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The Influence of Ethnicity and Nationalism on Soviet and Post-Soviet Urbanization in Tallinn, Estonia and Kazan, Russia.

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The Influence of Ethnicity and Nationalism on
Soviet and Post-Soviet Urbanization in
Tallinn, Estonia and Kazan, Russia.



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April 30, 2007

Abstract

Ethnic identity affected urban planning and architecture to varying degrees across the Soviet Union. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the landscapes of cities located within its former boundaries have undergone dramatic change. In some cases these changes have been heavily influenced by the surge of ethnic identity and nationalism prevalent across the former Soviet bloc. This project specifically looks at the roles ethnicity and nationalism have had in determining the development of the Soviet and Post-Soviet urban landscapes in Tallinn, Estonia and Kazan, Russia.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank David Lanegran for his support throughout the entirety of my project as well as the assistance of my other readers James Von Geldern and Peter Weisensel. I would also like to mention the Associated Colleges of the Midwest for the research grant, which enabled me to carry out the necessary fieldwork to complete this project in May 2006. Fieldwork allowed me to carry out necessary interviews, and I express the sincerest gratitude to my informants. Lastly I wish to thank my parents, Steve Hughes and Sue Cornish, for their endless support and care which allowed me to successfully complete this project.

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Introduction

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, ethnic groups sought to define their national identity and separate themselves from the Russian Soviet culture imposed upon them for the past fifty to seventy years. This was a trend that spread from East Berlin and Prague across Eurasia to Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia. Throughout the 1990's theories concerning the nature of ethnic identity and nationalism in the former Soviet bloc came to the fore. In each case national identity appeared in many forms. In Eastern Europe ethnic groups celebrated their cultural heritage. In the Balkans and the Caucasus the same celebration of heritage took place but was overshadowed by internecine conflict and genocide. In Central Asia, presidents-for-life legitimized their regimes through extreme forms of ethnic nationalism.

One aspect of post-Soviet ethnic nationalism rarely examined by nationalist theorists is how urban design, planning and architecture were affected by the surge of nationalist fervor across Eurasia. The urban landscape of two cities in particular saw dramatic change in the post-Soviet era. Tallinn, Estonia and Kazan, Russia sought to redefine their urban landscapes in order to separate themselves from the previous Russian-Soviet culture.

Tallinn, a city of 400 thousand, is located along the western edge of the Baltic Sea, and consequently enjoys a unique cultural position. Located at the crossroads of Western European and Russian cultures, the city strives to find its identity. Fifty-three

percent of the city's population is ethnic Estonian, while thirty-seven percent is ethnic Russian. Religion is also clearly defined with Estonians predominantly Lutheran Christian and Russians predominantly Orthodox. Kazan is likewise located at a cultural crossroads but on the eastern edge of European Russia. Its population of 1.1 million is forty-nine percent ethnic Tatar and forty-three percent ethnic Russian. The Tatar population is predominantly Sunni Muslim and identifies with Tatars in other nations as well as other Turkic and Muslim nationalities. The Russian population on the other hand retains its Russian culture and remains Orthodox Christian.

Both cities therefore have a similar balance of ethnic and religious divisions involving ethnic Russians. However Tallinn and Kazan have many differences, which allow them to provide for proper comparison. Tallinn serves as a national capital while Kazan remains only the capital of an autonomous republic located within the Russian Federation. Tallinn looks to Western Europe for its traditions and Kazan looks south to Turkic and Muslim nations.

Estonia and Tallinn's governments used Tallinn as a showcase to define the Estonian national identity. Kazan and Tatarstan's governments did the same. Yet the situation and manner of conveying identity varied greatly between these two cases. This phenomenon is however not a recent development. The urban landscape of both cities developed over centuries, and the nature of how ethnic identity and nationalism affected these cities began during the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The purpose of this project is to identify what factors were involved in developing the Estonian and Tatar ethnic identities and how these identities affected urban design, planning and architecture. Specifically, the Soviet and post-Soviet periods will be examined in detail. Chapter I is a brief history of Tallinn and Kazan. This will

provide an understanding of the historical factors affecting the development of each city's urban landscape and the national identity of the ethnicities involved.

Chapter II explains the evolution of Soviet urban planning and architectural theory. This is important because both Tallinn and Kazan's urban landscapes dramatically changed under Soviet rule and a theoretical understanding of this transition is necessary. In Chapter III the application of Soviet urban planning and architecture specifically in Tallinn and Kazan will be examined. The development and effect of national identity on Soviet planning and architecture are key attributes of this chapter.

In Chapter IV the nature of post-Soviet nationalism in Estonia and Tatarstan will be analyzed through a theoretical framework. This theory will lay the groundwork for Chapter V which is an in depth study of post-Soviet urban planning and architecture in Tallinn and Kazan.

Interest and Methodology

The idea behind this project originated with two trips to Tallinn and Kazan in the spring of the 2004. On both trips I knew very little about my destinations, but I became very attached to both cities. The intricate mixture of Russian and Estonian or Russian and Tatar culture intrigued me. I made a subsequent trip in 2005 to Tallinn and the city had already changed dramatically in the course of just one year. I began independently reading about the history of both cities, the nationalities involved, and the rapid changes occurring in each city's urban landscape.

