Laura Andla

ANNELINN – PAST AND PRESENT
The Development of Annelinn and the Experience of the Residents

Master Thesis in Landscape Architecture

Supervisor: Simon Bell, PhD

Tartu 2015
ABSTRACT

Large housing estates were constructed during 1960s and 1980s in the former Soviet Union. At the present day these areas are seen as unpleasant living environment. However, block housing estates have still significant impact on the Central and Eastern European cities. Although there is number of researches investigating the changes in post-socialist panel housing areas, little is known about the changes in the quality of the environment. This thesis is analysing the development of Annelinn, a block housing area in Tartu, Estonia and the experience and perception of its long-term residents. The focus is on Annelinn as a living environment in the Soviet period and at the present day. It is based on face-to-face interviews with long-term residents. The main findings suggest that the most important differences in the environment compared to Soviet period are apparent in minor social decline, more greenery in the courtyards and improved accessability to facilities. Generally, residents feel Annelinn is a good living environment and do not believe it is turning into a slum or a ghetto in the near future.

LÜHIKOKKUVÕTE

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................................................................. 5

1. BACKGROUND AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH .................................................................................................. 8

   1.1. Development of housing estates in Central and Eastern Europe ....................................................... 8
   1.2. Development of the apartment blocks .................................................................................................. 9
   1.3. Micro districts and the landscape of block housing areas .................................................................. 11
   1.4. Large block housing areas in Soviet Estonia ..................................................................................... 12
   1.5. Prefabricated block housing in post-socialist cities ......................................................................... 13

2. METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION ................................................................................................ 15

   2.1. Methods .................................................................................................................................................. 15
   2.2. Data collection .................................................................................................................................. 15

3. RESULTS .......................................................................................................................................................... 17

   3.1. Development of the General Plan of Annelinn ................................................................................. 17
      3.1.1. Housing areas ................................................................................................................................. 18
      3.1.2. Pedestrian streets and parking ..................................................................................................... 19
      3.1.3. Social centre and park area .......................................................................................................... 20
      3.1.4. Changes in the General Plan of Tartu .......................................................................................... 20
   3.2. Implementation of the General Plan of Annelinn .............................................................................. 21
      3.2.1. Housing areas ................................................................................................................................. 21
      3.2.2. Pedestrian streets and parking ..................................................................................................... 22
      3.2.3. Social centre and park area .......................................................................................................... 23
   3.3. Experiences of Annelinn from beginning to the present plan .......................................................... 26
      3.3.1. Moving in to Annelinn ..................................................................................................................... 26
         3.3.1.1. Getting the apartment ............................................................................................................... 26
      3.3.2. Everyday facilities ......................................................................................................................... 30
         3.3.2.1. Shops in Annelinn ...................................................................................................................... 30
         3.3.2.2. Kindergartens, schools and other facilities ............................................................................ 32
      3.3.3. Greener and public spaces ............................................................................................................. 34
         3.3.3.1. Green spaces and free time spending facilities ..................................................................... 34
         3.3.3.2. Sporting facilities and playgrounds .......................................................................................... 37
      3.3.4. Parking and traffic ........................................................................................................................ 41
         3.3.4.1. Cars and parking problems ...................................................................................................... 41
         3.3.4.2. Road network and bridges ..................................................................................................... 42
         3.3.4.3. Public transport ...................................................................................................................... 44
      3.3.5. Housing ......................................................................................................................................... 44
3.3.5.1. Layout of the houses ........................................................................................................... 44
3.3.5.2. Appearance of the houses and future perspective of the residents .............. 47
3.3.6. Social situation .................................................................................................................. 48
3.3.6.1. Local social relations ...................................................................................................... 48
3.3.6.2. Ethnic minorities and social decline .............................................................................. 50
4. DISCUSSION .......................................................................................................................... 52
4.1. Development and implementation of Annelinn ............................................................... 52
4.2. Perception of residents and changes in the landscape of Annelinn ......................... 53
CONCLUSION ............................................................................................................................... 56
REFERENCES ................................................................................................................................. 58
APPENDIX ....................................................................................................................................... 63
Appendix 1. Transcription of the interview with Helmi Sakkov (19.11.2014) ......... 64
Appendix 2. Categorized quotes from the interviews ....................................................... 75
INTRODUCTION

Central and Eastern European countries were under the influence of Soviet Union for decades. Central planning system that was implemented by the authorities at that time has left its marks into the landscape and even after more than two decades since the collapse of Soviet Union, the influences of that era are still visible. One characteristic feature of the former Soviet Union countries in the Central and Eastern Europe are the large housing areas, which was a result of massive building programs initiated by Khrushchev in the 1950s to relieve the housing shortage (Steiner, 2012). However, large housing estates were built all over Europe, not only in the Soviet Union. From 1960 to the mid 1970s over 45 million dwellings were built in estates, from which 34 million are to be found in Central and Eastern Europe. These numbers show an important material difference between Western Europe vs Central and Eastern Europe (Hall et al., 2005).

A lot of people all over Europe still live in these block housing areas, which were built after the Second World War (Dekker et al., 2005). These estates were inspired by the ideas of Le Corbusier, which meant that they were supposed to be pleasant, spacious, green and light places in which to live in (Dekker & Van Kempen, 2005). However, at the present day these areas are often described as negative and unpleasant living environment (e.g. Kovács & Herfert, 2012; Uuring “Tartu ja..., 2013), because due to radical changes that have been taking place in the late 20th century, many problems have emerged in the housing estates. For example the failure of the central planning system in the Central and Eastern European countries have resulted in new forms of social and spatial polarisation. However, the impact of these changes on the housing estates is varying. It means that many of them continue to function well, economically and socially, and resident satisfaction remains high (Dekker et al., 2005).

In the last decade large block housing areas have become a subject of interest for a number of researchers (for examples see Kährik & Tammaru, 2010; Kovács & Herfert, 2012; Kabisch & Grossmann, 2013). Large housing estates in post-socialist cities in Central and Eastern Europe are often related to a social decline as it has been happening in the Western Europe (e.g. Szelényi, 1996). Although most of them are concentrating on the changes in post-socialist countries, very few of them (e.g. Temelová & Slezáková, 2013) are
investigating the changes in the quality of the living environment and the perception of the inhabitants living in large block housing areas. Nevertheless these prefabricated standardised block housing areas have a huge impact even on the 21st century and will most probably remain as an important part of the post-socialist cities for decades and therefore it is important to understand the development of these areas to provide solutions for avoiding the social decline and downgrading of the block housing areas in Central and Eastern Europe.

Interest in the development of block housing areas has also become evident in Estonia as in recent years these areas have become focus of attention in different activities and events that have been taking place. For example Panel City Forums that have been taking place in different cities in Estonia, such as Narva, Ahtme and Tartu, which is also chosen as a case study area for this thesis. Main aim of Panel City Forums is to promote balanced spatial development in Soviet era block housing areas (Mudel kaasavaks ruumiliseks..., 2014). A vision competition took place in 2014 offering some new perspectives and interesting future visions for development of Annelinn (figure 1). However, all these events are lacking the reflection of the perception of residents. This thesis is trying to fill that cap by researching the key changes in the environment of block housing areas through the perception of long-term residents.

Annelinn is chosen as a case study area for this theis. The research area is located in Tartu (figure 1), the second largest city in Estonia. Annelinn is the largest block housing area in Tartu accommodating 26 755 inhabitants (Statistiline ülevaade..., 2014), which is almost 30% of the population in Tartu. However, according to the questionnaire carried out among residents living in Tartu, Annelinn is not seen as a good district to live in. Main reasons...
brought out why Annelinn is not suitable living environment, were lack of security, high
density, lack of privacy and too many panel houses. Lack of greenery, too much foreign
crowd and problems with parking were also mentioned (Uuring “Tartu ja…, 2013).
Nevertheless people living in block housing areas tend to see the environment more
positively (Kovács & Herfert, 2012). That appears to be the case also in Annelinn, because
the environment there is seen as unpleasant and unsuitable for living for the “outsiders”,
but people actually living in Annelinn claim that it is very good environment to live in
(Leetmaa, 2013).

This thesis seeks to look more into the issue and find out how inhabitants, who have lived
in Annelinn since Soviet period, experience and perceive the space. Therefore the aim is to
investigate the perspective of long-term residents and the quality of the living environment
in the block housing areas in the Soviet period and at the present day. Addionally the
development and implementaion of the General Plan of Annelinn is looked at to provide
important background information and understand the development of the area more
thoroughly. The aim is not to come up with real solutions to solve the problems concerning
large housing estates, but to understand the changes and development of these estates by
the experience of people living and growing up in block housing areas. The image of the
housing areas in the Soviet period can be basis for understanding the issues that have risen
in these areas.

Main research questions for this thesis are as follows:

(1) What the environment was planned to be like and how much was actually realised?

(2) How residents perceived the environment in Annelinn in the Soviet period and how do
they perceive it now?

(3) To what extent the landscape of Annelinn has changed from Soviet period to present
day?

The author likes to thank her supervisor Simon Bell and all the interviewees, who agreed to
share their memories for the completion of this thesis.
1. BACKGROUND AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

1.1. Development of housing estates in Central and Eastern Europe

Large housing estates built after the Second World War can be found all over the Europe. After the war massive building programmes were needed to replace the dwellings that had been destroyed or damaged, to make up the lack of housing production during the war. In the Central and Eastern Europe the principal post-war task had been concerned with the reconstruction of the economy and investment into infrastructure that would facilitate the economic growth, which meant industrialization had immediate priority (Dekker et al., 2005; Smith, 1996).

The socialist societies became ‘under-urbanized’ during extensive industrialization which led to rapid population growth in Central and Eastern Europe cities (Szelényi, 1996; Harris, 1970). Housing investment was delayed and the first major investments in new house building only began to take off in the late 1950s when Khrushchev initiated a major programme of housing development by which he promised to solve the housing deficit within twenty years. It coincided with changes in architectural fashion and construction techniques (Steiner, 2012; Hall et al., 2005; Smith, 1996). It was to be achieved through the pre-fab system developed in France. Khrushchev banked on the technocracy of the building sector, which meant 90 per cent were to be type designs (Steiner, 2012).

So the Modernist style, especially in the mass-housing estates, became dominant in the Central and Eastern Europe cities (Hirt, 2013). Socialist public authorities were holding a near-monopoly on urban land. Along with central planning system it meant that urban development could be much more controlled than under capitalism. That resulted in spatial generosity which was visible in the mass-housing estates (Smith, 1996; Hirt, 2013). The public provision was an important means by which the state sought to ensure satisfactory and relatively egalitarian living standards for all (Smith, 1996).

The relationship between estates and city changed significantly in the 1970s, while in the 1960s the estates were integrated into the city, later estates became separate entities with limited connection to the existing urban fabric. New industrial towns (for example in Germany and Hungary, but that was also the case in Estonia) were deliberately built close
to new socialist industries and far away from existing big cities (Hall et al., 2005). For example Gentile & Sjöberg (2010) found in their research that in the case of Latvian city of Daugavpils, the development of Soviet housing supply has been clearly marked by the priority status of the city’s industrial magnates. In the 1970s, while in the Eastern Europe the construction of high-rise estates was increasing, in most of the Western countries the failure of the high-rise policy which has been dominated for at least two decades, became evident. It led to a quick end of high-rise construction (Hall et al., 2005). In Eastern Europe the construction of high-rise estates continued until the collapse of the Soviet Union.

1.2. Development of the apartment blocks

Apartment blocks had become dominant to provide the egalitarian living standards for all and they gave a special character to the urban landscape (Smith, 1996). An apartment block (figure 2) consist usually several staircases with up to four apartments on one floor. Number of the floors, staircases and apartments per one floor varied. Each apartment had usually one, two or three rooms with a kitchen and bathroom. Almost half of the apartments built had two rooms and a quarter either on or three rooms. Very few apartments had more than three rooms (French, 1995). However apartment blocks in Annelinn had also apartments with four rooms (figure 2).

Figure 2. Floor plan for Kalda street 22 - a typical apartment block in Annelinn. Source: Pikk, 1999:26
Variety and types of dwellings built were affected by the industrialised techniques. Housing constructed during the early period of large-scale housing estates were often low quality (Smith, 1996). First apartments were relatively small and were based on the standards worked out in Moscow according to winning competition projects for small apartments in 1956. In Soviet Estonia first new standardised projects (unit of standard 1-317) came from Estonprojekt in 1956-58. These 1-317 type buildings, also called Khrushchyovkas (see figure 3), had usually four apartments on each floor. They were built massively for ten years all over Estonia and these buildings varied from having two to five floors and also differed in the number of dwelling units (Kalm, 2001).

![Figure 3. Khrushchyovka in the old town in Tartu and a typical panel house in Annelinn. Source: author’s photos](image)

However, the quality as well as the size of apartments and height of buildings increased during 1970s and 1980s (Smith, 1996). After Soviet Union purchased production lines from concrete manufacturer Camus in France these factories spread all over Eastern and Central Europe, including Estonia, where several combines were founded. These factories started to produce panel buildings (figure 3), which had slightly bigger apartments compared to Khrushchyovkas. Production of panel buildings laid the foundation for large-scale block housing areas (Lankots, 2013; Kalm, 2001). During the 1960s to 1970s the size became dominant concerning the housing estates. About 34 million dwellings were built in the Central and Eastern Europe (Hall et al., 2005).
1.3. Micro districts and the landscape of block housing areas

By any standards, the housing construction in the Soviet Union within the 30 years, after 1957, when Khrushchev began the housing programme has been truly remarkable and the spread of new housing has been accompanied by the provision of services, which in the early 1950s had seriously been lacking. In that colossal effort of housing construction, the basic spatial unit of planning and building has been the *mikroraion* (also called ’micro-region’ or ’microdistrict’) as the main building block of the Soviet city (French, 1995; Smith, 1996). It meant that relatively small housing blocks were replaced with new significantly larger microdistricts. Prefabricated blockhouses provided fast development of new large housing areas (Volkov, 1989). One micro district in the Soviet Union usually contained about 6,000-10,000 inhabitants, which was an idea borrowed by the Moscow central institute planners from C. Perry, whose concept of a neighbourhood was related to the size of school. The term ’microraion’ or ’micro-district’ designates a residential area in which inhabitants can perform all their daily activities (go to kindergarten or school, go shopping or eat etc.) without having to cross any roads (Kalm, 2001). In reality, most of the micro districts did not and still do not meet these norms of service provision and journeys to neighbouring micro districts were necessary (French, 1995).

The idea behind planning the micro districts was the new Modernist approach, which supported an idealised, ordered, built environment that required decongest city centres, increase building densities elsewhere, increase the permeability of cities to road transport, and increase parks and open space (Hall & Rowlands, 2005), which led to modern urban landscapes of medium- and high-rise apartment buildings in carefully designed open spaces, where cars had not yet come to dominate urban design (Hall *et al.*, 2005). According to the new planning principles, that realised the utopian ideas of the leftist architects of the Weimar Republic and Le Corbusier, free-standing buildings did not line the streets but were oriented in cardinal points (Kalm, 2001). An example of designing the green space of micro district is shown on figure 4.
1.4. Large block housing areas in Soviet Estonia

Estonia was occupied by Soviet Union in 1940 after which the Sovietisation was launched. During the Socialist reforms real estate was confiscated and industries nationalised. Character of the architecture changed – social objectives rose to the foreground (Volkov, 1989; Kalm, 2001). In the early 1960s forced industrial development caused an overgrowth in Estonian cities (Tammaru, 2001) which led to constructing the large-scale residential areas in Tallinn and all over Estonia. Industrialised and massive dwelling construction changed the attitude towards architecture. Instead of the pursuit to give every house individual, detailed and unique architectural solution, standardised type housing was the new architectural trend (Port, 1983).

New large-scale housing construction in Estonia started after the Tallinn Residential Construction Combine was founded in 1961 (Lankots, 2013). The first housing estate constructed was Mustamäe (constructed during 1962-1973), containing 5-storey and 9-storey panel buildings from the series 1-464 with small apartments (Ojari, 2013). Each
micro-district planned to have centre, but they were never built. Next housing estate was Väike-Õismäe in 1968, which had apartments with better quality and size. Väike-Õismäe was not planned as separate micro-districts but as one circular city. In the 1980s the largest housing district Lasnamäe was built. Similarly to Mustamäe, micro-districts were supposed to have centres, but only some supermarkets were erected (Port, 1983; Kalm, 2001; Kährik & Tammaru, 2010).

Construction of standard houses in Tartu started in the 1960s. In the 1970s the construction of Annelinn, the largest residential area in Tartu and also the case study area of the thesis, began (Kotšenovski, 1999).

1.5. Prefabricated block housing in post-socialist cities

Main focus of the previous research has been the social, political and economic changes in post-socialist cities after the collapse of Soviet Union in 1990. It has been argued weather the housing estates are developing into slums (e.g. Szelényi, 1996) as it has been happening in the Western European countries or will maintain relatively good image and social mix (Kährik & Tammaru, 2010). Kulu (2003) found out that 77% of population in Tartu lived in state-owned housing in 1989. Significant part of them were Estonians, particularly young families. Therefore in the post-Soviet period the ethnic minorities (Hess, Tammaru & Leetmaa, 2012) and in most cases lower-middle-class are more likely to move in these housing areas (Hirt, 2013). However Spevec & Klempić Bogadi (2009) concluded that the influx of low-income households are increasing in most housing estates in Crotia, but they cannot be defined as socially problematic, because in general, these housing estates still have relatively good living conditions and are attractive also to a middle-class population. Another research showed the downgrading trajectory of many housing estates with an exception of Sofia, where living in prefabricated dwellings seems to be well-accepted among population (Brade et al., 2009). Kovács & Herfert (2012) found that post-socialist housing areas are exposed to a slow decline of social status, but are however less threatened by forming into slums than was the case in Western Europe.

Kovács & Herfert (2012) found that despite the homogeneous physical appearance of the housing estates, the attitude of people towards them varies significantly between cities and countries. While these housing estates may look similar, the populations may differ
substantially, as can the satisfaction of the inhabitants (Musterd & Van Kempen, 2007). For example, a research in Prague, Czech Republic showed that from the perspective of elderly residents, housing estates are seen as convenient places to live, particularly owning the accessibility of greenery, daily facilities, and public transportation (Temelová & Slezáková, 2013). Kovács & Herfert (2012) concluded from their research that the perception of large housing estates among inhabitants of post-socialist cities is rather negative. Outsiders often judge housing estates as ugly, gray, or monotonous, therefore the perception of local residents typically seems to be much more favourable (Kovács & Herfert, 2012).

