käpylä Society (Käpylä-Seura) and the Helsinki Society's (Helsinki-Seura) board and history department. The Käpylä Society played a key role also through producing the local Käpylä magazine, which was published four times a year in the 1960s and 1970s. This media enabled active writing among locals about the current state and future of the neighbourhood. The issue of the renovation of Puu-Käpylä was one of the key themes maintained by the Käpylä Society (Kivilaakso 2017, p. 31 and 77). Jorma Korvenheimo, the chairman of the Käpylä Society, was also a member of the Helsinki City Council from the Coalition Party, who actively expressed his own views in the newspapers (Helsingin Sanomat 18.2.1967, p. 10; Uusi Suomi 27.11.1969, p. 14).



Lähes kaksi tuntia kestäneen värikkään keskustelun jälkeen Helsingin kaupunginvaltuusto päätti keskiviikkoiltana, että Puu-Käpylään asemakaavaa muutetaan. Lisäksi valtuusto hyväksyi valtuutettu Jorma Korvenheimon (kok.) ehdottaman toivomusponnen, jonka mukaan kaavaa laadittaessa alueen puutarhakaupunkimainen luonne ja viihtyisyys otetaan huomioon ja rakennushistoriallisesti arvokkaat sekä korjauskelpoiset rakennukset pyritään säilyttämään. Asemakaavaratkaisua tutkittaessa kaupungin on huolehdittava siitä, että Puu-Käpylään asuntojen kunto säilytetään vähintään nykyisellään.

Fig. 27: The newspaper Uusi Suomi wrote followingly in November 1969: "In addition, the council approved the wish proposed by the councilor Jorma Korvenheimo, according to which the garden city-like nature and pleasantness of the area will be taken into account when drawing up the plan, and the aim will be to preserve historically valuable and repairable buildings." (Uusi Suomi 27.11.1969, p. 14)

9.3 Homeowners

On top of the lack of sufficient financial resources from the municipality, one of the main reasons why the Old Town of Porvoo was left almost untouched despite the detail plans of 1833 and 1911 was the reluctance of the property owners to execute the new plans. Many of the houses had been occupied by the same families for generations, families that had a will to conserve the historical aspects of the milieu. The enthusiasm of individual citizens towards

the cultural heritage of their hometown contributed in part to the plans not being realised (City of Porvoo, 1936). This is in line also with the previously mentioned strong stance taken by the Householders' association to preserve the Old Town.

The situation in Puu-Käpylä was quite different in the sense that at the time of the zoning dispute the neighbourhood was only roughly forty years old, meaning that no families had lived there for many generations. However, this didn't mean that the residents would have been indifferent to the renovation plans, on the opposite.

At the time of the zoning dispute, slightly more than half of Puu-Käpylä's dwellings were rental apartments (Helsingin Sanomat 26.11.1969, p. 15). Opposed to the demolition of the wooden buildings were especially the residents of housing cooperatives which included privately owned dwellings. The opinion of the cooperatives was similar with, for example, the views defending the preservation of the wooden houses of Otto-Iivari Meurman and the State Architecture Commission (Kivilaakso 2017, p. 75).

9.4 Voices that were left out

The question of whether the opinions expressed in the public sphere are representative of the opinion of the whole population is always a legitimate one. Indeed, at the same time that citizen participation has gained increasing importance in many countries, a recognition has emerged among professionals that participatory processes “tend to produce systematic exclusions” (Agger 2012). Two types of criteria can be used to assess the inclusivity of a participatory process: access to the forum and the representativeness of the forum (Michels 2011).