In spring of 2006 I applied for a research grant from the Associated Colleges of the Mid-West and began formally researching the topic. With the grant I conducted field work in Tallinn and Kazan for three weeks in May of 2006. Fieldwork consisted of

formal and informal interviews with urban planners, real estate agents, city officials, residents, students, and members of the urban-planning faculty from Tallinn Technical University and Kazan State University. I carried out observational fieldwork with assistance from the faculty members at these two universities. Ilmar Pihlak, Olga (wished to have last name omitted) and Dinar (last name omitted) were particularly generous with their time and expertise. The majority of the information that they provided was used to write Chapter V.

After completing my fieldwork I continued with formal research looking at history, Soviet and Western urban planning theory, architectural theory, and theory concerning nationalism and ethnic identity. My sources were varied and came from a variety of institutions including the Macalester College Library, The Johns Hopkins Eisenhower Library, the Library of the Tallinn Technical University, the Museum of Estonian Architecture, and the Ayni State Library of Tajikistan, various academic journals, and a wide variety of internet sources. Not all sources were available in English and many citations refer to Russian sources. Additional background research was also conducted Tajik, French, Dutch, and Spanish.

Notes to the Reader

-Throughout the project terminology is transliterated from the original Russian and Tatar, both of which use the Cyrillic alphabet. The majority of terms transliterated from Russian are the same as they were in the sources in which they were found. For terms transliterated differently in a variety of sources, the one most common in the sources available is used for this project. For example, *mikrorayon*, which is the version

used throughout the project, is also transliterated in some sources as *microraion*, *mikroraion*, and *microrayon*.

-Official transliterations from the governments of Tatarstan and Kazan were used for people's names, place names, building names, and street names in Kazan. For example, the president of Tatarstan, Mintimer Shaimiev, is transliterated as such because this is the version used on the official website of the Republic of Tatarstan even though other sources use different spellings.

-For people's names, place names, building names, and street names in Tallinn, the original Estonian is used since the language uses a modified version of the Latin alphabet.

-Quotes from Russian sources were translated by the author. The original Russian is provided in corresponding footnotes.

-In English, the titular nationality of Tatarstan is referred to as both "Tatar" and "Tartar." In Russian and Tatar language, only the transliterated *Tatar* is accepted as a term for the nationality. *Tartar* specifically refers to tartar sauce and is also equivalent to the colloquial English word "bollix."

-Furthermore the English version of the official website of the Republic of Tatarstan uses Tatar. Therefore Tatar is used throughout the entirety of this project except for a few quotes where the original author of the cited work used "Tartar."

-All images were photographed by the author between the years 2003 – 2006 in Tallinn, Kazan or Moscow unless otherwise noted.

-Interviewed informants understood that information which they provided would be made public and agreed to have their views and opinions published in this project.

Maps relevant to this project can be found at the following URLs:

The Soviet Union in 1984:

“Russia and the Former Soviet Republics Maps Maps – Perry-Castañeda Map Collection – UT Library Online,” (April 9, 2007).

http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/commonwealth/soviet_union_admin_1984.jpg
(accessed April 25, 2007).

Kazan City Map (in Russian):

“Карта Казани – VIP Сайт КАЗАНЬ (*Karta Kazani – VIP Sait Kazan’*),” (2004-2007). <http://www.vipkazan.ru/info/firmsmap/> (accessed April 25, 2007).

Tallinn City Map (Interactive):

“Tallinn,” (2002-2006). <http://www.tourism.tallinn.ee/map> (accessed April 30, 2007).

Chapter I: A Brief Summary of the History of Tallinn and Kazan

Before exploring Soviet and post-Soviet urbanization in Tallinn and Kazan, it is necessary to understand Tallinn and Kazan's historical backgrounds. Both cities developed between two cultural spheres, which vied for domination of tradition, language, and even architecture. Tallinn, as part of Estonia as a whole, was wedged between German and Russian spheres of influence. In contrast, Kazan was the northern bastion of Turkic and Islamic culture in the heart of the vast Russian steppe. In the following chapter the history of both Tallinn and Kazan will be separately summarized.

Tallinn

Finno-Ugric tribes settled in the vicinity of present day Tallinn during the second millennium BCE.¹ The hill upon which the Upper Old Town (Toompea) grew provided a defensible position that attracted early settlers. The first mention of Tallinn was in 1154 when the Arab cartographer al-Idrisi included it in his map of the world titled "lawh al-tarsim."² Tallinn did not become a city of any real importance until the early part of the

¹ Karin Hallas, Krista Kodres and Mart Kalm. *20th Century Architecture in Tallinn* (Tallinn, Estonia: The Museum of Estonian Architecture, 2000). Pg. 10.

² Hallas, 10.