However, the local society is considered to be rather stable in the housing estates (Kovács & Herfert, 2012; Kährik & Tammaru, 2010). In the example of Leipzig-Grünau this stability has been caused by place attachment of the generation of first inhabitants living in that estate for 20 years or more (Kabisch & Grossmann, 2013). The aim of this paper is to take advantage of the long-term inhabitants to describe the changes taking place over the years in their living environment, which in the case is a housing estate in Tartu.
2. METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

2.1. Methods

Qualitative methods are used in carrying out the research. Qualitative research that is dealing with investigating, describing and interpretation of personal and social experience of people, is trying to understand rather a small group of respondents than to prove a hypothesis by a large sample (Laherand, 2008). In this research face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted with a document analysis to complement the research. Benefit of semi-structured interviews is that it facilitates a strong element of discovery, while its structured focus allows an analysis in terms of commonalities (Gillham, 2005).

2.2. Data collection

The first part of this research is aiming to understand what the environment in Annelinn was planned to be like and how much of that was actually implemented. For that, the author visited the planning and construction projects archive in Tartu city government and analysed the data from the General Plan of Anne living district, which was made in 1971 and also the correction of the General Plan of Anne living district made in 1988. Main concepts and ideas were brought out and compared to the current situation to see how much of the initial ideas have been implemented. Additionally to give a better overview of the development of the living environment three interviews with people involved in the process were also interviewed: (1) an architect who made technical projects for Annelinn; (2) former mayor who was in the office at the time; (3) head architect at the time Annelinn was built.

The second part was investigating the experience and perception of the residents and it included face-to-face semi-structured interviews. The questions asked from respondents were left broad and they were free to express feelings, memories and opinions on the subject. The sample was chosen among people who moved to Annelinn or were born there in the Soviet period. It meant that the age of the respondents is at least over 30. Altogether
eight interviews were conducted including the age range of 33 as the youngest respondent to 77 as the oldest.

The data gathering was conducted in November and December 2014 in the location the respondents chose to meet for the interview. Average duration of an interview was an hour, but there were some interviews that lasted up to two hours. The outline of the interviews was focused on the perception of the living environment in block housing areas in the Soviet period. Major changes in the environment and satisfaction with current situation was also observed. After conducting the interviews they were transcribed and categorised (see appendix 2) into six main subjects that emerged from the interviews. The categories were as follows: (1) moving in; (2) greenery and public spaces; (3) everyday facilities; (4) parking, traffic, light traffic and public transport; (5) housing and (6) social situation. Each category was then individually coded, analysed and summarised as a result. Results are illustrated with quotes and photos to give more authentic feeling of the living environment.

Although the number of respondents is limited, data saturation appeared. Statements started to repeat and did not provide any additional information. Among the interviewees were more female respondents than male respondents, but during the analysis there appeared to be no difference between the male and female statements. Author believes that due to very quick data saturation and representatives of different age groups involved, the results are giving an appropriate overview of the subject.
3. RESULTS

The results part is divided into three sections. First section of the results part is discussing the main principles and development of the General Plan of Annelinn. Second section is explaining the implementation of Annelinn. It is looked at how much of the planned environment has been actually built and brought out some possible reasons for that. Additionally quotes from the interviews with Helmi Sakkov (see appendix 1 for full transcribed interview), the author of the technical projects; Roland Ilp, the major of Tartu in 1973–1979 and Raal Kivi, the chief architect of Tartu in 1972–1991 are added to illustrate and support the conclusions made by the author. Third section is presenting the results of the interviews made with long-term residents of Annelinn.

3.1. Development of the General Plan of Annelinn

To illustrate the origin of Annelinn, a short memory from Raal Kivi is quoted: “Tartu is relatively compact with its old districts and there wasn’t any space to place these big houses massively. /.../ So then came the need to look for new living districts in the periphery of the city. I’m now talking things that I can remember from the earlier times, when my father was an architect here in Tartu. /.../ But well there were big problems with finding the land /.../ and actually Variku was on the agenda before Anne. Variku-Aardla is on the southern side of the city, where the building conditions are a lot better, the land surface is stronger. /.../ but that failed because the land wasn’t given to the city. And then came the need for Anne living district. But because Anne living district was actually an emergency solutions and if to honestly say, it was inappropriate land ecologically and from the aspect of a living environment, because it’s a flooded area.”

General Plan of Anne living district in Tartu was developed in 1971 by architects Mart Port and Malle Meelak. It was based on the project made in 1969 for the public contest. According to Helmi Sakkov the advantage of the project that was made by Mart Port and Malle Meelak was that it had different approach with the pedestrian axes and new centre, which was something really impressive at that time. The model of the initial concept of Annelinn is shown on figure 5. This chapter gives an overview of the most important subjects concerning the spatial layout of Annelinn from the General Plan of Anne living
district. It is based on the explanatory note and maps of the general plan made in 1971 by architects Mart Port and Malle Meelak and a book “Nõukogude Eesti arhitektuur”, which is written by one of the authors of the general plan. Also the changes made in the General Plan of Annelinn in 1988 after the new General Plan of Tartu city was established, are discussed.

![Figure 5. Part of a model of Annelinn. Source: Port, 1983](image)

### 3.1.1. Housing areas

Annelinn was planned to accommodate 50,000 inhabitants. Two housing groups (XI and XII housing groups with twelve 5-storey buildings, four 9-storey buildings, a shop, kindergarten and two groups of box garages) were already planned earlier by „Eesti Projekt“ on the northwest of the area from which two 5-storey buildings had already been built.

Building groups planned by the general plan are meant to have increasing number of storeys towards the rising relief to emphasise it the valley of Emajõgi. It means that until the pedestrian arch there will be 5-storey buildings, with the exception of four 16-storey tower buildings that are landmarks for the centre. On the other side of the pedestrian arch
will be 9-storey buildings in the front and 12-storey buildings in the very back. Buildings have been planned in right-angled groups and only two directions (15° from north-south direction) have been used throughout the whole area. Buildings are mostly from Tartu Residential Construction Combine, but before they started production, the earlier houses built in I microrayon are from Narva Residential Construction Combine.

According to the project the main idea was to divide the whole area into trapezoidal sectors that would leave a finished look between different building periods (Port, 1983). According to the General Plan of Annelinn (figure 6) there were planned to be eight sectors, two sectors for each micro district, which meant that four micro districts were planned. Each sector has its central axis that is completely freed from any heavy traffic and will have a function as a main street for pedestrians and is moving towards the social centre. To give more closed and urban look to these main streets, houses would be laid out as close to each other as possible according to certain norms. The authors tried to achieve streets that resembled the earlier more intimate city districts (Port, 1983).

**3.1.2. Pedestrian streets and parking**

The pedestrian streets were meant to be a version of contemporary boulevards or promenades with a difference of not having any vehicles, but are only accessible for pedestrians (Port, 1983). According to the General Plan of Annelinn the idea of planning

![Figure 6. Photo of a map from the general plan with the microregions and sections. Source: the archive of planning and construction projects in Tartu City Government](attachment:image.png)
the dense housing around the axes was also to create space for large green areas, where also kindergartens and schools were planned. Beside these main axes there is an arch with an alley running horizontally to the axes throughout all the sectors, also meant for pedestrians to use. All the pedestrian axes running through the microrayons are joining in the middle of the centre, where pedestrian areas are on two levels connected with stairs. The street beside the centre will be crossed by a pedestrian bridge.

Authors of the general plan planned 200 cars per resident, which meant that 30% of the cars were meant to be in communal garages, another 30% in individual box-type garages and 40% of the cars would be freely parked in the parking lots in microrayons. Communal garages were meant to have five storeys from which one of them would be underground.

3.1.3. Social centre and park area

Flooded area next to Emajõgi was planned as a recreational area and a park. For that there was planned a big arched water body. The social centre was planned next to the artificial water body and it was supposed to be built step by step as the sectors with housing were built. When finished, it should be a semi-circle shaped multi-level ensemble that connects services for nearby microrayons with other enterprises (such as sport halls, restaurants etc.) to one whole (Port, 1983). Also a rowing canal that would be in accordance to all the national norms was planned in the large recreational area.

3.1.4. Changes in the General Plan of Tartu

In 1974 a new general plan for Tartu was developed, which maintained the planning principles of Annelinn, but changed however the planning concept of the social centre and rowing canal. For that reason a new version of the General Plan of Anne living district was made in 1988. Main changes were made in the centre and recreational area to give it more compact architectural solution that would work without the pedestrian bridges planned before to cross Kalda street. Instead of the rowing canal that would be in accordance to all national norms, a smaller one was planned that could be extended if there will be a demand for that.
By that time most of the 5-storey buildings had been built and intention was to end building 9-storey building in the end of 1990. New micro districts (III and IV rayon) would not include 9-storey buildings anymore. Instead 2- to 4-storey buildings will be developed by „Tartu Maja“.

3.2. Implementation of the General Plan of Annelinn

This chapter is analysing the implementation of the General Plan of Annelinn to find out how much of the initial concept has been actually realised. For that a comparison of the current situation in 2015 is made with the general plan from the 1971. Comparison is based on the maps and explanatory note of the General Plan of Annelinn and in case of current situation on maps from Estonian Land Board. Comparison is structured using the same subjects discussed in the last chapter. Schemes of both situations (planned and realised) have been drawn by the author to illustrate the text.

3.2.1. Housing areas

The schemes brought out on figure 7 show the initial General Plan of Anne living district and the current situation. Two microrayons were built, however the housing layout has turned out to be more dense then it initially was planned. That is mainly the case with the 9-storey housing area, which is South from the pedestrian arch. However, the initial ideas and housing patterns have been followed, including schools and kindergartens which are built inside the microrayons. The 16-storey tower buildings meant to be as landmarks and 12-storey buildings to the very back of Annelinn were never built. Because only half of the microrayons were built out, instead of planned 50 000 inhabitants, less than 27 000 residents live in Annelinn. However that is a significant part of the inhabitants in Tartu – almost 30% of the population.

When Annelinn was built, the courtyards were not considered to be as important as it was to build as much apartments as possible. Helmi Sakkov, who developed technical projects for the newest part of Annelinn where 9-storey buildings are, talked about her attempt to design the courtyards: „I remember when I was laying out the houses in that district than I planned these kind of boxes in the courtyards of the houses, two by two meters along the side of the house, that were meant for every apartment to have one /.../ to grow herbs or
According to Helmi Sakkov another problem why courtyards were getting very little attention was because it was necessary to save money, as she claimed during the interview: „We were told that 10% had to be saved, but still the same number of apartments must be built. From everything else that is possible to save, must be saved. So if we tried to create some greenery around the houses then that was all out of the question now.“ However, according to the chief architect Raal Kivi, everything that was in the project concerning the courtyards was built, but the question was rather in the quality, as he stated: “It seems to me that the project was followed generally. Because we had building inspection and they didn’t make any drawbacks in that sense. /.../ I can’t remember that the courtyards wouldn’t have been built on purpose. Separate question is, well, the quality. These same building organisations, they weren’t serious landscaping firms.” Also Helmi Sakkov claimed that planting was carried out according to the project, but it was lack of maintenance that was the problem, as she said: “Well, actually some projects were intended and for example that here are four Pinus Mugo’s and now here are Rosa Rugosa’s or something else, right. But what was lacking was the maintenance. These plants were planted and it was possible to control that and so on, but people didn’t take over maintaining these plants and looked at it like some strange thing. /.../ So that’s unfortunate, because they created the real milieu around the houses, but they just disappeared.”

3.2.2. Pedestrian streets and parking

Pedestrian axes and arch has been developed within the microrayons that have been built. Since other two microrayons and the social centre in the way it was planned, was never built, then the built pedestrian streets form only a small part of what was planned. Nevertheless there are other light traffic roads been developed in the area, such as next to the Ihaste road and around Anne Canal.

Some individual box-type garages have been built, but however no communal garages. Main reason for not building them was again as it was also the case with courtyards to save money as claimed Helmi Sakkov: „Those were straight away meant not to be built,
because there was no money for that. These were the things they wanted to save money from." Only 40% of the parking was meant to be in the district, which has caused a lot of problems with parking today. Also when the general plan was made back in the 1970s, then the rapid growth in the number cars was not predicted in the way it has been happening, which makes the parking situation in Annelinn problematic. Former mayor Roland Ilp was also interviewed and he shared his opinion on the subject: „Well it is not impossible to solve it – it is necessary to find money and build high-rise garages, nothing else. Where is an empty space, there should be a garage and it’s solved... but yes, that’s a problem, but it won’t at least get worst, every family already has two cars.“

3.2.3. Social centre and park area

The social centre and park area were meant to be the central point of the living district with a large water body and social buildings next to Kalda street. It was planned as something big and was supposed to bring the whole block housing area back to human scale. That other side of Kalda street has been used to build servicing buildings, such as a shopping mall Eeden and other different shops (building materials store, grocery stores etc.). Additionally some smaller shops and centres were built inside the micro districts, because there was a great need for them, as Raal Kivi talked about building the shops in Annelinn: “Building construction went on and there was already some, I don’t know, 10 000 residents in Annelinn. So the kindergartens and schools got built somehow according to the plan, but there were no stores. /.../ then we were putting in place, I might be wrong, but there’s a „Anne“ shop on the side of the city from the Sõpruse street. And then there in the middle of housing group there’s a „Saare“ shop, right. So these are put there in need /.../ because the need for them was obvious.“ Today there have been built big grocery stores also in the back of Annelinn, such as Prisma in Mõisavahe street.

However, the park area has not been developed. The main idea of the water body was to drain the land and make it suitable for planting and also to avoid flooding since Kalda street has been planned on the edge of the highest possible flooding area. Already in the new general plan made in 1988, the concept of the park area and social centre was changed completely by simplifying it, but still nothing was built. Only Anne canal was constructed and is highly used by the residents of Annelinn. Helmi Sakkov expressed her feelings towards the current situation: „The main thing that I feel sorry about this living district is
that Port and Meelak (authors of the general plan) intended these pedestrian axes /.../ to cross Kalda street on a second level, so that the cars are driving under it. All that other side was supposed to be a centre with a house next to house. /.../ So what would have made this living district more humane and took back to human scale, was not built. At that time it was considered not necessary." According to Raal Kivi the main reason why the park area and social centre was not built was money, as he claimed: “The question was just in the fact that the state didn’t find the money.”

To sum up the discussion a quote from the former mayor Roland Ilp, who was running the city at the time Annelinn was built is brought out to shortly illustrate the development of Annelinn: „Well there isn’t much to talk about Annelinn, I’m telling you, these type houses... well of course the picture was nice with this service zone, that of course was not built. But in the housing zone there really isn’t much, only shops, kindergartens and schools inside and there really isn’t a lot to talk about that. Every year three or four houses were built for people, some garages and so it is...”

In conclusion, after comparing the initial ideas and concepts from the General Plan of Annelinn with how much was actually implemented (see figure 7), it is possible to see that the initial ideas of the architects were not realised nearly in the extent as it was planned. Therefore the environment is lacking an essential center, since it was not built the way it was planned. According to the interviews with people involved in the process the main reason for that was because the state did not give money for that, as building apartments was the priority.
Figure 7. Initial General Plan of Annelinn from 1971 (left) and current situation in 2015 (right). Source: author’s drawing
3.3. Experiences of Annelinn from beginning to the present plan

The aim of this section is to give an overview of the experiences and perception of the residents living in Annelinn from the Soviet period to the present day. It is presenting the results of the analysis of the interviews with the long-term residents of Annelinn. The text is illustrated with photos of Annelinn made in the Soviet period and at the present. Also quotes from residents to give more authentic feeling of the experience.

3.3.1. Moving in to Annelinn

First subject (appendix 2, table 1) is summarising the memories of inhabitants of getting the apartment, moving in to Annelinn and the first changes they experienced living there.

3.3.1.1. Getting the apartment

Most of the interviewees moved to Annelinn in the 70s and 80s or they were born there. It came out from statements of the interviewees that there were several opportunities how it was possible to get an apartment in Annelinn. However, most of them claimed that buying it was not an option. They stated that it was commonly given by the state. Most common among the interviewees was getting it through their work position. One interviewee tells his story of getting the apartment: „I worked at the department of physics... and we had these kind of researches that were ordered in the Soviet Union by Moscow /.../ so they ordered a research and paid for it... and there were problems with apartments at the Soviet times, huge queues and there was a fight who get an apartment first. /.../ Then with the money made with research, it was promised to improve the living conditions of the university workers /.../ So that was how I got the apartment... in ’68... or ’69... there were quite a lot of people who got their apartment that way.“ – male, 74. Nevertheless one of the interviewees claimed to have bought the apartment since there were also cooperative apartments in which case the apartment was not given by the state. But it was not easy to get it as one interviewee remembers: „My mother had to wait in the line for quite a while to get the right to build an cooperative apartment.“ – female, 54.
In most cases the inhabitants claimed that before moving in to the apartment it was necessary for the residents to engage in the construction work of the house. They said it was also possible to choose the wallpaper into the apartment, which was highly valued by some interviewees. Many interviewees expressed a lot of excitement talking about getting an apartment or when someone they knew got an apartment as one interviewee thinks back: „I remember when one of my classmates whose apartment was starting to get ready, next to Kalda street and we were so excited and waiting for it to get ready. /.../ And then we even went on the construction site to see how far it is and got to choose the wallpaper and it was so exciting at the time.“ – female, 54. An apartment in Annelinn was described as something luxurious and prestigious, so moving in there meant an increase in life quality. A woman describes her experience in the new apartment: „I mean, at that time the increase of the quality of life was remarkable. I remember that at first I used to lay in bath almost every night, the joy was so great that we had our own bathroom and everything like that.“ – female, 54.