Based on the material collected, we can conclude that the two main groups of people that were not present (or whose voices were heard in a significantly lesser extent) in the discussions concerning the future of the Old Town of Porvoo and Puu-Käpylä were:

- Less educated citizens / citizens not part of the local intellectual elite; and
- Inhabitants living in rental properties

These findings are in line with most of the research conducted about the representativeness of participatory processes. Active citizens are indeed usually part of the of “sub-elites” between

lay people and public authorities (Agger, Sørensen and Torfing 2007; Agger and Larsen, 2007; Staffans 2002). The fact that citizen participation is centralized around the sub-elites has been seen by scholars as both a positive and negative factor: on one hand the sub-elites have the capacity to hold established elites accountable (Etzioni-Halevey 1999); but on the other hand, such centralization may alienate the less resourceful groups of people from public participation (Schelcher and Torfing 2010, 84). Indeed, many reports and studies on participatory processes have made the same observation that youth, less educated people, and people from cultural and ethnic minorities are usually underrepresented in participatory processes (see for example Michels 2011 and Michels & de Graaf 2010).

It is also to be noted that it seems important for the realization of local democracy that neighbourhoods have their own advocacy groups. In the Old Town of Porvoo the homeowners' association had an active role in the discussion, as did the Käpylä-society in Puu-Käpylä.

The question of representativeness is closely entangled to the issue of what ways citizens are using to have their voices heard. One of the challenges of participatory planning is how to ensure a fair process and diversity of different perspectives. One of the keys to reach a representative group of participants is to offer a variety of different ways and forums to participate (Niemenmaa 2002). Some scholars claim that in order to enhance inclusiveness, participatory processes need to be tailored to cater to the specific needs of different types of citizens (Agger 2012) – there is no “one size fits all” regarding the design and implementation of participatory processes.

For example, in the participatory budgeting project of the city of Helsinki, “OmaStadi”, there has been a conscious effort to prevent bias in participation. Young people have been successfully targeted with special measures. The project also showed that people don't always only drive things that are of personal benefit to them: for example, older people voted in favour of projects that benefitted young people. (Koskinen 2019)

PART III: CONCLUSIONS

10. Summary

As a conclusion we can say that the Old Town of Porvoo and Puu-Käpylä represent two cases where citizens were active in the public discussion around the conservation process of their respective neighborhoods. It is important to note that the Old Town of Porvoo was conserved in 1936, already before the “official canonization” of the Nordic wooden town which happened in the 1960s’ – this supports the notion that citizens had an important role in bringing the subject to a wider consciousness.

In both of the case studies citizens used various ways to get their voices heard. The profile of the citizens taking part in the discussions is also reflected in the means used – for example it is usually the intellectual elite or “sub-elite” that organizes public events around the theme. Engaging with the media through writing opinion pieces was a popular way of expressing one’s opinion, and the media played overall a very important role in covering the whole conservation process. Strong and transparent democratic institutions remain vital for the fair participation of citizens, as the lobbying of decision-makers and filing official complaints are important ways for citizens to affect the process. Sometimes the conditions are favorable for an Urban Social Movement to form (as was shown in the case of Puu-Käpylä) which can have a strong impact on the end result. Overall, we can say that in order to ensure fair and representative participatory processes in the future, a variety of different ways and forums for citizens to participate needs to be offered.

The case studies showed that citizens can bring knowledge and perspectives to the conservation process that might not necessarily come to light in a purely professional assessment. For example, contrary to popular belief, aesthetic values seem to be important factors for laymen when evaluating their living environment, as are also historical and cultural significance, as was shown in both cases, but especially so in the case of the Old Town of Porvoo. Citizens can also hold valuable information – so-called tacit knowledge – on the user experience of a neighbourhood (related to e.g., the community feeling or “special character”) that cannot be assessed by an outsider alone.

Regarding the profile of the citizens involved in the conservation process and debate, both of the case studies were in line with previously conducted research on the subject. It is usually

the same groups of people that take part in the public discussion around a conservation process: the local intellectual elite or “sub-elite”, civil organizations, and homeowners (as opposed to tenants or other users of the neighborhood). This was also the situation in both of the case of Puu-Käpylä and the Old Town of Porvoo. The voices of certain groups (such as youth, ethnic and cultural minorities, people with a lower income and education level, etc.) are usually (voluntarily or involuntarily) left out, which poses a challenge to the representativeness of the discussion and thus to the democratic legitimacy of the whole decision-making process. There is no “one size fits all” way of carrying a participatory process: targeted measures need to be applied in order to reach the usually underrepresented groups of people.