13th century when it served as a transit point between Viking Scandinavia and Byzantium. The Teutonic Order of Knights conquered the area and established Livonia, now present-day Estonia and Latvia. During this period, Danish allies of the Teutonic Order were given control of Tallinn and northern Estonia. The name Tallinn is actually derived from the Estonian *taani linn* meaning “Danish Castle.” A member of the Hanseatic League, Tallinn served an important role as a trade and artisan center connecting Western Europe and medieval Rus.³

Medieval Livonia and German Culture:

With German and Danish control came Western European culture and religion. German lords and merchants became the ruling class in Tallinn and other Livonian cities. Estonians on the other hand were primarily concerned with agriculture and lower level economic functions in the cities.⁴ With German culture came German architects and architecture. Therefore during the middle ages, when Livonian cities began to thrive, their urban landscape began to resemble other German cities in the Hanseatic League. This is especially evident in medieval churches built by German and Danish merchants like the Oleviste Church, which has the third tallest church steeple in the world (as shown in Image 1).



Image 1: Oleviste Church (13th-14th Century).

³ Raun, Toivo U. *Estonia and the Estonians* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1987). Pg. 23.

⁴ *Ibid*, 22.

Considering religion, the German conquerors brought Catholicism and the clergy. In comparison to neighboring areas, the Catholic Church was not successful in converting the local pagan population. The Estonians considered German culture and religion foreign and distant. Therefore pagan rituals and beliefs remained strong, and it was not until Swedish rule that the broader Estonian population would accept Christianity.⁵

Swedish Control of Tallinn

With the rise of Muscovy, Poland, and Sweden during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Teutonic Order in Livonia began to collapse. This was the beginning of the Livonian Wars, when the three aforementioned forces vied for control of Livonia from 1561 to 1583. After twenty years of war, Russia's Ivan the Terrible (Ivan IV) had given up all claims to the area, giving Sweden and Poland control of Old Livonia.⁶ But Poland and Sweden continued vying for regional dominance until 1629, with the Peace of Altamark.⁷ In this agreement Sweden gained control of Tallinn and northern Livonia, or Estland. These newly acquired lands were desirable for their agricultural potential and served as Sweden's breadbasket until 1710. Poland on the other hand took control of southern Livonia, or Livland, where ethnic Latvians were the majority of the local population. After six decades of war, famine, and disease the region was devastated. In some parts of Estland and Livland up to seventy-five percent of the population perished.

Under Swedish and Polish rule, Estonians accepted Christianity and Western European culture. Lutheranism became well established in everyday life. Christian beliefs were however heavily interwoven with pagan traditions, giving Christianity in

⁵ Raun, 23.

⁶ Ibid, 25-27.

⁷ Ibid, 28.

Estonia a unique character.⁸ Even today some of these pagan rituals continue, for example locating cemeteries in untended forests. Ethnic Germans however remained the ruling class under the Swedes, and actually gained a relative amount of autonomy from the Swedish crown. Adoption of western culture and the ruling status of Germans would continue until the Great Northern War, when Peter the Great (Peter I) of Russia conquered the area.

Incorporation into the Russian Empire

Peter I saw an opportunity for conquering Estland and Livland when a weak monarch, Charles XII, inherited the Swedish throne. The war lasted from 1700 till 1710 and was devastating for all sides involved. With the Swedish surrender of Tallinn in 1710, much of the eastern Baltic became part of the Russian Empire.

In the Russian Empire, Tallinn's role as a port diminished because of the establishment of St. Petersburg. Tallinn's maritime economy declined while the rest of Estonia continued to serve as an agricultural center. At the time of the Russian invasion the majority of the Estonian population was rural and practiced agriculture. Tallinn's population was just over ten thousand in 1782.⁹

Germans remained the elite class; however Russians began appearing in the upper echelons of society as well. Culturally, serfdom became an important issue, as it was across the entire Russian empire. Russian-enforced serfdom on the Estonian population further restricted Tallinn's potential as a trade port because most of the local population was tied to land and agriculture. Russian Orthodoxy also began to appear as another

⁸ Raun, 32.

⁹ Raun, 52.

major religion in the area. Many Estonians, especially in the areas bordering Russia proper, began converting to Russian Orthodoxy.

Despite the rise of Russian culture, the most important thing that happened was the “rise of a national consciousness among the Estonian-speaking population.”¹⁰ This “consciousness” followed the end of serfdom in Estonia and the other Baltic provinces in 1819 (forty-two years before the rest of the Russian Empire).¹¹ With national consciousness came the desire for self-rule, which would take another century to materialize. An important side effect to the end of serfdom in Estonia was the beginning of rural to urban migration by ethnic Estonians, especially to Tallinn. By 1863 Tallinn had doubled its 1782 population to over twenty thousand.¹²

Russification:

Between 1860 and 1900 Estonia experienced a period of state-imposed russification. This was primarily a response to the unification of Germany in 1870-71. The Tsarist regime feared that Baltic Germans would advocate the inclusion of the Baltic provinces in the new German Reich.¹³ During this period German institutions were attacked by the state and replaced with Russian ones, and Russian became the language of trade and politics. Russian orthodoxy was also strongly advocated by both the state and the clergy. During this period the Alexander Nevsky Orthodox Cathedral (see Image 2) was built opposite the governmental palace in Tallinn. Demographically, the area changed as ethnic Russians migrated to Estonia, replacing Germans as the second largest ethnic group.