When interviewees compared their previous living place to Annelinn, the main positive aspects brought out were that in Annelinn there was more space and facilities. Before Annelinn it was common that the interviewees lived in small multi-family houses with little space and very limited facilities. Some interviewees even claimed to have just a small room for one family with a common kitchen. A woman thinks back to her previous home: „Before that all of us lived in apartments with no water, heating or anything. There were no toilets, only the ones outside the house. And it was a really big change (to move in Annelinn).“ – female, 77.

3.3.1.2. First years in Annelinn

It came out from the interviews that the condition of the environment and facilities depended on the time of moving in. Inhabitants that had moved in the early 70s claimed that the path network had not been developed yet and since Annelinn was built on a flooded area, it meant that it was muddy. Two of the interviewees claimed they have lived in the oldest house in Annelinn and moved there in 1969. A woman was thinking back to the days when she was moving in: „Well I have lived in the oldest house, more or less. It is Uus street 65. We had a view to the city. We moved there 7th March 1969 /.../ It was really
muddy. When we drove along the street, from one puddle to another to get there.“ – female, 74.

Interviewees, who moved in later claimed to have enjoyed better environment conditions and facilities, concerning the public space. A woman who moved to Annelinn in 1987 remembers: „Our new apartment was nice, we had a great view on the canal and I can't really complain about that. There was already greenery, the trees had been planted and...” – female, 58. On the other hand the first inhabitants said that they enjoyed more openness and natural environment, since Annelinn was built on an empty area with some fields. They also claimed to have an open view to the city, which was later blocked by new houses built. An interviewee is reminding her childhood: „... a huge district has been built there, but when we moved in, then at on the one side there was a house and on the other fields and Anne manor areas, where they were still growing pigeons and this kind of proper country life was going on there, I can remember that.“ – female, 35. Another woman also reminds how her view was blocked by new housing: „There used to be an open view /.../ but now unfortunately I can see a wall of another house from my living room window – about 10 or 15 meters away.“ – female, 74. Figure 8 shows the view from the window of that interviewee on the day of moving in 1969 and figure 9 on the present day in 2015. One of the other interviewees was one resident who moved to the Pikk street and describes the situation from a different angle: „Uus street was already there, my friends lived on that street and I can see their windows from my house. So these houses and the one I lived in were built a bit later in front of Uus street. So before they had an open view, but now they see buildings that were built there. But actually they are not so close to each other so you can't quite see from one window into another.“ – female, 58.
Figure 8. A view from the window of Uus 65. The moving in day in 1969. Source: photo made by Ahti Olli

Figure 9. The same view from the window in 2015. The only recognisable element is the chimney. Source: author’s photo
3.3.2. Everyday facilities

Second subject (appendix 2, table 2) is summarising the situation with the everyday facilities. Accessibility to different everyday facilities, such as shops, schools and kindergartens, is discussed and the main differences with the Soviet period and present plan have been brought out.

3.3.2.1. Shops in Annelinn

It was evident from the statements of the inhabitants that accessibility of the daily facilities depended on the location of apartment and the time of moving in. According to the residents the first shops built in Annelinn were “Anne” and “Saare” shops. Among the interviewees there were people who lived close to both of these stores, so they were satisfied with the situation. An interviewee remembers these shops from his childhood: „Anyway there were two stores – this Saare shop and Anne shop, interestingly both of them are Maximas now. They were at the same distance, so we either went to one or the other. These were the two neighbourhood shops, close to go on foot.“ – male, 33.

However, people living on the other side of Annelinn, further from the city centre, where Annelinn was still expanding, claimed that they had no shops nearby until mid-80s when shop “Sõprus” (see figures 10 and 11) was built. So that meant there was a shop to serve people living in further back of Annelinn. An interviewee thinks back to opening shop “Sõprus”: „In the beginning of the 80s actually for a long time the only store was Saare shop, even for all the houses behind Kaunase puistee, which was growing and being built /.../ so the only option was to go to the Saare shop. /.../ And then Sõpruse shop was built somewhere in the middle of the 80s so the situation got better.“ – male, 38.

People living in the newest part, where is mainly 9-storey housing (the division of the areas is shown on the figure 23) claimed to be in a poor situation for a quite long time. A woman remembers living in that area: „What was a problem back then, was that there weren’t any shops nearby. Only one small next to the pedestrian arch, but that also didn’t last long and was closed. But it would be good to have one shop nearby, because all the shops were far. And to the Kalda street, it was quite a long way to go, almost a kilometre.“ – female, 77.
Figure 10. Shop „Sõprus“ that was built in 1984. Source: Palamets & Maastik, 1986:42

Figure 11. Today there is a Maxima instead of shop „Sõprus“. Source: author’s photo
According to the interviewees the situation concerning the shops in Annelinn has improved a lot since the Soviet period. Majority of the interviewees brought out that most of the necessities are accessible inside the Annelinn and it is not necessary to go anywhere far to get your daily purchases, as one inhabitant stated: „One thing has been developed a lot /.../ is that now you have access on foot, not by car, to different kind of shops. Well Eeden is right here. /.../ So almost everything is reachable. /.../ Grocery stores, let's say if you don't want to go to Maksimarket then here are some smaller shops – Säästumarket, Maxima and another small Maxima, well you have a lot of stores. It's not like that everywhere in Tartu. In some places you have stores too far or have no options. But here we have everything accessible so it is not necessary to go anywhere far.“ – male, 33. Also for the inhabitants living in the back of Annelinn, where there is the 9-storey housing area, who claimed to have very poor opportunities for purchasing daily groceries before, have now different big shops there. A woman brings out different retail chains developed there: „Now there's of course this big Prisma. People who live close to that are very satisfied. Big Prisma and on the other side is Selver and Maxima, so there's nothing wrong. Annelinn is not the worst.“ – female, 77.

Residents in Annelinn have been more or less satisfied with their accessibility to stores, depending on the location of their apartment, but the situation has improved a lot and now shops are accessible in all parts of Annelinn.

3.3.2.2. Kindergartens, schools and other facilities

One positive aspect brought out by many of the respondents was that kindergartens and schools were close. Mothers who needed a kindergarten for their child claimed that the kindergarten was close. One mother reminds her child going to the kindergarten: „I could see from my window if my child is going in from the right door of the kindergarten.“ – female, 74. Respondents who grew up in Annelinn were also satisfied with closeness to their school. An interviewee thinks back to the time he used to go school: „I had the school right here. /.../ So it was really close, I mean it was comfortable, I had to walk only for 5 minutes and if I ran then I got even faster to school.“ – male, 33.
Figure 12. A kindergarten (current youth centre) in Annelinn. Source: Palamets, 1976

Now some of the kindergartens have a different function as some interviewees brought out. For example one of them is built into a library, which was highly apprised by one of the respondents: „This library is one extremely good investment and it is really close to our house, I have to walk only for 5 minutes to get there, so it is really a good thing.“ – male, 74. Another kindergarten has been built into a youth centre (figure 12), which was also seen as a positive thing: „And we have a youth centre in Annelinn. It used to be a shop and then it was a kindergarten before that but yes now later it’s a youth centre.“ – female, 58.

Most of the respondents could not bring out what facilities they lacked in the Soviet period. One shortage brought out was that they could not have a phone at home and it was possible to make call from a public phone, which they used have only one in the beginning. A man remembers waiting in line to get a phone to his apartment: „Only phone that was in Annelinn at some period was near the Saare shop, on a wall of one 5-storey house, there were two yellow call-boxes. It was the only place you could make a call, because at home there weren’t any phones. When we moved in, they promised us a phone and we were in line for 14 years. We got a phone into our apartment in ’94.“ – male, 38.
3.3.3. Greenery and public spaces

Public space is described to be problematic in Annelinn. This chapter is summarising the memories and opinions of the inhabitants on the public space and greenery in Annelinn from the beginning to the present day (appendix 2, table 3).

3.3.3.1. Green spaces and free time spending facilities

Interviewees saw the closeness to the nature as an advantage in the Soviet period, when only a small part of Annelinn was constructed. According to the respondents the condition of the nearby forests has changed mainly due to the expansion of Annelinn and it is not as attractive as it used to be. A woman shares her experience about the changes in the surrounding landscape: „My mother used to go to the forest in Ihaste. She went there to pick mushrooms and came with a full basket every time, but now that place has been drained and landscape has changed and well maybe you can find some lonely mushroom...“ – female, 74. The openness provided also other different opportunities beside picking mushrooms to spend free time, such as skiing in the winter as an interviewee remember from his first years in Annelinn: „Before, when there wasn't this part of Annelinn that is on the other side of Sõpruse pst, I used to go there for a run and exercise in the morning, to Ihaste and back... I... So back then the forest and nature was close by to Annelinn, now Annelinn and Ihaste are almost melted together.“ – male, 74.

Additionally to the nearby areas, later it was possible to enjoy nature also in Annelinn as many interviewees claimed that Anne Canal (figures 13 and 14) became one of the important recreation areas among residents. It was used for swimming and sunbathing in the summer and skating and skiing in the winter. Interviewees who grew up in Annelinn remember having their physical education classes at the canal. An interviewee describes his experience: „Also our physical education class was a lot next to the canal. We played there football on the grass and were running around the canal.“ – male, 38. Another interviewee remembers Anne Canal as an important part of the living environment: „For me, this canal has been in one way or another always a part of this environment where I went and in winter I went on it. We were feeding ducks there as children, just playing around, throwing rocks into the water and so on. If to evaluate it, I think it is rather positive that it is here right nearby.“ – male, 33.
Figure 13. Children skating on Anne Canal in 1991. Source: photo made by Margit Oja

Figure 14. Anne Canal on the end of the 90s. Source: photo made by Milvi Olli

Not all residents want to use all facilities the canal is offering, but it is still highly valued as one interviewee described her relationship with Anne Canal: „I don't really go sunbathing next to the canal, I also don't swim there, so.. but sometimes it's nice to sit there and just
rest for a while /.../ because it important to have water close, it is still beautiful, all that reflection and ducks and that wind that comes from the water... just an opportunity to be there and look." – female, 58.

Anne Canal is until today actively used and highly valuated by the residents. For one interviewee the canal still an important part of her everyday life: „Summer, in the morning when I wake up, the first thing I do is go by the canal, move a little, then go for swim and then go back to my apartment and have breakfast. I use well my good location. It's a great advantage in Annelinn.” – female, 74. Many interviewees brought out that now the facilities next to the canal have improved and people keep using it a lot. A woman expresses her opinion on the developments: „And well, this canal and it's surroundings, that these kind of sporting facilities and roads for running have been made there is actually nice.” – female, 54.

According to the interviewees the courtyards between the buildings are not commonly seen as good places to spend free time or go for a walk. Many of them claimed that mostly the two pedestrian axes are used for recreational purposes, as one man also brought out: „There aren't a lot of places to spend free time, basically you can see people walking with dogs or baby carriages on these two pedestrian roads.“ – male, 74. A woman also describes her feelings towards the space in Annelinn: „I must say that the space between building is not the most pleasant for walking /.../ For a walk I would still like to go to a countryside.” – female, 54. Interviewees brought out that the reason why residents were not so fond of the space they had between the buildings was a country house or a summer cottage, which was an important place for getting away for most of them. „Most Estonians have their country houses where they go on the weekends and on summer /.../ so they don't really need any facilities for free time spending between the buildings.“ – male, 74.

What was seen as a positive change by most interviewees was that now Annelinn is a lot more greener now since all the trees have now grown and added a lot of greenery between the buildings. Many interviewees recalled that trees had been planted by the residents themselves as one woman stated: „We bought plants and planted them there. And it was mostly for us to do, so the nearby environment was quite nice.“ – female, 54. Greenery is now hiding unpleasant views from the windows, so the residents can see nature, not another house or a parking lot. However, some respondents also brought out that grown trees are also causing some trouble, so in some cases they are already taken down as a
woman describes the situation: „So that is kind of sad to look at that they take down the birches that give off dust and might ruin the new colour on the house.“ – female, 35. One interviewee also saw the overgrown vegetation as a problem not a positive change: „What is a bit negative now is that everything that has been planted proliferates. Bushes are wild and the trees... somehow there should be someone to take care of the greenery once in a while.“ – female, 58.

3.3.3.2. Sporting facilities and playgrounds

What was brought out as a problem at the time was that the schools did not have any proper stadiums. One interviewee was especially concerned about the condition of school stadiums: „There is an empty place and that school has been there over 40 years and still has no stadium. Actually these schools that have stadiums /.../ there have been built some sort of basketball fields, but it's kind of dirty and incomplete /.../ there are half-broken concrete lumps there, that no-one uses. /.../ So the condition of the school stadiums is poor I must say.“ – male, 74. Respondents stated that the problem was not the lack of sporting fields, because there were quite many of these in Annelinn, but their condition was bad already after just being built. They also stated that the situation concerning the stadiums and basketball fields has not changed (see figure 15). Interviewees who spent their childhood in Annelinn said that most of the time children needed to be creative and just a field of grass was enough for different activities. Thinking back to his childhood, a respondent recalls: „They (sporting fields) weren't very often used. I remember that they really weren't functional. They were already then... I don’t why but I can remember a field where the asphalt is broken and... I think it was like this already then.“ – male, 33. However these fields still had some users and one of them was among the interviewees as well: „We played basketball, football and you don't need a lot for that. These basketball rings were there, the field was there so we played all kinds of ballgames and didn't have to go anywhere far to do that.“ – female, 35.
It is possible to conclude from the interviews that in the Soviet period the space between the buildings was used mostly by children for playing and also by young mothers with their children. There were playgrounds for those purposes, which typically had a sandbox, standard climbing attractions, slides and swings. One interviewee remembers using the outdoor space only for playing with her child: "Later, when I had a child then I sat beside the sandbox and was outside, but otherwise not really." – female, 54. Another interviewee describes her experience with playgrounds from a perspective of a child: "I can't really remember that we would have taken our toys and went to play in a sandbox. We didn't do such a thing. But well we were swinging and of course these legendary slides that broke your tail bone. /.../ The injuries were part of it, so I wouldn't really complain about that. /.../ Of course they left stains on clothes and damaged them, but that didn't stop anybody." – female, 35. However some interviewees who also spent their childhood in Annelinn, had an opposite opinion on the playgrounds: "Well I have to say that these playgrounds are not attractive, they weren't then and the ones that have remained since then of course are also not attractive now. /.../ Because there weren't any proper playgrounds, where you could play football and do other things, then there was a lot of wandering around." – male, 33. It meant that children were also looking for alternative places to play. Interviewees growing up in Annelinn claimed that for children it was interesting to wander around, because there were other playgrounds and interesting areas nearby. A short memory from childhood
about discovering flooded area of Emajõgi: „For me, all that flooded area next to Annelinn toward the Emajõgi, was one quite an interesting world. With all of its puddles and tracks and everything...“ – male, 38.

Figure 16. Children playing on a playground in 1984. *Source:* photo made by Tiit Paaver

Figure 17. The same playground as at present day in 2015. *Source:* author’s photo
A lot of these playgrounds are still existing from the Soviet period, as they were built. Figure 16 is showing a playgroung from the Soviet period and the same playground today is seen on figure 17. According to the respondents they are not anymore used by children, not at least as much as they used to. A woman is giving her opinion on the playgrounds today: „I think there are even less playgrounds, in my opinion. The playground behind our house, in there the sandboxes are now more for cats... at some point they were just recolored, but I haven't seen that children would go there.“ – female, 74. In the case of a playground on figures 16 and 17, it is possible to see that the same climbing attractions are still there, but however the sandbox has been removed.

Nevertheless there are also some new playgrounds (figure 18), which has been pointed out by several interviewees as a positive change: „There (next to former Saare shop) has been built /.../ a place where you can sit and a playground for children, well quite nice place and there should be more these kind of places of course.“ – male, 74. However the situation still needs a lot of improvement as another interviewee stated: „The situation is better now, but there is a lot of space for development.“ – male, 33.

Figure 18. New playground next to Saare shop is frequently used by children and the elderly. Source: author’s photo
3.3.4. Parking and traffic

Parking is commonly seen as one of the biggest problems in Annelinn. This chapter is giving the overview of the opinion and experience of residents, also concerning this issue. Also other matters concerning traffic, such as light traffic and public transport, are discussed (appendix 2, table 4).

3.3.4.1. Cars and parking problems

An aspect, which was brought by almost all interviewees, was that environment used to be better back in the Soviet period, when there were less cars. Since the end of the Soviet period the number of cars has increased remarkably and that is affecting the space between buildings (figure 19) and the overall environment in Annelinn. An interviewee thinks back: „There weren't so much cars like there is now. On the fields there are now parking lots. That didn't use to be back then.“ – female, 58. Due to the rapid increase of cars, there are also problems with parking as it was stated by most of the respondents, but one interviewee is not seeing it so negatively: „There are more cars, but well, of course it is more difficult to find a parking spot. But until now, where I have lived, they have found solutions for that. So they are putting their car partly on sidewalk, which is quite large or partly on grass. For example we have it like that people park diagonally on the curb of the sidewalk and so you get more parking places.“ – male, 38.

Figure 19. Cars parking between the buildings. Source: author’s photo
Couple of interviewees suggest that there could be garages to get cars away from front of the house, but do not really see that as a possible option, because it is more comfortable to park near the house. One interviewee describes the situation through his perspective: “There is one (multi-storey parking lot), I think it's the only one in Tartu /.../ where also my car is. /.../ And there are five storeys and it is very comfortable. So I don't keep my car in front of the house at all, it's good and calm. /.../ I think these multi-storey parking lots are the only solution, but I don't know if anyone would like to buy a garage box there now, because they are used to leave their car in front of the house and besides it would be pretty expensive.” – male, 74.

3.3.4.2. Road network and bridges

Some respondents claimed that back in the Soviet period people, especially children could walk around Annelinn more freely since there were less cars, the traffic was also modest and parents did not have to be concerned about children going to school alone, as one interviewee remembers from his childhood: “It seems to me that children used to wander around more freely before. When I was 7 and my sister was 6, it was completely normal that we came from school or kindergarten home by ourselves. A whole kilometre, over the car roads and even over the four-line Kaunase road, where weren't any pedestrian crossings, but there wasn't a lot traffic either.” – male, 38.