As shown by the two case studies studied in this thesis as well as previous research on the theme of citizen participation, it is quite easy to predict what groups of people will be underrepresented in the planning process. This makes the task of the planner to anticipate also the communicative distortions or types of misinformation easier. When the types of probable distortions are identified beforehand, they can be addressed in time. As Forester states, strategies to respond to misinformation are abound – the practical question is to choose the right modes (see for examples Forester 1989, p. 38-39).

It is to be remembered that despite the important role of the citizens, in both of the case studies the conservation process was more expert- than citizen-driven. It is still very difficult for a pro-heritagisation view to break into wider recognition without significant professional contribution. Citizen participation has been a timely topic for already some time, but it still remains challenging to create clear evidence of value of participatory processes for all stakeholders involved. To repeat the statement made already in the introduction, in order to have more focused, effective, and result-oriented participatory processes and to truly harness the assets of citizens it is needed to identify how the “common people” can best supplement professional knowledge.

In recent years we have witnessed a phenomenon where local-level politics have increasingly gained importance, where politics on the national level have been in decline (Jessop, 2000). This also speaks for the importance of citizen participation and community co-production at the local urban level.

Indeed, citizen participation is especially important from the point of view of urban conservation. There seems to be no end to the global trend of increasing urbanization, which means that more and more pressure is applied on our built urban heritage. Buildings dating only from the 1990s' are already being demolished in Helsinki from out of the way of new developments (Takala 2020). The relevance of decision-making related to heritage conservation is thus not going to diminish in the following years, on the opposite.

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ANNEX: List of writings included in the analyzed material

The Old Town of Porvoo:

	Reference	Title
1.	Aftonposten 5.4.1898, p. 3	Grefve L. Sparres föredrag
2.	Borgå Nya Tidning 4.3.1898, p. 2	“Under sträcket”
3.	Borgå Nya Tidning 29.3.1898, p. 2	Nyheter för dagen
4.	Borgå Nya Tidning 1.4.1898, p. 2	Nyheter för dagen
5.	Borgå Nya Tidning 5.4.1898, p. 2	Nyheter för dagen
6.	Borgå Nya Tidning 6.5.1898, p. 2	Nyheter för dagen
7.	Borgåbladet 28.4.1908, p. 3	Från Allmänheten. Gamla Borgås reglering!
8.	Borgåbladet 23.6.1908, p. 2	Regleringen af Gamla Borgå
9.	Borgåbladet 18.8.1923, p. 1	Biskopsgården
10.	Borgåbladet 25.10.1923, p. 2	En fara för “gamla Borgå”
11.	Borgåbladet 28.3.1929, p. 2	Museitorget bör få två gångbanor i väster mot Ågatan.
12.	Borgåbladet 14.5.1929, p. 2	»Gamla Borgås» skönhetsvärden.
13.	Borgåbladet 17.9.1929, p. 2	Stadsfullmäktige ha möte med många obetydliga ärenden
14.	Borgåbladet 7.11.1935, p. 2	En märklig lex borgaensis utgör förslaget till ny stadsplan för gamla Borgå.
15.	Borgåbladet 14.12.1935, p. B1	“Gamla Borgås” framtid
16.	Borgåbladet 14.12.1935, p. C2	Stadsfullmäktige ha antagit stadsplan för det „gamla Borgå“.
17.	Borgåbladet 9.4.1936, p. 2	Besvär över byggnadsbestämmelserna för gamla Borgå.
18.	Borgåbladet 3.12.1936, p. 2	Gårdsägarna äro inte alla nöjda med stadsplanen
19.	Borgåbladet 4.12.1937, p. 2	Gårdsägarföreningen firar sin 30-årsfest.
20.	Hufvudstadsbladet 6.4.1898, p. 5	Landsorten
21.	Hufvudstadsbladet 8.1.1899, p. 6	Literatur, Konst och Konstnärer. Två praktvärk.
22.	Karjala 25.3.1923, p. 5	Vanha Porvoo.
23.	Suomen Nainen 1.11.1933, p. 150-151	Venny Soldan-Brofeldt 70-vuotias
24.	Svenska Pressen 18.12.1933, p. 4	Evert Roos död.
25.	Uusimaa 4.2.1901, p. 2	Porwoon pakinoita
26.	Uusimaa 17.8.1927, p. 4	Murheellinen epäkohta.
27.	Uusimaa 27.3.1929, p. 2	Talonomistajyhdistyksen vuosikokous