¹⁰ Ibid, 38.

¹¹ Ibid, 38.

¹² Ibid, 52.

¹³ Raun, 62.

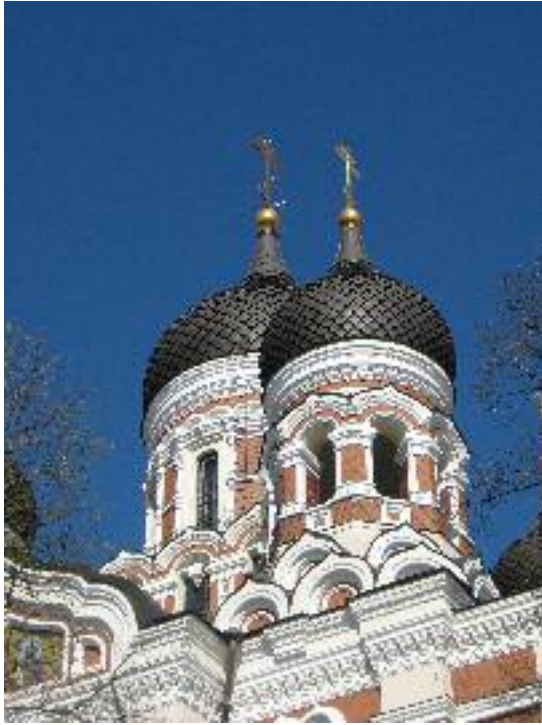


Image I2: Alexander Nevsky Cathedral (19th Century).

A side effect of russification was the sharp rise in Estonian nationalism. Russian culture did not fill all the gaps left by the emigrating Germans and the demise of their culture in the region. In the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century the Estonian intelligentsia came to the fore. Secondary education in Estonian became available for the first time. Mass media in Estonian were also available in addition to growing Estonian literary societies. Along with rapid industrialization came greater rural to urban

migration. By 1900 Tallinn's population was well over 60,000.¹⁴

By the end of this period, there was a clear Estonian national consciousness, and nationalist political parties began forming. They called for at least partial if not full autonomy from the Russian Empire. By 1914 and the onset of WWI there was a well-defined movement for Estonian self-rule. With the Russian Revolution and the collapse of the empire this became reality. Estonia declared independence in 1918 and, defending itself from German and Soviet forces, achieved sovereignty in 1920¹⁵.

Independence:

For the next twenty years after independence, Estonia sought to secure its autonomy in the face of Nazi Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union. This was also an

¹⁴ Hallas, 10.

¹⁵ Raun, 107.

integral period for the development of Estonian culture. No longer under the yoke of German and Russian cultures, Estonians defined their own identity and culture.

Having been held behind for centuries by occupying cultures, the Estonians leapfrogged ahead and were quick to embrace very modern philosophies for the advancement of their country. Universal suffrage was one of the founding principals of the country.¹⁶ The artistic and architectural *avant garde* were held in especially high regard. The urban landscape became architecturally diverse while Estonia got its first architecture school in Tallinn. Constructivism, *Bauhaus*, functionalism, *art nouveau*, and even *art deco* all competed for street space in Tallinn. In contrast to western modern styles, wooden architecture also became a trademark of this period, and Tallinn is still defined by the mass wooden housing projects of this era (shown in Image 3).

The End of Independence:

For the first time, Tallinn was becoming a distinctly Estonian city and Estonia Estonian. This period of self-determination tragically ended in 1939 with the annexation of Estonia and Latvia by the Soviet Union as agreed in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Changing hands between Nazi and Soviet forces numerous times, Estonia eventually became part of the Soviet Union after World War II. For the next forty-five years Estonian culture and architecture would be heavily influenced by Soviet Russian culture. In comparison to other regions in the Soviet Union, Estonia maintained a fair amount of autonomy from Soviet culture and politics, therefore keeping its unique, but changing, culture. This was a fate different than our other city of interest – Kazan.

¹⁶ Ibid, 84.



Image 3: Independence era wooden apartment buildings east of Toompea.

Kazan

Kazan's history differs from Tallinn's in that it is heavily tied into Russia's history as a whole. Therefore instead of covering the spread of Kazan's history, more attention will be paid to the specific periods that helped define modern Tatar ethnic identity and its role in Kazan. The periods which are most important are: the period prior to and shortly after Kazan's capture by Tsarist Russia, the reign of Catherine the Great, the Soviet years, and the collapse of the USSR.

Kazan before and shortly after Russian Conquest

Kazan was incorporated into the Muscovite principality in 1552. After three successive military campaigns, Ivan the Terrible (Ivan IV) conquered the city and destroyed the khanate of Kazan. Prior to 1552 Kazan had been the capital of the khanate of Kazan, which ruled over the Russian principalities as part of the Golden Horde. The Khanate enjoyed a fair amount of power thanks to the Mongol subjugation of Kievan Rus in the thirteenth century.