A positive aspect brought out about the path network is that the situation with light traffic roads has improved, as one interviewee claimed: “Now there are so much more light traffic roads that it has changed the environment in a positive way a lot.” – female, 58. In the very beginning, when first inhabitants moved in, there were no roads as it was pointed out earlier. However, the situation between the buildings has remained relatively poor, as one interviewee stated: “What is funny is that, I can't say from the beginning because the road network was built later, but for years it has been like this, that there is some kind of muddy track going across the grass from where all the children go to school and when they cross the road where there is this zebra, but there is no asphalated light traffic road on the other side, so people still have to walk on some kind of muddy track beside the road. So it leaves this kind of feeling when you compare it with some other areas and city centre, that it hasn't really been planned properly.” – female, 54.
Since Annelinn was built next to a river, it was important to build bridges to connect Annelinn with the city centre that is located on the other side of the river. An interviewee thinks back to the first years in Annelinn: „So when in the beginning we only had Võidu bridge, then it was longer distance to go anywhere.” – female, 54. Some respondents remember vividly how the bridges were built. First bridge to connect Annelinn to Ropka, which was an industrial district, was built in 1980 (figure 20) and it provided a shortcut to a workplace for many residents. One woman remembers how the bridge changed her journey to work: „When Sõpruse bridge was built, we were watching how they built it and of course it wasn't opened yet, but when there was already some possibility to cross it, we already used the bridge, because it was the shortest way to work.“ – female, 74. Today the situation is even better, especially for pedestrians thanks to Turu bridge, which has brought Annelinn closer to the city centre as it was mentioned by many of the interviewees. One of them describes new possibilities the bridge has provided to the residents: „And well now it is quite good that this Turu bridge was built – people can go to the city centre, at the market, the bus station.“ – male, 74.

Figure 20. Sõpruse bridge built in 1980. Source: Palamets & Maastik, 1986:38
3.3.4.3. Public transport

Many interviewees brought out good bus connections from Annelinn to anywhere in the city. People appreciated the closeness of the bus stops, that have remained relatively the same as they were. An interviewee described public transport back in the Soviet period: „There was a lot of driving by buses, buses were always full. It was usual that you didn't fit on the bus. Back then there were these yellow Ikarus buses, well these were everywhere.“ – male, 38. Although bus connections were good in most of the Annelinn, the inhabitants in the back of Annelinn were again in a poorer situation, as an interviewee living there complained: „And the bus stops were also relatively far. But well I didn't have any problems with walking at that time. I could walk from the bus stop to home. But nobody wanted to visit me, because it was far. /.../ Bus stops are not close to these bigger houses.“ – female, 77.

3.3.5. Housing

This chapter is summarising all memories and opinions of the inhabitans concerning housing (appendix 2, table 5). It is discussing subjects like layout, appearance and the future perspective of the houses.

3.3.5.1. Layout of the houses

Some of the first inhabitants among interviewees feel that the houses are too densely built (see also figures 8 and 9). It used to be very open when they moved, so it has been affecting their perception. However they are still expressing satisfaction with the location of their house, as one woman describes the newer part of Annelinn: „But Annelinn is actually built pretty horribly dense, if I wouldn't live in such a place where other houses are relatively far, I mean for me that is all good, but then it would be quite unfriendly, this environment... /.../ But if you live somewhere where you have to look right at other windows... I mean, I like that there is enough space.“ – female, 54. Interviewees see the newer part of Annelinn as more dense and unfriendly, then the part of Annelinn which was built earlier, where mostly 5-storey buildings dominate. Another interviewee also claims: „Well that was already built to make it as dense as possible, so it is really dense environment and since only houses were built there, everything else necessary –
playgrounds and garages, these were not built. So I think they are in a lot worse situation than the areas with 5-storey buildings. They are a lot denser and really in worse condition in that sense.” – female, 35.

Another matter that the respondents admitted concerning the layout of the houses was the order of house numbers. Many interviewees claimed that they got often lost in Annelinn, especially in the earlier years spent there. One woman complains about the situation with house numbers: „But in the back of Annelinn, on the other side of Kaunase pst, the houses are really messed out. It's a bit complicated everywhere in Annelinn, so you can't find the right house. These numbers are running in a circle somehow, that's really bad and hard to understand.” – female, 77. There were maps of micro districts on the sides of some houses (figure 21). Some these houses have been renovated (figure 22), but however some of them still existing. These maps were necessary for finding the right house. It did make it easier as one inhabitant remembers from his childhood: „It is extremely illogical to orientate in Annelinn. And at that time there were no paper maps. Only the maps on the sides of the walls, some of these are still existing. I for example took a picture of that side of a house where the map was and it was possible to use that for orientating. But without a map, it is hard to imagine you could understand anything.” – male, 38. Another inhabitant also claimed about the issue: „I can remember that when I took my children to a kindergarten by bus and wanted to pick them up on foot. But I got lost and I couldn't find the place, it was quite difficult. House numbers are still quite strange. People are often looking for some houses and we (local residents) can't help them, because we also don't know.” – female, 58.
Figure 21. Map of the first microrayon on the side of a wall, in the 80s. Source: Palamets & Maastik, 1986:39

Figure 22. Side walls of the house have been renovated and the map is no longer there. Source: author’s photo
3.3.5.2. Appearance of the houses and future perspective of the residents

Majority of the interviewees made a clear difference between the area where they lived, which was mostly an area consisting of 5-storey buildings and the area, where are only 9-storey buildings (figure 23), which is the newest part of Annelinn. For example one woman almost bought an apartment in a 9-storey building and she does not regret staying in her current apartment: „At some point we also almost built a house back there. /.../ Well I really wouldn't like to live there, probably I would have left from there earlier... but now, this apartment is comfortable enough, so it is not necessary to move.“ – female, 54. Another interviewee expressed his attachment to the area he lived at: „Well for me Annelinn is still the part with 5-storey buildings and that seems to be quite friendly and I'm telling you, they are not building any better houses today, mostly.“ – male, 38.

Figure 23. Division of the 9-storey (light gray) and 5-storey (darker gray) housing areas.  
Source: author’s drawing

What was brought out as a positive aspect was that the houses are being renovated and recoloured. One woman talks about the changes taking place: „It's getting more colourful,
the houses are being renovated and for example this summer they renovated a house next to Anne shop. I think it's a very nice house.“ – female, 74. However one interviewee claims that in some parts of Annelinn, the houses have always been coloured differently to make it easier to orientate within them, because it is complicated to find the right house. But it was a case only in a certain part in Annelinn as he stated: „But it's a bit more difficult with the 9-storey buildings, they are not coloured like that, they were built later. Also houses from the earlier period on Kalda street are similar and grey.“ – male, 38.

Respondents did see the future of houses positively and do not think that Annelinn will disappear in the near future. Main reasons they brought out why Annelinn will remain a place people want to live in were facts that these apartments are already existing and if to renovate them, they will probably last for decades. Also the comfort of living in an apartment is seen attractive by the residents. One inhabitant explains her perspective on the future of Annelinn: „I think it is not going to disappear that some people want to live in an apartment and that is okay... but well all these houses are just a sign of their era how these houses are built and some of them need more renovating and the others less, but I don't think that it is going to disappear. But I think it is possible to make this environment a bit more friendly.“ – female, 54.

3.3.6. Social situation

Social decline is brought out to be one of the main problems in block housing areas generally. Last subject in this section is concentrating on the social situation in Annelinn, through the experience of the residents (appendix 2, table 6). Subjects such as local social relations, social decline and ethnic minorities have been discussed.

3.3.6.1. Local social relations

Interviewees felt that local social relations between inhabitants have changed remarkably. They claimed that in the Soviet period it was common that residents were more active concerning the surrounding space of the house and most of the vegetation was planted by residents themselves, which showed their interest in changing the environment more friendly. A woman thinks back to first decades in Annelinn: „At first, when people, the ones that were first to move in these houses, they made a lot of flowerbeds. But now people
are changing, new people coming and old ones can't take care of the flowerbeds anymore and new ones don't feel so much like at home and don't want to take care of the flowerbeds." – female, 77. It came out from the interviews that it was common that there were flowerbeds in front of the house, but that trend has been decreasing mainly because of the local social relations, which means that first inhabitants have left or are too old to take care of the flowerbeds. Also among interviewees there was a woman, who used to enjoy taking care of the flowerbeds, but explains why she stopped doing it: „I used to be a big flowerbed enthusiast. /.../ We made a small flowerbed with one of my neighbours. But then that neighbour moved out and new neighbours came and they weren't interested in taking care of the flowerbed. /.../ But at first, when there were less cars, then I like to take care of the flowerbeds, also people's attitude was more friendly. “ – female, 58.

What is seen as a problem with new people moving in, is that their relationship with Annelinn is usually temporary, which means it is just a place to stay for a shorter period of time. A man describes the situation with local social relations through his point of view: „But again the people that have been living there for a long time, like we have over 40 years and then these who come later, a lot of them are renting the apartment. These tenants don't have this kind of relationship with the surrounding like we do. And well they are staying for a while and then moving somewhere else again, graduate or have children – look a house for themselves. So tenants are still temporary." – male, 74.

Beside that there are new people moving in, it is difficult to make arrangements due to the high number of people living in the houses. When in the Soviet period everything was owned by the state, then now when apartments are in private hands, it is more difficult to make decisions concerning open space or renovating the house. One woman complained about the issue: „Of course we have a big house with 115 apartments. So it is difficult to find solutions that satisfy everyone, that can't happen, but we'll manage." – female, 74. It is also a problem that population is aging in Annelinn, as it was brought out by several interviewees. One of them claimed: „Probably the main issue is that mostly one third of the people living in the house are definitely pensioners, if not more, then it takes a lot of effort to maintain the houses so there's not enough resources to deal also with the outside space." – female, 35.
3.3.6.2. Ethnic minorities and social decline

According to the respondents, in the Soviet period there used to be more Russians and other ethnic minorities living in Annelinn and nearby, mainly because there used to be a Russian army airfield, so a lot of Russian officers with their families lived there at the time. Two of the interviewees who grew up in Annelinn, admitted that they had conflicts with ethnic minorities. A man thinks back to the time he was going to kindergarten: „I also remember that in the kindergarten there were also a lot of Russians or Caucasians or I don't what nationalities. /.../ There were big fields, where different bunches of children met and well there were also these kind of bullies with a different nationality and we had our own kind of rivals and uncomfortable things also there in the games of Annelinn.“ – male, 38. However it was not always the case as another interviewee claimed: „I have really positive experiences with Russians. They are never mean or angry or anything like that. They are always kind and friendly and well I'm well integrated thanks to that.“ – female, 35.

Another reason why interviewees had made differences between the 5-storey areas, where they lived and the 9-storey areas, was that it was seen more common for Russians and other ethnic minorities to rather to live in 9-storey buildings as one interviewee stated why he thinks people tend to see more Russian in Annelinn: „In the 9-storey buildings there are more Russians and they don't have so many country houses, so you can see them more walking.“ – male, 74. Another interviewee expressed his opinion on the issue: „What is concerning the social side or the people here, then I think the more you go to the back of Annelinn (to the 9-storey area), I think it is still like that, but it was even more then, because there were more Russians in the end of the Soviet period, I remember that well from my childhood.“ – male, 33.

Inhabitants feel that social decline has been taking place in Annelinn. Many interviewees claimed that the social decline reflects on removing the benches and all other potential places (for example edges of sand boxes) that can be used for sitting, because these places are used by unwanted crowd, such as alcoholics and noisy youngsters, who are disturbing local residents. One woman describes the worsened situation: „Unfortunately the situation of a public space /.../ has gone worse, because all the benches and even the boarders of the sandboxes and everything has been taken away eventually, because at some point homeless
people or some Russian youngsters were having picnics there or even people from somewhere outside. /.../ So that is kind of sad.” – female, 54.
4. DISCUSSION

The research supported many of the findings brought out in the literature overview. For example the results confirmed that a social decline, at least to some extent, is taking place in block housing areas in former socialist cities. In the case of Annelinn, according to the statements of the residents, social decline is mostly reflected by the fact that most benches have been removed and even other potential places that could attract an unwanted crowd, such as noisy youngsters or homeless people. However it was not evident that any of the interviewees felt that Annelinn would develop into a slum or a ghetto as some researchers (e.g. Szelényi, 1996) have predicted. In fact future and current situation of Annelinn was seen rather positively, which supports the results of the research made by Kovács & Herfert (2012) that the perception of the residents living in large housing estates is much more favourable than people not living these areas. Although according to the survey carried out among residents of Tartu, Annelinn was not seen as a good environment to live in, this study carried out among residents of Annelinn confirms that local residents, especially long-term inhabitants, do appreciate the living environment more than outsiders. However, new knowledge about perception of the long-term residents and changes in the environment and landscape of Annelinn was gathered with this research.

4.1. Development and implementation of Annelinn

The first research question raised in the introduction concerned the planning and implementation of Annelinn. For that the document analysis was carried out, which showed that Annelinn as it is known on the present day is actually quite insignificant compared to what was planned to be like by the authors (see figure 7). Even though two out of four micro districts were built, the park area and social centre were never developed, which however was meant to be the central point of the whole district – a social centre, where the pedestrian axes were gathering. So despite the efforts of the architects as it was described also by Helmi Sakkov during the interview, what was concerning the landscape as such and surrounding environment, got very little attention in Annelinn. Nevertheless it seemed to be a common problem at the time, as it was also the case in Mustamäe and Lasnamäe, where all micro districts were supposed to have centres but none of them were
built, expect for supermarkets (Port, 1983; Kalm, 2001). That was also the case in Annelinn. Eeden, Prisma and other big supermarkets have been erected instead of architecturally unified centre with a park as it was initially planned.

Another important part that has been causing a lot of problems in Annelinn, as it was also described by the residents participating in the research, is how the parking was planned. Annelinn was planned for significantly smaller number of cars than there is today and out of that number planned, only 30% was meant to be parked between the buildings. Garages that were supposed to accommodate significant amount of cars, were never built. Parking lots that came later were not used, because people got used to parking in front of their house. Many of the problems also perceived by the residents were caused by not fully realising the General Plan of Annelinn. The houses were located in more or less the way they were planned, but because surrounding landscape had left little attention to due to lack of money, which seemed to be a common problem in Soviet Union.

4.2. Perception of residents and changes in the landscape of Annelinn

Secondly, the perception of the long-term residents was investigated. The results showed that first experiences with Annelinn varied depending on the time of moving in. The very first inhabitants did not even have any roads yet, but however they expressed great joy of getting the apartment. Inhabitants, who moved in later, in the end of the 80s, had already almost all of the facilities. In most cases the apartment was very highly valued by the residents, mainly because moving in to Annelinn meant an increase in life quality as there was more space and facilities than in their previous living place. However, inhabitants who moved in the first years when Annelinn was built appreciated the closeness to greenery as there are Anne manor areas and Ihaste forest nearby, which most of the interviewees claimed to use in the first years. Also since there were fewer houses, the view was more open, which later was closed by other buildings as many interviewees claimed.

Another aspect that depended on the location of the apartment and the time of moving in, was closeness to shops. In the beginning it was more problematic for residents in the parts where Annelinn was still built, but however they were satisfied with the situation and did not expect for a shop to be a five minute walk away. However living in the very back or in the so-called 9-storey area, it was problematic for a longer time, but now there are multiple
big supermarkets, such as Prisma, Maxima and Selver. What was concerning schools and kindergartens, then they were nearby and inhabitants felt that they were very satisfied with the situation.

What is concerning the greenery and public space, then inhabitants were more satisfied with the open space between the buildings back in the Soviet period, then they are with it now. Main reason for that is the social decline that was already brought out earlier. Playgrounds that were used extensively in the Soviet period are rarely used today. However, for instance the sporting facilities have always been poor and most school stadiums are empty until the present day. What residents did feel that is better now, however it has been highly valued by most of the residents since the Soviet period, is the Anne Canal, where a lot of developments has been taking place making it an attractive recreation area.

Another aspect that also came out from the document analysis is that back in the Soviet period there used to be less cars. And of course since the environment was planned for smaller number of cars then it has become a problem at present day. It did also come out from the perspective of residents. Almost all of the respondents mentioned the rapid increase in the number of cars. What people were satisfied with was the public transport that provided good connection with the city. Public transport is seen as positive aspect in Annelinn until present day.

As it was brought out earlier, the first inhabitants enjoyed more open views. Because of that they do feel now that Annelinn has been built too densely. However they were still satisfied with the location of their house and did not feel that other houses would be too close. Back in the Soviet period the houses and apartments were seen as something luxurious and prestige. At the present block houses are perceived more as an unpleasant living environment. When interviewees were describing the current situation, the appearance of the houses seemed to be more important than back in the Soviet period. However they did feel that the houses are still very proper and Annelinn would be a good place to live in, if these houses would be renovated.

Residents do perceive that local social relations are weaker than they used to be. Main reason for that are tenants who are only temporary staying in Annelinn. When back in the Soviet period people used to care more about their surrounding environment. People were
planting trees in the courtyards and had flowerbeds, which today has almost completely disappeared. Long-term residents are concerned that temporary tenants do not perceive the environment the way they do and therefore do not have a relationship with the surrounding landscape as it has been developed for the inhabitants living in Annelinn for decades. Many interviewees stated that they felt, there are less Russians and other ethnic minorities in Annelinn at the present day than it used be back in the Soviet period. That is also confirmed by looking at the statistics. Instead of 21,7% of population in 1989, 13,8% of population of Tartu is Russian in 2013 (Tartu VII, 1991; Statistiline ülevaade…, 2014).

Third aspect looked at in this research were the changes that have been taking in place in the landscape of the block housing areas and in this particular case in the landscape of Annelinn. More than four decades has passed since the construction of Annelinn began and a lot has changed. Construction started in the socialist period and it ended soon after Soviet Union collapsed. The change of regime affected a lot of the environment. However it did not affect the physical environment and landscape in Annelinn as much as it has been affecting for instance city centre.

From the interviews and looking at the pictures from past and present the biggest changes appearing in the physical environment and landscape of Annelinn are the new shopping malls and more parking lots between the buildings. Most of the playgrounds, with some exceptions, are still the same that children used to play on 40 years ago. School stadiums are in the same condition as they used to be back in the Soviet period. Another aspect that has affected a lot of the landscape and what residents brought out was that there is more greenery today, because the trees have grown. Many respondents described how the views from their apartment have changed due to greenery, so they see it as a positive change in Annelinn. What concerns the negative changes beside the massive inflow of cars is the social decline that has also affected the public space as it was also brought out that the benches have been removed and also many playground elements such as edges of sandboxes.