Puu-Käpylä:

	Reference	Title
1.	Helsingin Sanomat 29.9.1960, 9, 14.	Käpylä odottaa rakennussuunnitelmaa, Pasila elää pelastuksen toivossa
2.	Helsingin Sanomat 10.3.1963, (10), 15.	Vanha rakennuskulttuuri ja kaupunkien uudelleenrakennustoiminta
3.	Helsingin Sanomat 4.2.1964, 4.	Puutarha-Käpylän vanhimpia taloja uhkaa purkaminen
4.	Helsingin Sanomat 11.4.1964, 5.	Helsingin kaupunki ryhtyy uudistamaan Puu-Käpylää
5.	Helsingin Sanomat 3.4.1965, 13.	Kolmen kaupunkimme näyttely avaa ovensa Wienissä tänään
6.	Helsingin Sanomat 15.4.1965, 17.	Puu-Käpylän puutalojen tilalle kaksikerroksisia kivitaloja
7.	Helsingin Sanomat 15.5.1965, 11.	Puu-Käpylää ei Helsingissä kohta enää ole
8.	Helsingin Sanomat 20.5.1965, 4.	Kirjelmä vanhan Käpylän puolesta
9.	Helsingin Sanomat 22.5.1965, 9, 14.	Käpylän puutarhakaupungin hirsitalojen korjaus maksaa 250 mk/m ²
10.	Helsingin Sanomat 23.5.1965, 11.	Puu-Käpylän asia
11.	Helsingin Sanomat 25.5.1965, 36.	Käpylä
12.	Helsingin Sanomat 18.6.1965, 10.	Maaseudun idyllisyyttä Käpylän puutarhoissa
13.	Helsingin Sanomat 9.3.1966, 7, 18.	Käpylän puutaloalueen vanhoilla rakennuksilla mahdollisuus säilyä. Alueen asemakaava käsiteltäväksi keväällä
14.	Helsingin Sanomat 10.3.1966, 6.	Käpylän vanhat puutalot
15.	Helsingin Sanomat 11.5.1966, 6.	Puu-Käpylä
16.	Helsingin Sanomat 13.5.1966, 13.	Puu-Käpylä
17.	Helsingin Sanomat 1.6.1966, 5.	Helsingissä ei ole enää alueita pientalojen rakentamista varten
18.	Helsingin Sanomat 22.9.1966, 12.	Käpylän puutalot häviävät
19.	Helsingin Sanomat 22.12.1966, 5, 13.	Puu-Käpylä rakennetaan uudelleen. Vanhat talot mahdollista säilyttää
20.	Helsingin Sanomat 27.12.1966, 4.	Puu-Käpylä
21.	Helsingin Sanomat 27.12.1966, 23.	Puu-Käpylän kohtalo
22.	Helsingin Sanomat 2.2.1967, 5.	Puu-Käpylän asemakaavan muutosesitys hyväksyttiin
23.	Helsingin Sanomat 10.2.1967, 13.	Puu-Käpylän kaava on epäsosiaalinen
24.	Helsingin Sanomat 18.2.1967, 10.	Puu-Käpylän uusi asemakaava on aiheuttanut erimielisyyttä
25.	Helsingin Sanomat 25.5.1967, 18.	Epäselvyys vuokrasopimuksista heikentää Puu-Käpylän asemaa