Even though the region around Kazan had been inhabited since the second millennium BCE, the predecessors of the Tatars, the Volga Bulgars, did not move into the area until the sixth century CE.¹⁷ Bulgars forced north by the invading Mongol armies of Batu Khan founded the original city of Kazan in the thirteenth century.¹⁸ This settlement was 45 km west of the Volga on the Kazanka River. In 1400 the Volga Bulgars moved their city to its present location at the confluence of the Kazanka and Volga rivers. A small hill running parallel to the Volga a few kilometers inland provided a defensive position in a mostly flat landscape. This elevated position is where the current kremlin stands and remains the physical and political center of the city.

In 1437 Ulu Mohammed conquered the Principality of Kazan and established the Muslim khanate of Kazan. Located at the confluence of the Kazanka and Volga rivers, the city became an important center of trade. The khanate struggled for dominance over the steppe with the Muscovite Principality and the khanate of Crimea. In 1552, Ivan the Terrible conquered the khanate as well as the khanate of Astrakhan to the south. These acquisitions gave the Principality of Moscow complete control over the Volga region.

¹⁷ Deviatykh L. I., A.V. Belogazov, et al. *Kazan': Vremen cviazuiushchaia nit'* (Kazan, Russia: RITs "Titul," 2000). Pg. 8.

¹⁸ Bukharaev, Ravil. *Kazan: the Enchanted City* (London, UK: Flint River Press, 1995).

As part of the Muscovite Principality, Kazan served as staging ground for Russian expansion into Siberia. People and supplies went east while riches such as furs and minerals funneled through the city to the rest of Russia.¹⁹ Dramatic population growth resulted from Kazan's importance as a staging area for eastern expansion. Prior to 1552, the population of Kazan was almost exclusively ethnic Tatar.²⁰ However Russian immigrants, primarily merchants, began to move into the city and their numbers steadily increased. Eventually, by the end of the 19th century ethnic Russians had become the largest ethnicity represented in Kazan. At this time, Tatars only constituted 15-20 per cent of the total population of 150,000. During this period the Tatar minority was concentrated in the "lower town," located west of the Bulak Canal and Lake Kaban.²¹ Despite the influx of ethnic Russians and Russian culture, the Tatars remained somewhat segregated and managed to preserve much of their culture, language, and religion until the twentieth century. For the most part, like in Estonia, the bulk of the Tatar population remained rural. However, unlike in Estonia, rural Tatars did interact with Russians who settled in the countryside and practiced agriculture. Thus, Tatarstan did not experience the same rural/urban ethnic divide like in Estonia.

¹⁹ Millar, James R. *Encyclopedia of Russian History* (New York, NY: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004). Pg. 732-733.

²⁰ Andrusz, Gregory et al. "The Socialist City" by David M. Smith in *Cities After Socialism: Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post-Socialist Societies* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996). Pg. 93.

²¹ *Ibid*, 93.



Image 4: Looking West across Lake Kaban, a lone minaret rises above the historically Tatar district.

Catherine the Great (Catherine II) and Kazan

Catherine the Great's reign had a major effect on the urban development of Kazan as an important city in the Volga region. In 1773 the Don Cossack Emelian Pugachev claimed that he was Tsar Peter III and led a revolt against Catherine's regime. His campaign was successful for a short while and managed to take control of Kazan. His forces pillaged the city, which suffered considerable damage. After Pugachev's defeat in 1774, Catherine the Great rebuilt the city according to a grid layout, which still exists to this day.²² Buildings built during this era were built in the classical Russian imperial style. These buildings have survived to this day and are one of the characteristics that make Kazan a unique Russian city.

²² Millar, 732-733.

Another important event during Catherine the Great's reign was that in 1781 Kazan was re-established as a provincial capital.²³ Even though it had become capital of Kazan Province in 1708, Catherine the Great redefined the city's regional role. This gave the city an important political function in addition to its importance as a regional economic center. Diversification of urban functions gave the city a platform from which to further improve its status in Russia's urban hierarchy.

In the latter part of the 18th century Kazan became an important center for light manufacturing. Examples of industries in Kazan were food production; preparing furs; and the manufacture of soap, leather, and shoes.²⁴ Drama and music theaters as well as other institutions, supporting the Russian-European style arts, are examples of high order urban functions that arrived in Kazan during this period. The establishment of the University of Kazan in 1804 solidified the development of the



Image 5: The Kazan State University library (foreground) and one of the additions of the Soviet era behind.

city as an artistic and intellectual center of both Russian and Muslim-Tatar culture. The university has always competed with academic institutions in Moscow and St. Petersburg as one of the best in Russia.

²³ Ibid, 732-733.

²⁴ Ibid, 732-733.