Author believes that the result can be used also for understanding the development of other block housing areas that are formed in a similar way. As it was brought out earlier in the discussion, it is possible to see similarities with other large housing districts in Estonia, such as Mustamäe, Lasnamäe or Väike-Õismäe in Tallinn.
CONCLUSION

First part of the research included analysis of the General Plan of Annelinn. After comparing the general plan to the current situation (figure 7), it is possible to make several conclusions. Firstly, relatively small part of the initial plan was realised. The ideas of the authors reached much further than it was possible to carry out by the authorities of the city. Main reason behind not implementing the general plan as it was initially intended was due to lack of money. Secondly, the parking problems, that were also described the residents participating in the research, are caused by the fact that the number of cars has increased rapidly. Communal garages were never built and instead of the 30% of the cars that were planned to be parked between buildings, now a considerably larger number of cars than initially planned, have to cope with the space there.

Second part was investigating the experience and perception of the residents. The analysis showed that the experience of the first years in Annelinn varied depending on the time of moving in, age of the participant and location of the apartment. Concerning the open space between buildings, than the residents claimed to be more satisfied with it in the Soviet period, but felt that it is greener than it used be, because trees have now grown. However, they bring out that several new playgrounds have been developed, which are use and felt the need for more of these kind of places. They also claimed that the houses are still proper and if to renovate them, then probably will remain as a good living place for decades. Nevertheless they felt concerned about social situation, mainly due to the rising percentage of the tenants, who do not have a relationship with the surrounding environment. Generally they saw the future of the district as positive and did not feel that it will turn into a slum or a ghetto.

Third research question was aiming to find out the changes in the landscape of Annelinn. Based on photos and description of the residents, it is possible to see several key differences between the Annelinn in the past and the Annelinn at the present plan. It came out that the key changes concerning the landscape were the trees that have given the courtyards a completely new face. However, the residents felt that courtyards are now less attractive due to social decline that has been taking place. Another big change in Annelinn is that
now there are a lot more shopping centres. Compared to the Soviet period, the accessibility to the facilities has improved significantly.

In conclusion, although the plans were not realised in the extent as it was intended to by the architects, long-term residents living in Annelinn do feel that it is generally a good living environment. They see the future of the district positively and believe that it will last for a long time, if some necessary improvements (such as renewing the playgrounds, renovating houses etc.) would be carried out.
REFERENCES


Uuring “Tartu ja tartlased 2013”, 2013. Tartu Linnavalitsus, Tartu. Accessable at http://info.raad.tartu.ee/uurimused.nsf/2365526664d75f727c2256c4b00207453/a0115438530187e0c2257be90047ac09/$FILE/Tartu%20ja%20tartlased%202013%20aruanne.pdf (15.05.2015)

ANNELINN – MINEVIK JA OLEVIK
Annelinna kujunemine ja elanike kogemus

Resüümee

Käesoleva magistritöö eesmärk on uurida Annelinna kui paneelelamu piirkonna elukeskkonda nõukoguperioodil ning tänapäeval, välja selgitada peamised muutused ning anda ülevaade Annelinna esialgsest planeeringust ja arengust. Töö koosneb kahest osast, millest esimene annab ülevaate Annelinna planeerimise algsetest ideedest ja põhimõtetest tuginedes Anne elamurajooni generaalplaanile. Samuti on välja toodud, kui palju algsest planeeringust ellu on viidud, ning mis on jäetud ehitamata. Teine osa käsitleb Annelinna pikaegsete elanike kogemust nõukogude perioodist tänapäevani. Töö eesmärgiks on püüda seletada paneelelamulades toimunud protsesses läbi pikaegsete elanike vaatenurga, mitte leida probleemile konkreetseid lahendusi.


APPENDIX
Appendix 1. Transcription of the interview with Helmi Sakkov (19.11.2014)

Milline oli teie roll Annelinna kujunemise juures?

Ee, kas te teate selle ajalugu, kuidas Annelinn üldse tekkis? Et oli konkurs, millest võitsid osa kaks bürood. Ühe projekti autorid olid Port ja Meelak ja teise autorid olid Tiirmaad, Tartu arhitektid. Tiirmaad tegid niisuguse talalise elurajooni nagu neid ikka on tehtud ja Port ja Meelak tegid midagi tolle ajal röögatut, et olid mingid suured kiired pandud ja jalakäijate teed ja uus keskus sinna elumajade juurde ja see jättis kövasti muljet tolle ajal. Ja kui siis Port ja Meelak võitsid ja siis hakati niimoodi ellu viima.

Mina olin projekteerimise juures nende viimaste elurajoonide paika panemisel. Et põhiliselt see köige viimasem, mis seal, mis on see viimane jalakäijate kiir, mis läheb mäkke ja selle taga olev Mõisavahe tänavas, nende vahelist ala ma niimoodi projekteerisin – no tõesti, mina panin neid maju täpselt paika ja sättisin. Nii et teised olid juba enne ärä tehtud. Jaa ma mäletan, mille poolest ma ise arvan, et need majad, seal oli üks metsatukakene ja uued majad olid suvaliselt pandud üle metsatuka ja siis ma nihutasin neid maju niimoodi, et saaks metsatuka ära päästa. Jaa siis küsisin projekti autorilt, siis Meelakult ja Pordilt luba ja nad olid sellega nõus, et lükkame need majad niimoodi kõrvalte ja siis see metsatukk jääb seal alles. Et selle üle mul on kangesti hea meel, et päästsin selle metsa ära sealt. Aga no ütleme see... noh sealt tee lõpust, sealt jäi midagi ära ehitamata, see Mõisavahe tänavate teine külg jää lõpetamata, aga...

Põhiline, millest mul on kahju selle elurajooni juures, et see Port ja Meelak nägid ette, et need kiired, jalakäijate kiired, mis koonduvad kõik selle kumera osa ümber. Nad pidid tulema üle Kaunase puuestee (hiljem parandab, et üle Kalda tee) teise korruse tasapinnas, nii et autod sõidavad alt läbi, aga inimesed jäävad juba kaugelt horisontaalseks ja jõuavad teise korruse tasapinnast sinna keskusse. Terve see teine külg pidi olema siis maja maja kõrval keskus. See, mis seal tänapäeval on selle kohe peal üks auto parkla tasuline, siis mingisugune tübermaa, siis on seal üks suur pood... Selver või ma ei tea, mis sinna on ehitatud, üks suur pood teisele poole teed. Ja nii et ütleme, et see osa, mis oleks just selle elurajooni inimlikus teinud ja natuke inimese mõõtu tagasi viinud, et see jää tegemata. Tol ajal ei peetud seda tarvilikus. Iseenesest võiks ta ka praegu ära ehitada sinna, sest on ju hulk asutusi, kes võiksid hoopiski asuda seal linnaäärel, mis ei pea olema ilmtingimata keskuses. Ja siis ütleme noorte vaba aja veetmise kohti ei ole seal üldse ehitatud, et noh
oleks ju mida ehitada, et see tee äär võiks olla tehtud nii nagu ta oli mõeldud omal ajal - et
ta on tihedalt maju täis ja need on väiksed majad justnimelt, et oleks natuke inimese
mastapi läheks tagasi, need suured majad... kahjuks ei ole seda.

Teie õpite?

Maastikuarhitektuuri.

Meie ajal sellest niisugusest aspektist räägitä vähe, nagu maastikust. Aga ma mäletan, et
seal samas selles elurajoonis, kui ma panin maju paika, siis ma projekteerisin majade
juurde niisugusi, majade hoovidesse kastikesed olid mul joonistatud niisugused kaks korda
kaks meetrit piki maja seinu, mis olid mõeldud, et igale korterile üks väikene
maisetaimed peenar, kaks korda kaks meetrit lai... maisetaimed või lilled, kes mida siis
tahab sinna panna ja praegu seda ideed vist peetakse ilmselt normaalseks, aga omal ajal
peeti seda hulluks ideeks. Kellelgi ei tulnud pähegi, et sellist asja võiks teostada. Et no
isegi arhitektid võtsid seda asja omal ajal niimoodi, et loll mõte.

Nüüd sellel Annelinna visioonikonkursilgi pakuti taolisi asju välja, et igast aiakesed
jne.

See ühendaks inimesi ka, et kui maja on... ütleme, et vanaemad, kes majas elavad ja kes
neid peenraid hooldaksid, neil oleks see omal niisugune läbi käämise koht, põhjus midagi
arutada koos ja nii edasi. Et niimoodi oma väikese ühiskonna tekkimiseks oleks selline asi
pärins hea olnud.

Ja siis oli meil probleemiks see, et need Annelinna hoovid ütleme, jah, kust majad lähevad
nurkapidi kokku, et kas panna kinni need läbikäigud ja jätta ainult üks sissepääs hoovi, et
seal oleks tõesti selle majade, kes on ümber hoovi, nende majade laste hoov, kus noh nad
oleks seal nagu ohutumas kohas ja saaksid mängida. See ka ei läinud läbi, et ei lubatud.
Ikka peavad olema lahtised ja läbikäidavad. Ja siis tehti sinna mingeid variseinu teise
korruuse tasapinda, millel tegelikult mõtet ei ole, et lihtsalt neid maju siduda üheks. Alguses
nende mõte oli see, et panna kinni majade vahed, et eraldada hoovid omaette üksusteks.
Jah, et päriss nurkapidi oleks võinud ka kokku panna, aga seda millegipärast ei tahetud, et
olid ehitamisel mingid probleemid.

Olen kuskilt lugenud, et algsest pidi see majadevaheline ruum autode vaba olema ja
autod garaažides olema. Kuidas sellega oli?
Ei pidanud. Vähemasti siis, kui projekteeriti, siis kui me teda projekteerisime, siis ei olnud mingit autovaba asja, et autod ja ütleme, et see, et sinna autoparkla tekkis, too oli küll idee, et autod ei peaks ilmtingimata majade vahel parkima, et nad pargiksid teisel pool teed. Aga eks nad, tegelikult iga üks vaatab, et saaks aga oma kööki sisse ajada oma auto, et see oleks kõige parem...

**Palju seda majadevahelist ruumi üldse kujundati?**

No tegelikult siin olid ette nähtud.. mingid projektid olid ja olid ette nähtud, et siin on näiteks mägimände neljä tükki selles pundis ja siin on nüüd *Rosa Rugosa*’d või midagi kuskil veel, eks ole. Aga, mis puudus, oli hooldus. Et nad istutati ise maha, seda sai veel kontrollida, et ehitaja selle asja ära teeks ja paneks nad kasvama, aga edasi või niisugust... vôt inimesed ei võtnud üle seda hooldamist, nad vaatasid seda nagu võõrast asja. Iga üks vaatas nagu võõrast asja neid põõsaid, mis sinna kasvama on pandud ja keegi ei läinud kastma teda, siis kui oli kuiv periood ja nii edasi, et nad lasti lihtsalt hakata minna. Sellest on kahju jah, sest et see nagu looks selle tegeliku meeleolu seal majade ümber, aga need kadusid sealt ära.

**Praegune haljastus on siis inimeste enda poolt istutatud?**

Ilmselt on jah, pärist hakkasid inimesed ise vaatama, mida omale akna alla tahavad panna, et aga see, vähemast ma ise elasin ka Annelinnas. Ma tean, et meie kandis, mina elasin ka kõrgel üleval ja mina ei viitnud minna veesõmbriga vett neile viima, aga need, kes madalamal elasid, ma ei tea, need ei tahtnud millegipärast. Et see asi jäi niimoodi.

**Kaua te ise seal elasite?**


**Kuidas te siis ise sealse keskkonnaga rahule jäite?**

No üldiselt nii palju kui ise sai välismaal käidud ja vaadatud, kuidas seal näevad välja suurte kortermajade rajoonid, et igal pool sai nii kadedusega vaadatud, et kui hea on neil just see haljastus, kui hea on korras hoida kõik seal ja ütleme, et mis puudutas teid ja niisugused.. et see on võib-olla üks suur puudus. Ja ega noh meie saime eksole selle valmistootete, valmisvajaduse. Meil oli ainuke variant, et kas teeme ühe 90 meetri pikkuse maja, kas teeme ta ühes jupis või teeme ütleme kolmes, et ütleme mingeid väikseid nõksakuid, et kuidagi natukene elavdada seda pika fronti. Et sinna me ei saanud midagi
teha, et mingit paremat maja me ei saanud ise välja mõtelda, et.. et kui niimoodi ütelda,
mis on üks hea elurajoon, mida ma olen niimoodi vaadanud välismaal, et siis see üks hea
rajoon tähendab ühte majade grupp, seal kuskil viis-seitse maja võib-olla, kes mis on
ühtemoodi ja nad on siis kuidagi paigutatud ja kui seal on siis väikene vahemaa ja siis
hakkab järgmine grupp, mis on hoopis teine arhitektuuriga ja teine maja... Et see, et meil
on nii tohutult palju seda ühte ja sama maja seal, see on mis on kõige halvem minu meelest
Annelinna juures.

See on vist rohkem Mõisavahe probleem, et on väga sarnased majad.

No pärast, need on kõik hiljem ehitatud. Neid alguses ei tehtud ära kohe ja tänu sellele
pärast kui hakati ehitama olid juba teised võimalused. Aga esialgselt pidi terve see tänava
ääär, mis on nüüd mäe poole Kaunase puiesteest. Terve see front pidi olema ühesugused
majad, millest praegu on olemas üksik Anne.. seal, kus Kaunase puistest üles keerab
enne seda, vaat see üks maja, mis niimoodi jooksu kaupa keeravad punased need
tellisseinad, et sellised majad pidid nad kõik olema seal. Niimoodi üks pikka kaar
ühesuguseid jällegi, et see on nüüd jah.. ee.. pärast tekksid teised võimalused, siis läks see
pilt seal elavamaks, et majad juba muutusid mitmesuguseks. Aga Annelinnas seal ma
diivan te, et kõige kurvem ongi see, et maja niisama naljalt üles ei leia, et nad on liiga
ühesugused kõik seal koos ja neid on palju.

Seal on majadenumber üsna ebaloogilised. Kuidas need välja kujunesid?

Majade numbrid kujunesid nii välja, et seal ei saanud nagu panna tänava ärdele maju eksole
paarismumber ja mittepaarismumber, et eripoole tänava, siis seal majad jooksevad lihtsalt
numbrid reas, aga selleks peab vaatama lennupeal, et sellest süsteemist aru saada... et
nadi joonistavad nüüd vilju kaar, nagu keeravad kokku lõpuks, nagu on mingid
juuksekiharad. Et üks rida on siis niimoodi jookseb ja järjest numbrid ja siis tulevad
järjest numbriga. Aga see, et sinna maja otse peale sai joonistatud suured plaanid ja see
on väga hea asi. Seal saab skeemist juba aru, miks ta nii on, muidu otsi lolliks eks ole ühte
kindlat maja numbrit.

Millises Annelinna osas te ise elasite?

Kaunase puistee aadressiga. Nojah, kõrgetel majadel läheb see hoov hoopis pimedaks ja
ta ei ole üldse kasutuskõlblik muuks kui parklaks. Et väikestel majadel veel natukene on,
aga muidugi see on ka kurvapoolne see pilt, mis on seal, nii et ega lastele mängualasid ei ole.

**Mingid mänguväljakud on seal igas hoovis. Kas need on ka sinna projekteeritud?**

Need tulid hiljem. Neid kohe kõll ära ei ehitatud. Seda ma ise ehitada seadmene, kas olid ette nähtud alad. Vist olid. Et jah selle, see viimeine rajoon, mida ma seal projekteerin, et seal üks asi, mis mul veel önnestus, et sai kokkuleppel ehitajaga, et see muld, mis nad sealt kuskilt välja kaevavad, vundamendi aukudest, et see kuhjata ühte kokku, et sinna saab lastele kelgumäe. See oli juba suur saavutus tol ajal. Noh lihtsalt keegi ei mõelnud selle peale üldse, et midagi peaks veel olema peale selle, et inimene saab korteri kätte. See oli nii suur önn, et rohkem ei osanudke keegi tahtagi enam. Et tõesti elementaarseid asju...

**Kuulsin kelleltki, et ta pidi ise käima siseviimistlustöid tegemas, kui aknaidki veel polnud majal ees.**

Jaa, ise tuli käia. Selle eest sai ise tapeedid valida, see oli juba suur asi. Et ise tapeedid seina panna, oma maitse järgi.

Üldiselt ma olen kuulnud, et inimesed on selle Tartu Majaga, see mis nüüd Annelinna neid kõige uuemad majad, et ilmselt on nendega rohkem rahul, kui Tallinna majaehituskombinaadi need suured paneelikad.

**Ega üldiselt inimesed on ikka rahul.**

Kas seal on lastega perekondi ka, teate?

**Ma arvan, et ikka on jah.**

Ma tean ainult vanu inimesi, kes sinna on jäänud järjega ja nende jaoks on see küll üsna hea, sest et noh parem kui kuskil eramajas elada isegi.

Aga jah, see ongi nii et see sobibki nendele, kes elavad suvel väljaspool linna. Et see talve kannatab seal ära elada nagu hotellis.. sul ei ole muresid selle hooldamisega. Ja siis kogu oma energia läheb siis suvila ehitamise peale, mis.. koduks peetakse suvilat siis sellisel juhul hoopis. Et see on noh, nagu hotell, lihtsalt seal on mugav ära elada need külmad ajad. Jah, aga toldele ajal anti kortereid nagu preemiaks, ilma et inimene oleks pidanud ise maksma, siis noh selle üle oldi önnelikud. Ja need, kes ei saanud uut korerit, need olid jälle

68
õnnetud ja nii ta oli. Nüüd tänapäeval iga üks peab ise maksma, siis ta võtab Annelinna korteri sellepärast, et ta saab selle odavamalt kätte kui mõne muu korralikuma elamispinna eksole.

Miks see ära jää, et majad läksid tahapoole kõrgemaks?

Ta suures osas tehti ära. See, mis on Kaunase puistee ja mis seal see teine on... Seal ikka on neid 9kordseid maju. Aga ma isegi ei tea, et oleks jäänud midagi tegemata.