26.	Helsingin Sanomat 23.4.1969, 5.	Puu-Käpylän talojen kunto aiotaan tutkia
27.	Helsingin Sanomat 30.4.1969, 12.	Puu-Käpylän uutta kaavaa puollettiin
28.	Helsingin Sanomat 17.6.1969, 11.	Puu-Käpylän talojen kunto selvitetään
29.	Helsingin Sanomat 8.7.1969, 5.	Komitea tutkii Pyy-Käpylän korjauskustannuksia
30.	Helsingin Sanomat 11.11.1969, 7.	Puu-Käpylän kohtako ratkeaa lähiaikoina
31.	Helsingin Sanomat 16.11.1969, 38.	Puu-Käpylän kohtalo (1. mielipidekirjoitus)
32.	Helsingin Sanomat 16.11.1969, 38.	Puu-Käpylän kohtalo (2. mielipidekirjoitus)
33.	Helsingin Sanomat 17.11.1969, 6.	Puu-Käpylän pulma
34.	Helsingin Sanomat 19.11.1969, 26.	Puu-Käpylän toinen puoli (1. mielipidekirjoitus)
35.	Helsingin Sanomat 19.11.1969, 26.	Puu-Käpylän toinen puoli (2. mielipidekirjoitus)
36.	Helsingin Sanomat 26.11.1969, 15.	Yksityisillä 66 taloa Puu-Käpylässä
37.	Helsingin Sanomat 27.11.1969, 15.	Puu-Käpylän kohtalo jälleen käsittelyssä
38.	Helsingin Sanomat 28.11.1969, 34.	Puu-Käpylä vielä kerran
39.	Helsingin Sanomat 29.11.1969, 6.	Torjuntavoitto
40.	Helsingin Sanomat 2.12.1969, 6.	Puu-Käpylän tutkiminen
41.	Helsingin Sanomat 3.12.1969, 17.	Käpylää uudistettu 10 vuotta. Merkkipäivä toi uuden komitean
42.	Helsingin Sanomat 6.10.1970, 12.	Teuvo Aura: Helsingin hymykuoppa uhkaa slummiutua
43.	Helsingin Sanomat 19.2.1971, 22.	Näyttely lupaa toivoa Käpylälle
44.	Helsingin Sanomat 21.2.1971, 29.	Mitä maksaa Puu-Käpylä. Korjaamalla talot säästetään 189 uuden asunon hinta
45.	Helsingin Sanomat 14.4.1971, 14.	Puutarha-Käpylän komitea: Alueen rakennuskanta säilytetään korjattuna
46.	Helsingin Sanomat 7.5.1971, 22.	Kaupunkisuunnittelulautakunta: Puu-Käpylä säilytetään nykyisessä muodossaan
47.	Hufvudstadsbladet 23.2.1964, 7–8.	Har vi torparkomplex?
48.	Hufvudstadsbladet 20.3.1964, 5.	Miniatyrmodell skall göras av Kottbyvillorna
49.	Hufvudstadsbladet 4.2.1965, 6.	Tankar om hus
50.	Hufvudstadsbladet 9.3.1965, 9.	Trä-Kottby till Wien
51.	Hufvudstadsbladet 20.5.1965, 14.	Trädgårdsstaden Kottby bör bevaras!
52.	Hufvudstadsbladet 23.5.1965, 14.	Också kottbyborna själva protesterar
53.	Hufvudstadsbladet 1.6.1965, 3.	Kottby trädgårdsstad och dess framtid
54.	Hufvudstadsbladet 11.5.1966, 11.	Trä-Kottbys öde väcker diskussion
55.	Hufvudstadsbladet 22.12.1966, 1, 16.	Ny stadsplan hotar ej Kottby trähusområde