The Russian Civil War, the Creation of Tatarstan, and the Soviet Era

Kazan was quickly involved in the civil war because of its strategic location on a bend in the Volga. The Czech Legion, an important part of the White Army formed by Czech and Slovak prisoners of war, captured the city in 1918. The city would serve as an opportune staging ground for opposition to the Red Army. Because of its strategic importance, Kazan and its surroundings was the location of the first decisive victory for the Red Army. The city stayed in Bolshevik hands for the remainder of the war. Tatars were torn between independence and integration into the emerging Soviet Union. However Tatar communists like Mirsaid Sultan-Galiev led Tatars in the direction of supporting the Bolsheviks because of their policy of “ethnic federalism.”²⁵

The Tatar Republic was created in 1920 and soon became the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR), Kazan served as its capital. However, the borders were drawn without regard of where ethnic Tatars actually lived. Therefore only half of the republic’s population was ethnically Tatar and more Tatars lived outside of Tatarstan than within it.

Neighboring provinces, like the Bashkir ASSR (now Bashkortostan), had substantial Tatar minorities, up to twenty-five per cent of the total population.²⁶ The arbitrary delineation of Tatarstan’s borders alienated many Tatars seeing it as an intentional policy of the Soviet Government to divide the Tatar population. More radical nationalists went further by saying that the creation of the Tatar ASSR was “an attempt both to divide the Tatar nation and control its core from Moscow.”²⁷

²⁵ Millar, 1521.

²⁶ Kremenjuk, Victor A. *Conflicts in and Around Russia: Nation-Building in Difficult times* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994). Pg. 28-29.

²⁷ Kremenjuk, 28-29.

During the 1930's Kazan's role as a center for heavy industry grew considerably. Aircraft, transport, and agricultural machine production became important industries in Kazan.²⁸ These industries brought new laborers (both Russian and Tatar), and the population of the city significantly increased. The Second World War allowed Kazan to increase its status in the Soviet urban hierarchy because it escaped the war unscathed. Therefore the historical city was preserved and many defense industries were moved to the city and Tatarstan.

After the conclusion of the war, central Kazan was not rebuilt like other cities located in European Russia. Since the historic city still survived, it was not entirely restructured as a 'socialist city' and retained much of its capitalist nature. Ignoring the historical center of the city, attention went to developing entirely new areas of the city using new models of Soviet urban planning theory. As a result of population growth and the expansion of the city, the traditional cultural segregation of Tatars and Russians began to break down. Unlike other Soviet cities however, the two ethnic groups did maintain a fair amount of spatial segregation. This was shown by a cartographical survey conducted in 1974. The segregation of Russians and Tatars found in the study are described as follows:

The proportion of Tartars has also increased, with migration from the surrounding territory; by the time of the 1974 survey it had reached 31.1 per cent, with 64.1 per cent of Russians, and the balance made up by other ethnic groups. Districts with relatively high proportions of Tartars could still be identified, roughly corresponding with those at the turn of the century. But nowhere did Tartars exceed 80 per cent of the total population; they were to be found living in all parts of the city, often side by side with Russians.²⁹

²⁸ Millar, 733.

²⁹ Andrusz, Smith, 93.

Following World War II, new industries came to Kazan and Tatarstan as a whole. Oil production throughout Tatarstan began in the 1940's and in the 1970's the Kama automotive plant (KAMAZ) was established.³⁰ Both of these industries brought significant economic and population growth to Kazan and Tatarstan. Oil production and the KAMAZ plant remain two of the most important industries in Tatarstan along with electrical engineering, chemical production, defense industries and precision equipment manufacture.³¹

The Collapse of the Soviet Union

On August 30, 1990 the local authorities of the Tatar ASSR declared independence from the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) and established the Tatar Soviet Socialist Republic. Therefore, in the eyes of the new Tatar government, the Tatar SSR had the same legal status in the framework of the Soviet Constitution as Estonia, Georgia and the other full SSR's.³² This status was however unofficial, but the collapsing Soviet Union and RSFSR were too weak to prevent this declaration from gaining *de facto* recognition across the country.

In 1991, Tatarstan achieved considerable sovereignty and would spend the next three years as an undefined entity separate from the Russian Federation. Mintimer Shaimiev, the former Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Tatar Soviet Socialist Republic, was elected president of the newly, self-proclaimed, independent Tatarstan.³³

³⁰ Millar, 1521.

³¹ Vachnadze, George N. *Russia's Hotbeds of Tension* (Commack, NY: Nove Science Publishers, 1993). Pg. 105-107.

³² Shaimiev, Mintimer. "Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Tatar Soviet Socialist Republic," (Official Web-site of the Republic of Tatarstan, 1990), www.tatar.ru (accessed April 11, 2007).