Need vahepealsed, 7- ja 6-kordsed, neid ei tehtud.

Ilmselt see latsiti kohe ärä, seest siis see odavus oli kõige-kõige tähtsam asi. Et ju siis nii tuli odavam, et 9kordne maja on olemas ja hakka nüüd siis tegemaa selle asemel 7kordsed eks ju. Vaata kui palju kortereid jääb saamata. Ja sinna ülesse need paar korterit juurde ehitada on odavam, kui teise koha peale hakata vundamendist pihta.

Noh veel selle haljastuse koha pealt. Ma töötasin siis Eesti Projektis. Tänapäeval tundub see kuidagi usumatu, aga Eesti Projektis kokku Tallinna ja Tartu ja ma ei tea Pärnu filiaalid olid ühtekokku 800 töötajat. Praegu, kui meil on üks 10ne inimesega bürroo, siis seda juba peetakse, et eo kui suur. Aga siis oli, kord kutsuti siin Tartusse Eesti Projekt kõik kokku ja partei bossid, ülesid, et nüüd on niisugused uued ajad, et nüüd on vaja nii palju raha kokku hoida. 10% peab olema kokku hoitud, aga samal ajal sama palju kortereid ehitatud. Et nüüd kõik muu, mida annab kokku hoida, tuleb kokku hoida. Ühesõnaga see, mis me enne ponnistasime seal kuskil natuke veelgi paremat haljastust midagi natukene teha ümber maja ka – see kõik kohe tõmmati maha. Kusjuures need bossid ülesid, et „ja kes pole selle korraldusega nõus, pangu kohe lahkumisavaldu lauale.“ Vot niisugused ajad olid. Ja siis me pidime tegema asja jälle viletsamaks, et see.. sest Venemaal oli tarvis parajasti kuhugi relvastuse peale jälle rohkem raha panna ja siis hakati jälle kuskilt kokku hoidma.

Mis nendest garaažidest sai, mis sinna pidid tulema?

Aa sinna jah, kus tee hargnes üleval, eks ole seal pidid olema sellised ümmargused asjad olid joonistatud, et garaažid. Need jääti kohe tegemata, nende jaoks raha ei olnud ja noh need olid asjad, millega kokku hoiti. Ma ei tea, kas ühtegi garaaži on üldse ära ehitatud nendest või... Kas kuskil üks garaaž on? Ma ei oska ütleda, aga ma tean, et igaüheuul mitte
niisugune ümmargune nagu ta seal algsealt plaani peal oli vaid mingi lihtsustatud variant ja mitte nii kõrge ja nii edasi.

Igal juhul ma vaatasin hiljuti, mingi elurajoon... kus ta oli, kas ta oli Itaalias... oletame, et see oli üks Itaalia elurajoon, mis mulle on meelde jäänud. Et.. mis mulle meeldis, oli see, et see lahmakas maad, mis oli tänavate vaheline ala. Ümbert ringi oldi pandud jooksma pideva reana niimoodi kahekorruseline blokk. Seal olid siis garaažid, igasugused teenindusasutused selles osas. Jaa selle bloki siseküljel jooksis teise korruse tasapinnas galerii. Nii et ja siis oli seal neli maja, mis olid paigutatud nii, et ükski maja ei vaadanud teise maja akendesse, et majad olid kõik niimoodi natuke nihkes, et ees ja taga ei olnud ühtegi maja ühelgi. Ja see sisehoov oli lahendatud niimoodi laste jaoks, et vat see on minu jaoks oluline, et lastel oleks täiesti ohutu ruum. Sest et noh meil lapsed mängivad seal mingit jalkat ja kui pall veereb tänavale, siis nad panevad järele sellele pallile, eks ju. Et va sellise kinnise hoovi puhul on nagu see välistatud, et lapsad satub ootamatult jaoks, et seda ma pean väga oluliseks. Ja see, et teise korruse tasapinnas on galerii, millega on ka katus peal või et on katuses esimesel korrusel eks, et see annab võimaluse kasvõi lapsevankriga niimoodi ringiratast käia ka viletsa ilmaga ja ikkagi öues olla.

See on minu meelest inimese psüühikale vastuvõetamatu, kui samasugused majad on 200 tüüki, siis see hakkab masendama, isegi kui ta väga hea maja oleks. Inimene tahab enda maja ära tunda teiste teiste hulgast.

**Oskate te öelda, millal esimesed majad ehitati Annelinna?**


Need esimesed majad, mis seal ehitati olid need telliskivist ostega, et mm punasest tellistkivist olid otsa fassadid ja vahepeal oli silikaattellis. Nendel juhtus see önnetu lugu, et need tellised olid oma kokkusurutavuse astmega ja need, noh maja vajus ja lõikas läbi need otsa seinad kõik küljest ära kukkunud nendel peaaegu. Ja siis pärast neid esimesi maju.. need võisid töösta olla 70ndatel juba, kui need juba ehitati.

Nojah, ma ise tulin tööle ’68 Tartusse. Jaa mina hakkasin kohe tegema neid Tartu Ülikooli ühiselamuid, mis on Narva mnt ääres, neid kõrgeid 9-korruselisi. Ega ma ei mäleta, kas sel ajal juba Annelinna ehitati või ei, aga igal juhul olid esimesed majad, mis seal pärnivabriku kanti ehitati ju Tallinna majaehitusplaneedi naadi, et need olid siis juba
olemas tolel ajal. Nii et kuskil sealt hakkab pihta pärast 65ndat võib-olla, kui seal alustati nende suurte majadega ja siis hakkas ka Annelinnas niimoodi väljapoole kasvama edasi.

**Tuleb teil veel midagi meelde sellest projekteerimisest?**

tuleb suur üleujutus, siis need ehitusmaterjalide poed ja mis seal siis need siis ujuvad vee sees. See unustati ära vahepeal, see aspekt.

Et iseenesest see, et meil on olemas see kanal, Anne kanal... seal on veel asju huvitavaid, seal Anne kanal pidi olema 1,2 km pikk. Ehitati temast ära, vist on 800 meetrit see esimene jupp, või on ta 900. Ja siis oli vaja sild kuhugi panna ja siis selleks, et kokku hoida silla üks kaare vahe, noh, üks, mis oleks tulnud panna sillata niimoodi, et noh tugipostid ja siis üle sillata ja et sealt läheb alt läbi see kanal. Sealt hoiti nagu kokku, pandi muldkeha peale ja ühesõnaga see võimalus võeti ära, et see sõudekanal teha nii pikk, et ta juba saaks töötada noh sõudjatele harjutuskohana. Praegu ta on liiga lühike. Et vót see on üks lollus, mis tehti... eee ja siis see, et seal Annelinnas edasi, et kui me lähe jõe luha peale, see võiks ju tõesti olla üks ilus park, aga selleks oleks justnimelt meil vaja teha üks suur veekogu ja tõsta kõrval olevat maapinda. Et seal puud saaks kasvada, praegu seal kasvab ainult pajuvuosa. Puude jaoks peaks olema maapind natuke kõrgem, et ta ei oleks nii märg. See on seal niisugune koht, kus on siíamaani raha kokku hoitud. Iseenesest see väike ala, mis on nüüd selle sõudekanaliti. Anne kanali, mis praegu on olemas, see jõe vahe, see on ju päris kena asi. See on noh väikene, aga ütleme no jalgratturil, jalgsi tuleb Annelinnast linna see on ju mõnus koht, kui ta saab tõesti jalgsi tulla ilma liiklussüürata seal kuskil jõe ääres. Eks vaja kuidagi uuesti päevakorda tõsta ja teha need asjad ikkagi tulevikus ära, mis alguses tegemata jäid.

Ta (Anne kanal) on väga hästi käiku läinud, et kasutatav. Inimesed saavad ikkagi käia seal ujumas ja päevitamas ja sealsamas neil nii lähedal... seal on hästi kasutatav.

Kas sild oli ka koos Annelinna projektiga planeeritud või tuli hiljem?

Ta tuli hiljem, sest seda vaieldi päris palju, et kus see sild täpselt ikka panna. Sest et no Annelinna poolt oli nagu või enam-vähem hea koht oli see, kus ta praegu on Annelinna poolt vaadatuna. Aga siinpool kaldal (linnapool) on see loll lugu, et see sild ei vii kuhugi välja. Sealt ei pääse ühelegi suurele magistraalile. Tolle ajal oli suhtumine, et mis on, võtame kõik need majad maha eksju – rida maju maha, paneme siia selle suure tee. Aga elus see asi nii ei käi, et võtame majad maha. Sest omal ajal oli ta niimoodi, et kui Raatuse tänav läheb meil mäkke eksju, seal olid need väiksed puumajad ees ja taha pandi suured, kõik niisuguse mõttega, et need puumajad võtame maha sealt eest. Siíamaani seisavad need puumajad. Et no kuidagi on ülehinnatud koguaeg oma võimalusi.
Huvitav on tegelikult see, et see Pordi ja Meelaku esialgne plaan oli hea plaan, aga kahjuks tehti ära ainult kiiremini ja lihtsamini teostatavad osad ja kõik muu jäeti niimoodi tulevikku, et tulevikus on meil rohkem raha, küll me siis teeme.

Mõtted olid head, aga teostati vähe.

Tegelikult Annelinnas elab ju palju rahvast, et no mina kui ma oleks Annelinlane, siis hakkaks aktiivselt linna käest nõudma seda... praegu on just enne valimisi, on hea parteilaste poole pöörduda ja ütelda, et võtte endale programmi, muidu ma teie poolt ei hääleta. Et noh midagi noortele, sest noh mitte kino, no tantsimiskohta, mitte midagi ei ole, mingi kõrts ainult, kus noore inimesel õhtul olla. No sportimisvõimalusi on, aga no vöiks ikka olla veel, et õhtul oleks noortel kuskil käia, kokku saada teiste noorte inimestega.

Annelinnas pole, aga kesklinn on ju lähedal.

No Annelinnas on nii palju inimesi, et seal täitsa võiks olla kohal peal. Peavad nad nüüd tingimata siis mõtlema, et ei tea kuidas kesklinnast koju tagasi saab, nii et...

Oleneb, kus sa elad Annelinnas. Pärnivabriku juures peaaegu ongi kesklinn.


Inimesed ongi mugavad, et ütleme, see Kalda tee ääres olev parkla. Seal on ka sama asja, et ei ole üldse kauge. Majad sealt kõrvale külgete kätte, et võiks ju auto olla seal parklas, aga inimesed ei viitsi. Ja neid uusi elurajoone, kui on projektteenitud, siis on tihti saadav, kui on rohkem raha seal ja kuskil rohkem linna sees, siis ongi tehtud nii, et maja on kõik suured teed ja parkimine seal on kõik viidud maja alla, aga need on niisugused kallid lahendused, mis meil kuidagi läbi ei lähe. Meil ei ole ükski, kes midagi ehitab, keegi ei taha üldse parklast kulus, et peaks parkimisega ka veel maja sisse ärata. Kõik

73
## Appendix 2. Categorized quotes from the interviews

### Table 1. Moving in to Annelinn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject/Interviewee</th>
<th>Moving in to Annelinn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Female, 74</strong></td>
<td>„Well I have lived in the oldest house, more or less. It is Uus street 65. We had a view to the city. We moved there 7th March 1969 /.../ It was really muddy. When we drove along the street, from one puddle to another to get there. It more or less the first house, as far as I can remember there wasn’t anything until the Paja street. Everything else came later. There used to be an open view, so you could the fireworks, didn’t have to go anywhere, but now unfortunately I can see a wall of another house from my living room window – about 10 or 15 meters away. And that was built during the Soviet period of course, that is Pikk street 90. /.../ My child was born in ’70 and it was possible for her to, it was a wet land there before until the street so it was frozen and it was possible to skate from our house until the canal... But of course that’s not possible anymore.” „When our house was built, we could choose a wallpaper that we liked.” „Well, of course we expected to get a private apartment, because before I used to live in Tammelinn in a small house, where we had two rooms and a common kitchen. One family lived in one room and our family lived in another room so we were very happy to get a private apartment with two rooms. It was tiny, but still private and... really nice in that sense.” „I got this aparment through my job. I worked at Tartu Külmhoone, it used to be a big enterprise backthen.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Female, 77</strong></td>
<td>„My first encounter with Annelinn was when a friend of mine moved in there and before that you had to do some work yourself too, back in the Soviet times. /.../ The problem was that there were no roads, so it was difficult to go through the mud. The roads were really-really muddy. Then when you got into the house, there were no windows, so it was really windy.” „Then on the New Year’s Eve we all went to see fireworks. It was really fancy, because almost nothing was between the house and the city.” „My next encounter with Annelinn was when my sister got an apartment. She got an aparment into the tower of Annelinn, she had been waiting long, her daughter was already four and a half years old /.../ I think it was ’72, when they finally moved in.” „Then I moved myself into Annelinn. I got to choose my aparment myself, more or less. I got an apartment on the 8th floor in that high Annelinn, where the 9-storey buildings are. And it was quite new house.” „Before that all of us lived in apartments with no water, heating or anything. There were no toilets, only the ones outside the house. /.../ So it was very enjoyable and we very really happy when some of us got an apartment there.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Male, 74</strong></td>
<td>„The house, where we lived was Uus street 65. It was the first house on that side of Paju street. Well, there were a lot of houses that were being built... some had one, some two, some even five storeys /.../ When we moved in, there was nothing on the other side of Sõpruse street, it was completely empty.” „I worked at the department of physics... and we had these kind of researches that were ordered in the Soviet Union by Moscow /.../ so they ordered reasearch and paid for it... and there were problems with apartments at the Soviet times, huge queues and there was fight who get an aparment first /.../ Then with the money made with research, it was promised to improve the living conditions of the university workers /.../ So that was how I got the apartment... in ’68. or ’69... /.../ But there was a condition that everyone who got an apartment had to make some amount of free work at the building site, to clean the trash or something.” „And then we went there for a walk and of course in winter to ski, it was very convinient – I came out of the house, put my skis on and got to ski right away... but now there are houses, a big district... first, second and third microrayons...” „At the beginning when the canal wasn’t there yet, our house was ready, then they started to dig and fill it... and surroundings of the houses I remember that flooded area was almost swampy with these muddy pools. I remember there were frogs croaking in the spring and... and then other houses were built between our house and Kalda street.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Female, 54

,,I think it was 1972, when we got the apartment and I was schoolstudent at that time. My mother had to wait in the line for quite a while to get the right to build a cooperative apartment. It meant that state didn't give the apartment, but apparently the state ensured the loan, that we had to make some kind of a bigger instalment payment and then we had to pay it back, I think for 20 years."

"The place, where we moved in, there really wasn't anything. Well, I remember that first years /.../ we could see the cows on the pasture, back there. /.../ But on the side where the city is, there were already 5-storey houses. But I can remember that I had to walk with muddy shoes a lot, because there were no proper streets."

"Expectations were really high, because until then we lived in quite poor conditions. Very.. absolutely no facilities, we didn't even have a normal kitchen, it was just made in the corner of one room without a window. Not to even talk about a bathroom. Only facility was running cold water."

"I mean, at that time the increase of the quality of life was remarkable. I remember that at first I used to lay in bath almost every night, the joy was so great that we had our own bathroom and everything like that."

"I remember when one of my classmates whose apartment was starting to get ready, next to Kalda street and we were so excited and waiting for it to get ready /.../ And then we even went on the construction site to see how far it is and got to choose the wallpaper and it was so exciting at the time."

"And backthen there was actually more space and openness, because that part that is next to the canal, let's say on the other side of this Kalda street, wasn't built."

5. Male, 33

"Actually until I was about three years old, we used to live here in this apartment. But then also my mother and father of course lived here and my aunt and her daughter. /.../ And then our family moved to the house right next to it, basically the same area. /.../ And then we moved back to this apartment, but it was already a familiar place for me."

,,Annelinn was expanding a bit further from my nearby surroundings, so when I went there I saw the cranes and they were building new houses there. Where I lived, it was already ready..."

,,So when I hadn't been in the back of Annelinn for a while and I when I went there, then there had always been new houses built. So they were building there all the time."

6. Male, 38

,,I moved to Annelinn on 26th September 1980. I was four years old. /.../ And, before I used to live in Tähtvere. In Taara pst, and I also went to the kindergarden in Taara pst. And then there was this unexpected day that now we are taken to Annelinn and it was unexpected for me at the time, but I accepted Annelinn quite quickly. I had been there before, when the house was being built. At that time, when an apartment was given to a family then they had to participate in the construction process, so I had been on the construction site, when the house was still being built."

,"I was so young so I didn't really feel any diffrence after moving to Annelinn. Well there was more space, children had their own room, which we didn't have at all before. We were living before many generations in a small house, but it is hard to compare it with Annelinn."

,"Well earlier I could watch planes landing and taking off in Raadi airfield, that was constantly going on there /.../ Those 9-storey buildings weren't there yet. Now I can see the 9-storey buildings, but they weren't there before. So they are a bit blocking the view /.../ but there used to be a very open view."

7. Female, 35

,,Actually when I was born, we lived in that tower of Anne, which is quite legendary, well it is also a landmark in Annelinn. I lived there until I was three years old /.../ Since our house was opposite to a store, then I remember I used sit on the windowsill and look outside to see what's going on there. /.../ But then we moved to the end of Annelinn, I actually remember that. I lived at the end of Mõisavehe street and these were the last houses in Annelinn at the time. After that a huge district has been built there, but when we moved in, then at on the one side there was a house and on the other fields and and Anne manor areas, where they were still growing pigeons and this kind of proper country life was going on there, I can remember that."  

8. Female, 58

,,We moved to Annelinn on 1987, before that we lived in Supilinn. On the '87 our house was ready, next to the canal."

,"We got the apartment officially, it meant that my husband got it through the Writer's Union. Well, he was a young writer at the time and worked at the university and thanks to that we got an apartment with four rooms, because he needed to have an office. There was four us then, two children."

,"Actually we wouldn't have moved out of Supilinn, if we wouldn't have such a poor apartment there. We had two rooms and a common kitchen. So we got the apartment and that's why we moved. But of course we were happy that we had a central heating now and didn't have to heat the oven twice a day /.../ But the yard was better for the children in Supilinn. /.../ But of course, since before we had a yard with a fence around it, then that was more safe for the children and they also felt that. Annelinn was very open and there weren't the intimacy anymore.. for the children and... But then again our new apartment was nice, we had a great view on the canal and I can't really complain about that. There
Appendix 2

was already greenery, the trees had been planted and..."