56.	Hufvudstadsbladet 12.2.1967, 21.	Trä-Kottby förstörs om nya stadsplanens bestämmelser
57.	Hufvudstadsbladet 13.2.1967, 3.	Trä-Kottby
58.	Hufvudstadsbladet 18.2.1967, 1, 5.	Restaurera eller nybygga?
59.	Hufvudstadsbladet 25.5.1967, 5.	Förfelad Kottbyplan enögt nyttotänkande
60.	Hufvudstadsbladet 28.3.1969, 1, 20.	Kottbys trähus kan ännu räddas
61.	Hufvudstadsbladet 30.4.1969, 5.	Nämndja tills Trä-Kottby
62.	Hufvudstadsbladet 11.11.1969, 12.	Ny planändring aktuell i Kottby
63.	Hufvudstadsbladet 12.11.1969, 2.	Trä-Kottbys öde
64.	Hufvudstadsbladet 26.11.1969, 13.	'Glömda' husägare erbjuder alternativ för hotade Kottby
65.	Hufvudstadsbladet 27.11.1969, 14.	Bibehållen trädgårdskaraktär. Reparationer inleds redan nu
66.	Hufvudstadsbladet 30.11.1969, 2.	Räddas Kottby?
67.	Hufvudstadsbladet 21.1.1971, 1, 14.	Trä-Kottby borde egentligen rivas -men här trivs folk...
68.	Hufvudstadsbladet 31.1.1971, 9.	Kunde man rita kontakter
69.	Hufvudstadsbladet 20.2.1971, 10.	Kottby överlever till 650 mk per kvadratmeter?
70.	Hufvudstadsbladet 14.4.1971, 1, 14.	Trä-Kottby bevaras. Husen grundsaneras
71.	Kansan Uutiset 8.12.1960, x.	Käpylän puutaloalueen puutarhaluonne säilyy
72.	Kansan Uutiset 20.5.1965, x.	Puu-Käpylän puolesta vetoamus kaupungin isille
73.	Kansan Uutiset 10.5.1966, 7.	Häviääkö puutarha-Käpylä? Keskustelutilaisuus tänään
74.	Kansan Uutiset 24.12.1966, 3.	Puu-Käpylälle ei anneta purkutuomiota. Vanhoja taloja voidaan korjata tai rakentaa uusia
75.	Kansan Uutiset 2.2.1967, 12.	Onko häly Käpylästä ollut turhaa? Vanhat rakennukset voidaan korjata ja idylli säilyttää
76.	Kansan Uutiset 18.2.1967, 1, 2.	Puu-Käpylän asukkaita rauhoiteltiin: Talojen purkaminen ei ole pakollista
77.	Kansan Uutiset 28.2.1967, 3.	Käpylä kahteen jalankulkualueeseen
78.	Kansan Uutiset 31.3.1967, 10.	Yleisten töiden lautakunta 13.3.
79.	Kansan Uutiset 2.4.1969, 3.	Soivatko kellot Puu-Käpylän idyllille?
80.	Kansan Uutiset 16.4.1969, 3.	Puu-Käpylä jäi vielä pöydälle
81.	Kansan Uutiset 23.4.1969, 7.	Käpylän puutalojen kunto selvitetään pistokokeilla?
82.	Kansan Uutiset 30.4.1969, 3.	Käpylän puurakennusten kunto selvitetään kiireesti
83.	Kansan Uutiset 14.4.1971, 1.	Puu-Käpylä korjauskelpoinen