³³ <http://www.tatar.ru/>

When Russian authorities created the treaty of the Federation, Shaimiev refused to sign. Between 1991 and 1994 Tatarstan acted as if it were an independent county, establishing bilateral agreements not only with Russia, but also with countries such as Turkey and Kazakhstan. In 1994 Shaimiev agreed to sign a bilateral treaty with the Russian government. The treaty stipulated that Russia would handle a variety of issues concerning foreign policy, federal taxes, and defense. Tatarstan on the other hand would concern itself with all other issues including the right to conduct foreign economic policy and the right to pardon prisoners.³⁴

Tatarstan was able to negotiate with Russia because of its strong industrial and economic base. The Russian authorities were also afraid of another Chechnya and were willing to make more concessions to avoid such a fate. Tatarstan's autonomy showed over the years. Laws in Tatarstan contradicted federal Russian laws and Shaimiev refused to send conscripts to the war in Chechnya.³⁵ Another important aspect of Tatarstan's autonomy was its economic independence during the nineties. Unlike the rest of the country, Shaimiev maintained state control of the republic's resources and productions centers.³⁶ Oil was the most beneficial resource that the state maintained control of because it gave Shaimiev's government considerable economic leverage. The Tatar government had permission from the federal government to sell up to five million tons of oil a year on the international market. This gave the republic the power to subsidize "the production of staple commodities."³⁷ Therefore the republic's cost of living was substantially lower than in other parts of the country during the 1990s.

³⁴ <http://www.tatar.ru/>

³⁵ Jack, Andrew. *Inside Putin's Russia: can there be reform without democracy?* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004). Pg. 231.

³⁶ Jack, 231.

³⁷ Vachnadze, 109.

But Tatarstan's economic and political autonomy dwindled over the years. For example the republic had originally retained up to 70 percent of its taxes, while in 2001 it only retained 30 percent and the rest went to the Russian Federation. Nonetheless, Tatarstan still enjoys considerable autonomy, more so than any other entity in the Russian Federation. This autonomy has in particular allowed Kazan to choose its own path in terms of redefining the city in the post-Soviet era.

Conclusion:

Considering the histories of both Tallinn and Kazan, we see that at the onset of the post-Soviet period, the two cities had uncertain futures. Tallinn has always leaned toward the west, however Russians became a substantial part of the population. Even though the Estonians had struggled to maintain their identity through the centuries, Russian influence was substantial. The city was nevertheless eager to break away from its Soviet shell and redefine itself as a truly Estonian city.

Kazan on the other hand had been in the heart of the Russian Empire and Soviet Union for nearly 500 years. The Tatar identity had become lost in the haze of Soviet ethnic politics. After 1991 the city understood that it held a unique place in the new Russian Federation. It used its status as an ethnic homeland and Islamic center to set itself apart from the rest of Russia. The city's economic and political autonomy allowed it to survive the hardships of economic transition better than other Russian cities. Kazan's new international connections to both the Turkic and Muslim worlds allowed it to reestablish its role as the center of Islam in the new Russia. Its autonomy and Tatar rule has given birth to a new era in the city's history – Kazan as a Tatar city.

Although both cities had emerged as culturally unique entities by the end of the Soviet period, they shared common urban traits because of Soviet urban planning. In the next chapter the various theories that constitute Soviet urban planning will be discussed in detail. In the following chapter, the application of Soviet urban planning in Tallinn and Kazan and its effects on each city will be explored

Chapter II: Soviet Planning in Theory and in Practice

After the 1917 Russian Revolution the new leadership sought to create a more urbanized society that was egalitarian, communal, and of course socialist. To this end, planners in the Soviet Union had unprecedented freedom to develop theories for the creation of Socialist cities. Soviet urban planning evolved in distinct stages influenced by policies held by the country's leadership. The four main evolutionary stages of Soviet planning will be discussed in this chapter. The fundamentals and influences of each will be looked at while analyzing how each influenced its successor.

The first stage of Soviet planning came from models developed during the 1920's. Utopian models aimed at creating an ideal socialist society defined this period in Soviet planning. Few of these idealistic plans were ever implemented due to their impracticality. The utopian models were succeeded by the linear city, implemented during the first Five-Year plan, 1929-1934. Linear models were more practical and ideal for the construction of entirely new cities, many of which were built during the first Five-Year plan. Before the end of the first Five-Year plan however, the Soviet leadership had already taken a radical turn in policy favoring a more hierarchical city. This change in policy was embodied by the 1935 master plan for Moscow. After Stalin's death a more

egalitarian and inexpensive concept came into existence in order to satisfy nationwide housing shortages – the *mikrorayon*.

Schools of Socialist Urban Planning During the 1920's

During the 1920's two schools of thought concerning socialist planning came to the fore - the urbanist and de-urbanist schools. Although neither one of these schools were fully implemented in any measure, aspects from both formed the foundation of all succeeding planning models.³⁸

The Urbanist School

The urbanist school of thought sought to “de-emphasize distinctions between the agriculturalist and the proletarian”³⁹ as well as promoting an entirely communal society in which the nuclear family would eventually dissipate.⁴⁰ Two of the most prominent supporters of this school were architects L. Sabsovich and S.G. Strumilin. They believed that a new urban system was necessary to achieve the school's objectives.

The new urban system would consist of “self-contained” small cities limited to a size of about 50,000 inhabitants. These small urban areas would consist of apartment blocs organized around labor nodes such as factories. Employment nodes would additionally serve the entertainment and domestic needs of a settlement's inhabitants. According to Marx, the workplace “is regarded as the central focus of an individual's life activity [therefore] social clubs and recreational activities [would be] best organized

³⁸ Bater, James H. *The Soviet City: Ideal and Reality* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications Inc., 1980). Pg. 22.