,,Uus street was already there, my friends lived on that street and I can see their windows from my house. So these houses and the one I lived in were built a bit later in front of Uus street. So before they had an open view, but now they see buildings that were built there. But actually they are not so close to each other so you can't quite see from one window into another."

,,Everything was already done, when we moved in – wallpaper walls and everything. /.../ It was a nice apartment, I can't complain about that. And it was also very cheap to live in."

Table 2. Everyday facilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject/Interviewee</th>
<th>Everyday facilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Female, 74      | ,,I find that the location of our house is really good – bus stops are close, there is Kanali bus stop and Anne bus stop on the other side. Also shops are really close – there is Anne Maxima, Säästumarket and so-called Saare Maxima, where used to be Saare shop... and Eeden isn't far. So everything is really close."

,,I have been more or less satisfied, because when I came home from work I bought something from here and there... I don't remember when Anne shop was built, but that is the closest shop until today. Now there is a small Maxima.

,,What concerns kindergarten, then that was so close, that I could see from my window if my child is going in from the right door of the kindergarten. Now there is Tartu Youth center, but backthen it used to be a kindergarten. /.../ To get a place in a kindergarten, then your work place had to build some playgrounds or something and then you got it.“ |
| 2. Female, 77      | ,,What was a problem backthen, was that there wasn't any shops nearby. Only one small next to the pedestrian arch, but that also didn't last long and was closed. But it would be good to have one shop nearby, because all the shops were far. And to the Kalda street, it was quite a long way to go, almost a kilometer.

,,I used to be satisfied with Annelinn. Where there's now Maxia, I could get everything I needed, but now I'm not able to carry all that stuff from so far. Now there's of course this big Prisma. People who live close to that are very satisfied. Big Prisma and on the other side is Selver and Maxima, so there's nothing wrong. Annelinn is not the worst.” |
| 3. Male, 74        | ,,Now there are several shopping centres there. We live on Kaunase puiestee so there is more or less equal distance to Kivilinn shopping and Eeden and Annelinna center, so we live next to that pedestrian road that comes from Kivilinn shop down to Kalda street, so it is a really nice place.“

,,This library is one extremely good investment and it is really close to our house, I have to walk only for 5 minutes to get there, so it is really a good thing. I don't even know what else to want there... there are enough shops /.../ Well there's a family doctor center and a hotel.. made from old kindergartens...“ |
| 4. Female, 54      | ,,Well later, when I needed a kindergarten, then yes, kindergartens were close. And Anne shop was I guess almost from the beginning relatively close.”

,,I don't know it might seem strange and exotic, but for example we had a call-box behind our house. So we were actually lucky that it was close, but on the other hand it wasn't really normal that you didn't have a phone at your house and you had to go out to the call-box to make a call. And of course these sad queues in the stores where you had to wait with your little children and these kind of horrible things come to mind.”

,,What has changed is that now you can walk in any direction you like not more than 3 minutes and you'll end up in front of some kind of shopping center. Here are like five big shopping center around here, so that is comfortable of course.“ |
5. Male, 33

“I had the school right here. /.../. So it was really close, I mean it was comfortable, I had to walk only for 5 minutes and if I ran then I got even faster to school.”

“One thing that has been developed a lot, when I think back to my childhood, is that now you have access on foot, not by car, to different kind of shops. Well Eeden is right here. I don't even talk about just grocier stores, but all kinds of stores – from electronics to clothes and here's a sports club, that I used to go to. So almost everything is reachable. You can never say everything, but most things you would possibly need. Grocery stores, let's say if you don't want to go to Maksimarket then here are some smaller shops – Säästumarket, Maxima and another small Maxima, well you have a lot of stores, it's not like that everywhere in Tartu. In some places you have stores too far or have no options. But here we have everything accessible so it is not necessary to go anywhere far.”

“And for those people who live in the back of Annelinn, they also have more facilities now, there is Prisma and well a choice of different stores and communications that are necessary. There is now Anne market or Annelinna center – relatively new thing.”

“Now there is a Maxima, but it used to be Saare shop, that comes to my mind, sometimes we went to a store. There were two stores and instead of Eeden there was just grass of course, I can remember that. At some point Konsum was built and later it was built as Eeden. Anyway there were two stores – this Saare shop and Anne shop, interestingly both of them are Maximas now. They were at the same distance, so we either went to one or another. These were the two neighbourhood shops, close to go on foot.”

6. Male, 38

“In the beginning of the 80s actually for a long time the only store was Saare shop, even for all the houses behind Kaunase puistee, which was growing and being built. We came in '80, it was next to Kaunase puistee, but they were building more houses quite fast. And Saare shop was next to that bond, so the only option was to go to the Saare shop and there were long queues... And then Sõpruse shop was built somewhere in the middle of the 80s so the situation got better, but there were still long queues also at Sõpruse shop.”

“Phone was quite difficult to use. Only phone that was in Annelinn at some period was near the Saare shop, on a wall of one 5-storey house. /.../ It was the only place you could make a call, because at home there weren't any phones. /.../ But we could live without a phone, didn't even really need it.”

“The world started to change a lot in the beginning on 90s. At the beginning a lot of small stores were built on the first floors of the houses next to Kalda street, that are still active. But, well, there weren't a lot of facilities. Most of the facilities were where there is this Anne shop. For example there was a hairdresser, I think that was the only place where there was a hairdresser in Annelinn in the 80s. In Saare shop there wasn't much else but a shop and a tiny cafe and the same was in Sõpruse shop. But that was pretty much it, there were very few facilities in the 80s, I don't know how people coped with it. Of course a lot was in city centre.”

7. Female, 35

“...I think that was the only place where there was a hairdresser in Annelinn in the 80s. In Saare shop there wasn't much else but a shop and a tiny cafe and the same was in Sõpruse shop. But that was pretty much it, there were very few facilities in the 80s, I don't know how people coped with it. Of course a lot was in city centre.”

8. Female, 58

“Well we had stores and we had sauna and we used them.”

“Well now the main thing still is that the stores are close, sauna is there, we have Artic Sports Club, so there is this and that. /.../ and this place where we live, is 15-20 minutes from the city, so I wouldn't complain about that.”

“Stores are at least where I live really nearby.”

“It is good that there are more stores built, Eeden has been built. It's a quite good center actually.”

“And we have a youth center in Annelinn. It used to be a shop and then it was a kindergarden before that but yes now later it's a youth center. /.../ For youngsters who are interested in sports there is A. Le Coq sport center.”
### Table 3. Greenery and public spaces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject/Interviewee</th>
<th>Greenery and public spaces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Female, 74</strong></td>
<td>&quot;My mother used to go to the forest in Ihaste. She went there to pick mushrooms and came with a full basket every time, but now that place has been drained and landscape has changed and well maybe you can find some lonely mushroom... so, yes...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I think there are even less playgrounds, in my opinion. The playground behind our house, in there the sandboxes are more for cats.. at some point they were just recolored, but I haven't seen that children would go there.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;What comes to my mind is this avenue, where there are birches on the one side and ashtrees on the other, it is really nice to go there and it was planted on the Soviet period, but now the trees have grown and on the right there is a playground where children really do play.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;And well we could go skiing back then. We could put on skies right next to our house and drive to the canal or to Ihaste. At least backthen there were some skiing tracks, now there's nothing...&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|                     | "Air has always been good in Annelinn, here have never been any bigger industries."
|                     | ,,Summer, in the morning when I wake up, the first thing I do is go by the canal, move a little, then go for swim and then go back to my apartment and have breakfast. I use well my good location. It’s a great advantage in Annelinn. “ |
| **2. Female, 77**   | "I like the big fields of grass in Annelinn. There is white clover and it is blooming couple of weeks and Annelinn is filled with scent of white clover. And after that times start to bloom and their scent is also so good."
|                     | "But what I also liked then, there this ugly empty land across Mõisavahe street, well it was then too empty /.../ but now there is a lot of construction garbage and these panels and everything... Well nature is starting to take over, but it isn’t still as clean as it used to be. And also this Ihaste forest, from where you could pick mushrooms before, it is not as clean anymore. You wouldn’t want to pick anything from there. But at that time it was clean and across Mõisavahe street there was a beautiful meadow, where everything was blooming /.../ So if to take more care of that place... well people don’t have many places to go for a walk. “ |
| **3. Male, 74**     | ,,Before, when there wasn’t this part of Annelinn that is on the other side of Sõpruse street, I used to go there for a run and exercise in the morning, to Ihaste and back. /.../ So backthen the forest and nature was close by to Annelinn, now Annelinn and Ihaste are almost melted together. “
|                     | ,,The trees have grown themselves... trees and bushes, so Annelinn is quite green already.”
|                     | ,,We are satisfied with our living place. This pedestrian road is there, our house is on one side of the pedestrian road, these trees have grown so big that when they are green, we almost don’t see the house on the other side of the pedestrian street. There is enough greenery and there are now birds that didn’t use to be there. /.../ Trees are randomly planted and sometimes people themselves have planted them and even too close to the houses and now they have grown big and the light don’t get to the apartments so they start to take some of trees down again...”
|                     | ,,There aren’t a lot of places to spend free time, basically you can see people walking with dogs or baby carriages on these two pedestrian roads. /.../ Back there where these pedestrian roads cross, it has been maintained quite well, there is some kind of playground."
|                     | ,,Most Estonians have their country houses where they go on the weekends and on summer /.../ so they don’t really need any facilities for free time spending between the buildings. In the 9-storey buildings there are more Russians and they don’t have so many country houses, so you can see them more walking.”
|                     | ,,There is an empty place and that school has been there over 40 years and still has no stadium. Actually these schools that have stadiums, there have been built some sort of basketball fields, but it’s kind of dirty and incomplete. /.../ So the condition of the school stadiums is poor I must say.”
|                     | ,,Well.. yes, there isn't anything to do between the buildings, there aren't even sandboxes for children to play in.”
|                     | ,,There has been built, there where this Maxima is /.../ a place where you can sit and a playground for children, well quite nice place and there should be more these kind of places of course. /.../ There should be places like that...”
"What I can also remember is that our cooperative houses were taking care of the surroundings ourselves. We bought plants and planted them there. /.../ So the nearby environment was quite nice. And there were more benches, sandboxes and so on, that doesn't exist anymore."

"At that time the greenery was young, now the trees have grown big and the high trees are hiding other houses and roads. That has changed, but everything else was good backthen."

"Later, when I had a child then I sat beside the sandbox and was outside, but otherwise not really."

"Well at some time, when my child was little then I used to be there more, all these sandboxes and childrens things there, it had a greater meaning... And I must say our house and our cleaner and all the things that we planted and did, so in some sense it is still like our space."

"But for example behind our house, /.../ everything looked nice all the time, then people from surrounding houses and maybe even further came also to our yard to play with their children and it was always grooved beside the sandboxes."

"When I look outside my window, I have a beautiful view most of the time, well when there are no leaves on the trees I can see one 9-storey building at one corner that I wouldn't like to see, but it is far enough. /.../ For a walk I would still like to go to a country side."

"And well, this canal and it's surroundings, that these kind of sporting facilities and roads for running have been made there is actually nice."

"I must say that, in that sense it is sad, for example this land they wanted to make as a stadium and later they wanted to plan it as a kart track or something for children /.../ But this huge empty space, where it is possible, I don't know, volleyball fields or tennis, or some table tennis something. It could be place for pleasant sporting, especially for young people, because we can see how they just are hanging around and don't have anything to do."

"There wasn't any park or anything like that. So we basically played everywhere... and everywhere was asphalt and stuff, although I must say that behind my house and the nearby neigbourhood, compared to the environment back there, then I can say that here was still this big area, with grass so you could play football or something on grass too."

"Of course when the canal was on ice, you could go on it. I have never skated, but people used to skate there and they still do. For me, this canal has been in one way or another always a part of this environment where I went and in winter I went on it. We were feeding ducks there as children, just playing around, throwing rocks into the water and so on. If to evaluate it, I think it is rather positive that it is here right nearby."

"Now the changes around the canal are moving into a positive direction, these running tracks, and rollerskating, what ever, walking a dog. This is all positive."

"I can remember that, when I was little and I went to the school backthen it was 15th school, then sometimes we were taken for a run around the canal /.../ I remember there was some narrow path on what you could run somehow, but it was quite wet land there."

"But this big field here between the buildings, it should have also been a sort of playground, where there is basketball ring to play, on two sides so you could play as team /.../ anyway I remember that there was only one, maybe it's still there, but it was only on one side. And the same was at the school stadium – some were broken and you could use only few of them. /.../ I remember that the field that was between the two buildings was often very wet and muddy and the grass was already growing from the asphalt. So they weren't often usable."

"Where I really used to play, is that sandbox near my house, it is still there, nothing has changed, the same sandbox that is still there. And next to the sandbox were some playground elements, ladders and stuff on what I also used to play."

"But what has been done suprisingly good is next to this Maxima, that used to be Saare shop, they have made there, quite recently, I think like 2 years ago this proper modern new playground."

"They (sporting fields) weren't very often used. I remember that they really weren't functional. They were already then... I don't why but I can remember a field where the asphalt is broken and... I think it was like this already then."

"Well I have to say that these playgrounds are not attractive, they weren't then and the ones that have remained since then of course are also not attractive now. /.../ Because there weren't any proper playgrounds, where you could play football and do other things, then there was a lot of wandering around."

"The situation is better now, but there is a lot of space for development. But backthen... it was quite sad actually.. nothing more then some climbing attractions. Maybe you could play basketball, but even a lot of these basketball fields were broken"
### 6. Male, 38

“For me, all that flooded area next to Annelinn toward the Emajõgi, was one quite an interesting world. With all of its puddles and tracks and everything...”

“...The greenery has grown big, like I already said, so we have this kind of situation there now, that from our window on the fourth floor the view used to be extremely open, but now we don’t have that anymore – this greenery is dominating there.”

“Another thing that we used to have a lot and I think that has been decreased, are these climbing plats that were on the facades of houses and I remember that there were quite many houses where the plants have been climbing up to the roof on a 5-storey building. It was a really big mass of greenery on the facade of a house. It was something that made it a bit more green. But now there are these big trees and there is no lack of the greenery.”

“...Anne canal was a good place for swimming. Especially in the beginning when I was small, it was usual that we went to swim in the canal. /.../ It used to be crowded and sometimes even too crowded so in that case we tried to go somewhere outside the city. /.../ Also our physical education class was a lot next to the canal. We played there football on the grass and were running around the canal.”

“I used to play a lot on the playgrounds. We were sliding off these slides and climbed on these standard metal pipe things and played in the sandbox, that was right behind our house. I remember also that new buildings were built and along with them new playgrounds, so it was quite interesting to go explore them. They were still a bit different. /.../ these ones that I used to play on, are still there behind our house.”

“The school stadium that is next to this 12. school is one really poor stadium. Nothing was going on there even when I went school. It’s a stadium with an asphalt track and it was broken already backthen and almost nothing happened there, people walk diagonally over it – paths have been treaded in, we also walked over it, but the school lessons almost never took place there. Sometimes we played football there on the grass, but it was rather on this other grassfield next to it. So it’s a really sad stadium that never really started to work.”

### 7. Female, 35

“We played basketball, football and you don't need a lot for that. These basketball rings were there, the field was there so we played all kinds of ballgames and didn't have to go anywhere far to do that. And well, these sandboxes, well in these we really didn't play a lot and behind our house we had some attractions in where you could play home and something, but we really just couldn't stay in one place for a long time. We were running around in Annelinn and the Ihaste forest was close and these same fields and stuff /.../ We didn't stay behind our house for a long time. I can’t really remember that we would have taken our toys and went to play in a sand box. We didn’t do such a thing. But well we were swinging and of course these legendary slides that broke your tail bone, my tail bone is literally broken and these kind of things were... you still had to slide down from there. The injuries were part of it, so I wouldn’t really complain about that, because I hadn’t seen any better playgrounds and so that seemed to be really good. Of course they left staines on clothes and broke them, but that didn't stop anybody.”

“I have noticed that in places, where they renovate the houses, the take down the big trees that have been growing there in 30 years and it is getting more open again. Otherwise is was quite wild already. All these yards were filled with trees – everyone had planted something that it would look a bit more green and these trees have grown big.”

### 8. Female, 58

“We went for walks and beside the canal and skiing and skating in the winter, in that sense that was right across the streen, it was really close.”

“And the sandboxes were right there, climbing latters and slides. And also playgrounds.”

“We were used to use the surrounding of the house from the earlier period, because we used to have our own garden and the children were outside, they were also outside when we moved to Annelinn, but I wanted to keep an eye on them, so I looked from the balcony.”

“What is a bit negative now is that everything that has been planted proliferates. Bushes are wild and the trees... somehow there should be someone to take care of the greenery once in a while.”

“I like to move on foot between city and Annelinn. I don't really go sunbathing next to the canal, I also don't swim there, so... but sometimes it's nice to sit there just rest for a while. Or just sit, because it important to have water close, it is still beautiful, all that reflection and ducks and that wind that comes from the water... just an opportunity to be there and look.”

“But the air isn't good by the bigger roads. More in the back of Annlinn, where no bigger roads are close, the air better /.../ In the surroundings here (the library), the air is actually good and fresh. So I sometimes walk home from between buildings, it is good to walk.”