84.	Käpylä-lehti 1/1960, 1, 3.	Arkkitehtikilpailu Käpylän puutaloalueen uudelleen rakentamisesta
85.	Käpylä-lehti 4/1960, 1, 3.	Käpylä 40-vuotias / Puutarhakaupunginosamme neljä vuosikymmentä
86.	Käpylä-lehti 4/1960, 4–5.	Käpylän rakentajat kertovat
87.	Käpylä-lehti 4/1960, 6–7.	Käpylä ja sen rakentaja
88.	Käpylä-lehti 4/1960, 8.	Poimintoja Helsingin Kansanasunnot Oy:n 40-vuotiselta taipaleelta
89.	Käpylä-lehti 4/1960, 9.	Asunto-osuuskunta Käpylän neljä vuosikymmentä
90.	Käpylä-lehti 4/1960, 9.	Asunto-osakeyhtiö Osmo-Käpylä – silloista omakoti ”Arava”-asumista
91.	Käpylä-lehti 4/1960, 10.	Asunto-osuuskunta Käpy asuntopulan poistajana
92.	Käpylä-lehti 1/1961, 4–5.	Käpylän puutaloalueen aatekilpailu
93.	Käpylä-lehti 1/1961, 7.	Käpylä puutarhakaupunkina
94.	Käpylä-lehti 1/1962, 4–5.	Käpylä eilen, tänään ja huomenna
95.	Käpylä-lehti 1/1962, 8.	Käpylä kauniiksi
96.	Käpylä-lehti 4/1962, 4–5.	Käpylän puuston säilyttäminen uudelleen rakentamisen yhteydessä
97.	Käpylä-lehti 4/1962, 5.	Kansanasunnot Oy:n puutaloryhmän asukkaista enemmistö halukas muuttamaan kivitaloihin
98.	Käpylä-lehti 3/1964, 1.	Puu-Käpylä museoon
99.	Käpylä-lehti 1/1965, 2.	Entä meidän maisemamme?
100.	Käpylä-lehti 2/1965, 3.	Käpylä TV:ssä
101.	Käpylä-lehti 1/1966, 3.	Viihtyvyyys ja kotiseututoiminta
102.	Käpylä-lehti 1/1967, 2.	Käpyläläisten ajatuksia Puu-Käpylästä
103.	Käpylä-lehti 1/1967, 3.	Puretaanko vai suojellaanko Puu-Käpylä?
104.	Käpylä-lehti 1/1967, 4–5.	Puu-Käpylän uusi asemakaava hyväksyttiin kaupunkisuunnittelulautakunnassa
105.	Käpylä-lehti 1/1967, 6–7.	Unohtunut ihminen Puu-Käpylän kohtaloissa
106.	Käpylä-lehti 2/1967, 2.	Dipoli – Lehtisaari – Puu-Käpylä
107.	Käpylä-lehti 2/1967, 3.	Puu-Käpylän kohtalo
108.	Käpylä-lehti 2/1967, 4.	Puu-Käpylän kohtalo pitkittyy ja mutkistuu
109.	Käpylä-lehti 2/1967, 5.	Käpyläläisten ajatuksia Puu-Käpylästä
110.	Käpylä-lehti 3/1967, 3.	Puu-Käpylästä keskusteltiin

111.	Käpylä-lehti 4/1967, 3.	Käpylä – itsenäisen Suomen ikätoveri
112.	Käpylä-lehti 4/1967, 5.	Puu-Käpylä ja neiti Ruususen uni
113.	Käpylä-lehti 2/1969, 4.	Puu-Käpylän asemakaavaehdotuksen vaiheita
114.	Käpylä-lehti 3/1969, 3.	Käpylä-komitea saanut työnsä päätökseen
115.	Käpylä-lehti 4/1969, 3.	Puu-Käpylä valtuustossa
116.	Käpylä-lehti 4/1969, 3.	Käpylän rakentajat ansaitsevat muistomerkin
117.	Käpylä-lehti 3/1970, 9.	Rakennuksemme ovat hyvässä kunnossa
118.	Käpylä-lehti 4/1970, 4–5.	Kaupunginosa-ajattelussa yhteishengen paras perusta
119.	Käpylä-lehti 4/1970, 5.	Puutarha-Käpylä on laajan yhteistyön tulos
120.	Käpylä-lehti 1/1971, 3.	Käpylä-näyttely Rakennustaiteen museossa
121.	Käpylä-lehti 2/1971, 2.	Näin hahmottui Käpylä
122.	Käpylä-lehti 2/1971, 3.	Käpylä – etusivun kylä
123.	Käpylä-lehti 2/1971, 1, 4–5.	Käpylän asemakaavoituksen alkua ajoilta
124.	Käpylä-lehti 2/1971, 5.	Puu-Käpylä tutkimuskohteena
125.	Käpylä-lehti 3/1971, 3.	Kaupunginvaltuusto hyväksyi Puu-Käpylän asemakaavan
126.	Uusi Suomi 8.12.1960, x.	Käpylän puutarhakaupunginosan arkkitehtikilpailu ratkaistu
127.	Uusi Suomi 20.5.1965, x.	Julkislausuma Käpylän puolesta
128.	Uusi Suomi 14.11.1965, x.	Vanhaa Käpylää
129.	Uusi Suomi 11.5.1966, 18.	Puu-Käpylä on ensimmäinen elementtiasuntoalueemme
130.	Uusi Suomi 22.12.1966, 1, 24.	Puu-Käpylästä ei museota. Rakennuskannan uusiminen edessä
131.	Uusi Suomi 2.2.1967, 13.	Puu-Käpylä esillä: Asemakaavamuuhosta puollettiin. Alueen säilyttämisestä kirjelmiä
132.	Uusi Suomi 4.2.1967, x.	Puu-Käpylä
133.	Uusi Suomi 5.2.1967, 9.	Käpylä, ainutlaatuinen kaupunkiluomus säilytettävä. Sille laadittu uusi asemakaavaehdotus hylättävä
134.	Uusi Suomi 9.2.1967, 4.	Helsinki-Seura Puu-Käpylästä: Ehdottomasti säilytettävä
135.	Uusi Suomi 14.2.1967, 4.	Puu-Käpylän uusiminen on väärillä raiteilla. Kaupunkisuunnittelun vähemmistön eriävä mielipide
136.	Uusi Suomi 18.2.1967, 1, 4.	Puutarha-Käpylästä väiteltiin: Toinen puoli korjaisi talonsa – toinen rakentaisi uudelleen
137.	Uusi Suomi 19.2.1967, 3.	Puu-Käpylä
138.	Uusi Suomi 28.2.1967, 19.	Puutarha-Käpylä pöydälle

139.	Uusi Suomi 30.3.1967, 13.	Joka neljäs puu pois Puu-Käpylästä
140.	Uusi Suomi 25.5.1967, 4.	”Syyllistyykö kaupunki kulttuuriskandaaliin” Viimeisiä taistoja Puu-Käpylään puolesta
141.	Uusi Suomi 1.6.1967, 4.	Puheenvuoro: Käpylään kysymys
142.	Uusi Suomi 27.3.1969, 14.	Käpylään puutaloalue tulossa taas tapetille
143.	Uusi Suomi 23.4.1969, 7.	Käpylään puutalojen kohtalo edelleen avoin
144.	Uusi Suomi 30.4.1969, 12.	Käpylään puutaloalueen suunnitelmaa puolletaan
145.	Uusi Suomi 6.7.1969, 17.	Kaupunginhallituksen asettama Käpylä- komitea aloitti työnsä tutustumalla perusteellisesti Puu-Käpylään rakennuksiin...
146.	Uusi Suomi 20.10.1969, 8.	Käpylään kaupunginosa täyttää puoli vuosisataa. Muistomerkki rakentajille
147.	Uusi Suomi 11.11.1969, 7.	Puu-Käpylään kohtalo pian valtuuston käsiteltäväksi
148.	Uusi Suomi 22.11.1969, 3.	Puheenvuoro: Taasko Puu-Käpylä mestauspölkylle?
149.	Uusi Suomi 27.11.1969, 14.	Puu-Käpylään kaava uusitaan puutarhamiljöön säilyttämällä
150.	Uusi Suomi 2.12.1969, 16.	Puu-Käpylää varten asetettiin komitea
151.	Uusi Suomi 7.4.1970, 10.	Puolen vuosisadan takaa. Uusi Suomi 7.4.1920
152.	Uusi Suomi 21.2.1971, 14.	Uutta tietoa Puu-Käpylään tueksi
153.	Uusi Suomi 14.4.1971, 14.	Puu-Käpylään talot pitäisi säilyttää
154.	Uusi Suomi 5.5.1971, 2.	Puu-Käpylä myötätuulessa. Rakennukset säilytetään