“If it would be possible to maintain and limit the greenery somehow, and for example these bushes next to the canal, they have grown huge. I don't know, three times bigger then they used to be. In one hand it is hiding the beach area, but on the other, they do look a bit too wild.”
Table 4. Parking and traffic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject/Interviewee</th>
<th>Parking and traffic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Female, 74</td>
<td>„Maybe I would add this much, that when Sõpruse bridge was built, we were watching how they build it and of course it wasn’t opened yet, but when there was already some possibility to cross it, we already used the bridge, because it was the shortest way to work. And later when the bridge was ready, well now there is more traffic and thanks to the Turu bridge pedestrian don’t use that bridge so much anymore. So now thanks to the Turu bridge we are almost in the city centre region and I don’t have anything bad to say about that.“ „One thing is these cars, that people don’t have anywhere to put them, but the other thing is that some people want to walk with a baby carriage or... just can’t. Quite recently one car was parked in front of the trash can and it was not emptied because of that. There’s nothing to do about that.“ „If it would be possible to somehow to decrease this car flood, maybe some garages or something. /.../ but yeas, this car flood problem, if it would be possible to somehow remove it.” „I find that the location of our house is really good – bus stops are close, there is Kanali bus stop and Anne bus stop on the other side.“</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Female, 77</td>
<td>„And when I invited someone there, even with a small car, you didn’t have a place to park, it was all filled with cars near the house. You couldn’t get there, even drive there.“ „And the bus stops were also relatively far. But well I didn’t have any problems with walking at that time. I could walk from the bus stop to home. But nobody wanted to visit me, because it was far. At the beginning in the Soviet period, bus tickets were really cheap, almost like riding for free but later you had to think how many times you drive during a day. And it took time to get here. Bus stops are not close to these bigger houses.“</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Male, 74</td>
<td>„And well now it is quite good that this Turu bridge was built – people can go to the city centre, at the market, the bus station.” „Well the planners of course couldn’t predict that some day every family wants to own a car and I think that here is no other solution than multi-storey car parks. There is one, I think it’s the only one in Tartu, is next to Kaunase puiestee, where also my car is and that is built in the end on Soviet period and it was finished in the independence time. And there are five storeys and it is very comfortable. So I don’t keep my car in front of the house at all, it’s good and calm. I don’t use my car every day, only when I need to drive to my country house. /.../ I think these multi-storey parking lots are the only solution, but I don’t know if anyone would like to buy a garagebox there now, because they are used to leave their car in front of the house and besides it would be pretty expensive.“ „And when to look at this cycling path that goes from this Turu bridge and under Sõpruse bridge towards Ihaste, there are a lot of people using it... cycling, walking with baby carriage, skateboards... so that is quite useful, I wouldn’t complain about that.“</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Female, 54</td>
<td>„But that was interesting, that this area where all that... or where there is Sõpruse bridge, that wasn’t also there. I remember that my son was still in baby carriage in ‘80, when the bridge wasn’t opened to traffic yet, but you could already walk over it. /.../ So yes, this has changed that now we have these bridges. So when in the beginning we only had Võidu bridge, then it was longer distance to go anywhere and for example this Turu bridge has also made the situation logistically a lot more comfortable. Especially when to travel on foot, and there are these paths beside the canal now. I’m telling you that it is quite normal to walk to work like this.” „Well we didn’t have problems with parking, at first we didn’t even have a car, that was later and there were no problems with parking.“ „What is funny is that, I can’t say from the beginning because the road network was built later, but for years it has been like this, that there is some kind of muddy track going across the grass from where all the children go to school and when they cross the road where there is this zebra, but there is no asphalted light traffic road on the other side, so people still have to walk on some kind of muddy track beside the road. So it leaves this kind of feeling when you compare it with some other areas and city center, that it hasn’t really been planned properly.“ „But bus stop, for example was next to the 6. school or Vene Gümnaasium is there now... but well, it is close enough to the city center so it wasn’t far to walk.“ „And now the bus connections are really good to everywhere, in my opinion.“</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5. Male, 33</strong></td>
<td>„But really now thanks to this pedestrian bridge, that was built I think in 2004, well that makes walking into city center really easy, if you want to walk. Before it was a bit more difficult, it wasn’t most comfortable to walk over the bridge in Turu street, it was possible but not so comfortable. Other possibility was this Võidu bridge, but it took a lot more time to come from there. Of course it depended where you wanted to go, if you went to Raekoja plats, then there isn’t really a difference.“</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **6. Male, 38** | „There are more cars, but well, of course it is more difficult to find a parking spot. But until now, where I have lived, they have found solutions for that. So they are putting their car partly on sidewalk, which is quite large or partly on grass. For example we have it like that people park diagonally on the curb of the sidewalk and so you get more parking places. They are managing somehow, so that is this parking world. “

„Well the buses are pretty much going the same way.“

„I use to drive to the city center by bus. There was a lot of movement by bus, that was no problem. /.../ It seems to me that children used to wander around more freely before. When I was 7 and my sister was 6, it was completely normal that we came from school or kindergarten home by ourselves. A whole kilometer, over the car roads and even over the four-line Kaunase street, where weren’t any pedestrian crossings, but there wasn’t a lot traffic either. Now it is more common that children are take to school by car. Backthen no-one was taken to school by car. We had a car, but that was for driving to countryside. My father didn’t even go to work by car. /.../ There was a lot of driving by buses, buses were always full. It was usual that you didn’t fit on the bus. Backthen there were these yellow Ikarus buses, well these were everywhere.“ |   |
| **7. Female, 35** | „In a sense of rising a child, this environment is perfect. I lived two arches from the school, but only one car road was on the way to school. So I could wander a kilometer and a half in a way that I had to cross the road only once. So parents didn’t have to worry too much, nowhere else in the city you can go to school like that - you don’t have to cross any roads and could walk on a wide pedestrian road and didn’t have to wander in traffic, so that’s what I have seen now and what would be really good.“

„And this parking, that is what ruins a lot of the surroundings there. A lot of the yars that used to be nice and cool yards have now turned into.. you really go there and look, that... Recently I visited my school path for some reason and I really saw that there are terribly a lot of cars and they really are taking a lot of dominion.“ |   |
| **8. Female, 58** | „There weren’t so much cars like there is now. On the fields there are now parking lots. That didn’t use to be backthen.“

„Now there are so much more light traffic roads that it has changed the environment in a positive way a lot.“

„Of course these light traffic roads – that is a really good thing that we didn’t used to have.“

„Well, of course there are now a lot more cars. I remember that on the Soviet period we used to eat breakfast on our balcony on Saturday and Sunday. We ate there and really enjoyed the morning and there were really few cars. So that is the negative side of the environment now.“

„Bus traffic is well organised, in my opinion.“

„And I think that freedom of the cars was better for our environment backthen.“

„Of course some walking paths should be asphalted, where you can see that people actually walk at. For example we have this one place, from where people will never start to take out these corners and they are still walking over the grass. So maybe some of these more walkable place, there should be also a narrow asphalted path. There are asphalted roads and of course pedestrian roads have also been made.“ |   |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject/Interviewee</th>
<th>Housing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **1. Female, 74**  | "I think that Annelinn is not going to crash... so if these houses and other things will be even just a little renovated..."  
"Now I live here alone, I have a small apartment with two rooms and that completely satisfies me and I'm not intending to move anywhere."
"Houses are now more dense."
"It's getting more colorful, the houses are being renovated and for example this summer they renovated a house next to Anne shop, I think it's a very nice house."
"Once one of my neighbours locked himself out of his apartment, but had left the balcony door open. So I had to climb from my window to his balcony and opened the door. On the fourth floor." |
| **2. Female, 77**  | "We had a laundry drying on the roof and also like this kind of open space where you could sun bath... that was a real luxury."  
"But the balconies are absurd in my opinion, that they are so close together. Do you really have to trust strangers who might get into your room? Because these balcony doors weren't so reliable too, and sometimes you'd like to leave it open when you're not at home...so my neighbours cats started to visit me. I built a barrier in front of my balcony, but they still got in..."  
"But if Annelinn will be built too dense, more houses between the houses, then there would be less air even though now there are wind corridors and wind is always blowing in Annelinn."
"Of course it is beautiful when the houses are made more colorful and nicer. Maybe not all of the houses have to be colorful, some kind of balance should be there."
"But in the back of Annelinn, on the other side of Kaunase pst, the houses are really messed out. It's a bit complicated everywhere in Annelinn, so you can't find the right house. These numbers are running in a circle somehow, that's really hard and hard to understand." |
| **3. Male, 74**    | "So I actually like Annelinn, because it is open. I like openness. Let's say somewhere in Aardla street or Veeriku and these kind of regions where big houses are varying with old houses, I don't like these regions. It feels narrow and compressed, but in Annelinn I like the openness." |
| **4. Female, 54**  | "At some point we also almost built a house backthere, next to Jaama or Räpina street, well I really wouldn't like to live there, probably I would have left from there earlier... but now, this apartment is comfortable enough, so it is not necessary to move."  
"I don't think the houses will be demolised, probably not. Maybe some houses where they are terribly closely built together, these 9-storey houses. /.../ And I think it is not going to disappear that some people want to live in an apartment and that is okay... but well all these houses are just a sign of their era how these houses are built and some of them need more renovating and the others less, but I don't think that it is going to disappear. But I think it is possible to make this environment a bit more friendly."  
"But Annelinn is actually built pretty horribly dense, if I wouldn't live in such a place where other houses are relatively far, I mean for me that is all good."  
"But if you live somewhere where you have to look right at other windows... I mean, I like that there is enough space." |
| **5. Male, 33**    | "Already as child I thought that this house where I live and the house right next to it and well houses that are this type like I have here. I think these houses are better to live in what concerns the environment. In my childhood until now I think, that hasn't I think changed that I can remember that in the stairway it was always clean. But when I already in my childhood visited for example these 9-storey buildings then, of course that depended also on people who lived there, but I used to look at the with discomfiture."  
"I remember my parents wanted to buy an aparment in the back of Annelinn. We went to see it with our parents and it felt strange there, I didn't like that area. I'm glad we didn't move there. One of our family friends moved there, so visited them sometimes, but that area still felt unpleasant."  
"I remember that there was always a diffrence between where I live and the 9-storey buildings and the diffrence was that in their stairway it always smelled bad and all the stairway looked horrible. /.../ Wouldn't imagine that we would have a stairway like that in our house, because we had order in our house, so there are just different people living in different houses." |
6. Male, 38  

“I personally don’t think that these new houses that have been built in that building boom period are any different than the houses in Annelinn. I think they are very good apartment buildings, maybe a little tired, but if to fix some things then it is possible these houses proper.”

“A completely separate theme are the houses and the part in the back of Annelinn, where there are these 9-storey buildings. That environment in maybe somehow more disturbing. Well for me Annelinn is still the part with 5-storey buildings and that seems to be quite friendly and I’m telling you, they are not building any better houses today, mostly.”

“I agree that it has a completely different scale and it feels a bit more scary and well that these 9-storey buildings are there like walls built side by side. Especially when you are between the two walls, then it is not so friendly anymore. So I make a difference between the part with 5-storey buildings and the part with 9-storey buildings in the back.”

“Well some elementary renovations are always made with the houses. The roof needs changing and the pipes need to be changed, cooperative is doing that. Our cooperative is also doing that.”

“It is extremely unlogical to orientate in Annelinn. And at that time there were no paper maps. Only the maps on the sides of the walls, some of these are still existing. I for example took a picture of that sidewall where the map was and it was possible to use that for orientating. But without a map, it is hard to imagine you could understand anything.”

“Not only these houses look the same, but also schools and kindergarten. So my grandmother came to visit us and had to take my sister to the kindergarten and she took her to the wrong one, because it is really hard to make any difference. /.../ One thing that is still helpful is that the houses in the area of Kaunase puiestee, I think somewhere in the 80s were colored differently in different blocks. So it was like a structured system. I think it helped a lot. But it’s a bit more difficult with the 9-storey buildings, they are not colored like that, they were built later. Also houses from the earlier period on Kalda street are well similar and grey. So different tricks have been used at different times.”

“These houses are quite decent and if to maintain them they will last, they won’t crash so easily. I think they may last for 100 or even several hundred years. I think the houses will remain purely because they are there and people are evaluating them, if to look at the real estate market.”

7. Female, 35

“Well that (the 9-storey area) was already built to make it as dense as possible, so it is really dense environment and since only houses were built there, everything else necessary – playgrounds and garages, these were not built. So I think they are in a lot worse situation than the areas with 5-storey buildings. They are a lot denser and really in worse condition in that sense.”

8. Female, 58

“I can remember that when I took my children to a kindergarten by bus and wanted to pick them up on foot. But I got lost and I couldn’t find the place, it was quite difficult. House numbers are still quite strange. People are often looking for some houses and we can’t help them, because we also don’t know.”

“Actually it would be very nice when the houses would be recolored. These houses look quite nice when they are colorful. Here these schools have been colored and look very happy. And the houses near the canal are also already colored with nice colors.”
**Table 6. Social situation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject/ Interviewee</th>
<th>Social situation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Female, 74</strong></td>
<td>„Benches are necessary in Annelinn... but what kind of benches, that is the question.. We had benches in front of our house, these classical with back, but they had to be destroyed, because people who needed to rest didn't sit there, but youngsters who were drinking. So we needed to take the benches away and these youngsters also went somewhere else.” „But still back in the Soviet period there used to be more benches, because you can see a lot of places where there used to be a bench, these old concrete foundations are still there. People used to sit on the benches like normal people, but now youngsters sit on the back of the bench and have their legs where they supposed to sit. I told to some young kinds on the bus stop that they shouldn't sit like that, but they didn't even listen to me.” „Flowerbeds in front our house were replaced with grass, because people who used to take care of them left.” “Of course we have a big house with 115 apartments. So it is difficult to find solutions that satisfy everyone, that can't happen, but we'll manage.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Female, 77</strong></td>
<td>“At first, when people, the ones that were first to move in these houses, they made a lot of flowerbeds. But now people are changing, new people coming and old ones can't take care of the flowerbeds anymore and new ones don't feel so much like at home and don't want to take care of the flowerbeds. /.../ If it would be possible to organise it somehow that people would take more care of the surroundings of their houses then it would feel more like home.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Male, 74</strong></td>
<td>„But there are not enough places to sit in Annelinn. I feel sorry for old people and young mothers who don’t have anywhere to sit even just for a chat. But I don’t know if it’s because they afraid the vandals or why no benches are put there...” „But again the people that have been living there for a long time, like we have over 40 years and then these who come later, a lot of them are renting the apartment. These tenants don't have this kind of relationship with the surrounding like we do. And well they are staying for a while and then moving somewhere else again, graduate or have children – look a house for themselves. So tenants are still temporary.” „In the 9-storey building there are more Russians and they don't have so many country houses, so you can see them more walking..”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. Female, 54</strong></td>
<td>„Unfortunately the situation of a public space, in some way paradoxically, the situation has gone worse, because all the benches and even the boarders of the sandboxes and everything has been taken away eventually, because at some point homeless people or some russian youngsters were having picnics there or even people from somewhere outside. /.../ So that is kind of sad.” „Well, in the beginning this environment was more friendly, because now I feel terribly sorry for people, especially old people, who don't even have a place to lean, no benches anymore. Before we used to have them at every door and near the playgrounds a lot... but now due to the social situation people are forced to take the benches away.” „But now thanks to the fact that all the benches and everything have been removed, because they were attracting wrong people, then it really is more empty now. And I really feel sorry for the children.” „Now that I have been walking a dog I have seen homeless people, lying under trees and living there.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5. Male, 33</strong></td>
<td>„What is concerning the social side or the people here, then I think the more you go to the back of Annelinn, I think it is still like that, but it was even more then, because there were more Russians in the end of the Soviet period, I remember that well from my childhood. /.../ And you know the thing with Estonians and Russians, well I wouldn’t say that hate but still some conflict. I remember even fighting with one Russian boy. I had a lot of russian in my class too, but not everybody were from back there Nõlvaku and Kivilinn, but a lot of them were. Sometimes when I went back there then you could hear a lot more russian, compared to my neighbourhood in Annelinn. And I think it is kind of the same now. I don't want to say that Nõlvaku and Mõisavahе are completely russian, but probably 50% or so, but still a big part of Russians in Tartu have gathered there.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2

6. Male, 38

"About that sitting I would like to tell you one thing. I don't know if they still exist somewhere but these type projects of Tartu Maja, that are on Kaunase puiestee, mostly 5-stories I think. Anyway they had a cellar door behind the house and most of them are now walled in. There was a small stairs and two walls, a lot of them are demolished but I remember that then too there weren't any places to sit and it was possible to sit on these walls and well people found those places. Of course some drunk people started to hang out there and then these walls were rather demolished."

"I know that in my parents house there are also a lot of Russians, but well maybe Russians in Tartu have gathered in Annelinn, I think they like these kind of districts for some reason. In Tallinn they also gather to Lasnamäe."

"I also remember that in the kindergarten there were also a lot of Russians or Caucasians or I don't what nationalities. So you could feel how these different... there were big fields, where different bunches of children met and well there were also these kind of bullies with a different nationality and we had our own kind of rivals and uncomfortable things also there in the games of Annelinn."

7. Female, 35

"Maybe the attitude of people has changed. Before it used be an anonymus dormitory area or something like that, but still before you knew, well maybe it depends on that in some age you just associate more with your surroundings. Because people used to know each other. Like this same thing with the flowerbeds, it was made by people who had come there from private houses and started to make the flowerbeds and plant bushes and trees. Now there is less this kind of flowerbed thing."

"If there could be more resing places, because really these long pedestrian axes and when people are walking by it and well elderly need to rest somewhere. So actually all these things that have been taken away in 30 years, because drunks are sitting in front of the houses."

"I have really positive experiences with Russians. They are never mean or angry or anything like that. They are always kind and friendly and well I'm well integrated thanks to that."

"Probably the main issue is that mostly one third of the people living in the house are definately pensioners, if not more, then it takes a lot of effort to maintain the houses so there's not enough resources to deal also with the outside space."

"I don't think that Annelinn is going to disappear or turn in to a ghetto or something like that."

8. Female, 58

"I used to be a big flowerbed enthusiast, because in Supilinn I had a small piece of land where I used to grow vegetables, but of course in Annelinn I couldn't grow vegetables anymore, but we made a small flowerbed with one of my neighbours. But then that neighbour moved out and new neighbours came and they weren't interested in taking care of the flowerbed. And thought that it's not possible for me to take care of it alone, so it faded slowly. /.../ But at first, when there were less cars, then I like to take care of the flowerbeds, also people's attitude was more friendly."

"There are very different people living in the houses which makes renovating the houses a lot more complicated. A lot of young people and then a lot of old people who can't afford to take a 30-year loan, they just won't live that long."

"Drunk people are coming and making noise under the windows. So people who live in the first floors can't even leave a window open. So when it's getting warmer outside, always some kind of activity is starting to take place."