³⁹ Bater 1980, 23.

⁴⁰ Frolic, Michael B. *The Soviet City* (Ithica, NY: Cornell Soviet Studies Reprint, 1964). Pg. 285-286.

around the place of work.”⁴¹ Higher-level services, such as hospitals or administrative offices, would be placed throughout these small cities in an egalitarian fashion, with equal access to all inhabitants. Thus, unlike in capitalist cities, there would be no hierarchy within the city. City centers would not act as the apex of social and political activity.

Strumilin and Sabsovich not only wanted to create a new urban system, but went so far as create an entirely new social system. They wanted communal residential blocks without kitchens or shops so that all time not spent sleeping or relaxing would be spent in communal spaces like state run cafeterias and stores.⁴² They even went so far as to suggest that childrearing should be a communal practice. Children would live with their parents only for the first six years of their life and then be transferred to the care of trained childcare professionals. Parents would of course still have the opportunity to visit their children in their spare time.⁴³ Through this reorganization of society the traditional hierarchy of the family would be dismantled.

By giving inhabitants easy access to the surrounding countryside the distinction between the worker and the agriculturalist would be eradicated.⁴⁴ The cities’ small size as well as transportation routes connecting city and country could facilitate this. Therefore agriculturalists could live in these small urban nodes and continue working in the country.

Although there was no single model that served as the basis for the urbanist school, the desired results were similar. One notable difference between the two models

⁴¹ Gregory D. Andrusz. “The built environment in Soviet theory and practice.” *International Journal of urban and regional research*, Vol:11, No: 4 (1987): 483.

⁴² Andrusz 1987, 485.

⁴³ Frolic, 286.

⁴⁴ Bater, 22-23 & Frolic, 285-287.

was Sabsovich's desire to use high-rise living units while Strumilin planned for blocs of only three or four stories. No matter the height of the residential units, both would be organized in a similar fashion.

As a whole the school drew from already existing models created outside of the Soviet Union, most notably Sir Ebenezer Howard's garden city and Le Corbusier's radiant city. Despite the similarities, some key parts of the urbanist school differed greatly from these western models. In the urbanist school, like the garden city, a defining characteristic was how nature would be incorporated in the urban landscape. The urbanist school however included much more green space in its plans since it would not be hindered by the limitations of a capitalist system.⁴⁵ Public ownership of land allowed planners to ignore the parameters of a land market and liberally incorporate large tracts of green space in their plans. Green space would also be protected and not subject to later development.

Furthermore, the urban centers proposed by the urbanist school were not aimed at promoting local capitalist activity. This was an important aspect of Howard's original 1898 garden city plan in addition to his desire to maintain the difference between laborers and agriculturalists.

Le Corbusier on the other hand had a different influence on the urbanist-school of thought. His theoretical concept of providing workers improved living conditions to raise morale and production was taken to heart by the urbanist-school. But Corbusier developed this concept to achieve entirely different results. He wanted to avoid a workers' revolution rather than promote a new workers' utopia. It is necessary to mention one distinct similarity between Le Corbusier and the urbanist school. Locating

⁴⁵ Bater, 23.

high-rise residential buildings near the inhabitants' workplaces was a fundamental principle for both Le Corbusier and Sabsovich. This likeness would later be extremely important in the development of the *mikrorayon*.

The De-Urbanist School

In strong contrast to the urbanist school were the de-urbanists who advocated the creation of an entirely new urban system. Some supporters of the de-urbanist school even wanted “to obliterate all memory and trace of the previous epoch”⁴⁶ to make way for a new system “felt to be more in keeping with basic Marxist ideology.”⁴⁷ Eradicating the very concept of the town and replacing it with a society where there would be no distinction between city and country would achieve such a system. The “ribbon development” created by M. Okhitovitch and Moisei Ginzburg⁴⁸ would serve this purpose and became representative of the de-urbanist movement. Ribbon developments would consist of detached housing units located in natural surroundings along transportation corridors.⁴⁹ Residential units however remained close to areas of communal consumption, dining facilities, and labor nodes. Units might even lack basic efficiencies such as kitchens forcing residents to engage in communal activities.⁵⁰ Therefore, residents could have a private life while maintaining a communal lifestyle. Labor nodes

⁴⁶ Andrusz 1987, 483.

⁴⁷ Bater, 23.

⁴⁸ Note: Moisei Ginzburg (in Russian: Моисей Гинзбург) is also transliterated to English as Moisei Ginsberg.

⁴⁹ Bater, 23–24.

⁵⁰ Paperny, Vladimir. *Architecture in the Age of Stalin: Culture Two*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Pg. 108.

would be spread along the transportation corridors in “a manner that they would be within specified time-distance bands of their potential users.”⁵¹

These ribbon developments would be continuous and spread across all of “the habitable parts of the state.”⁵² Transportation would be dependent on the automobile since residential units were detached and set apart from each other and nodes of communal consumption.⁵³ Reliance on the automobile was however impractical for numerous reasons. The Soviet Union was the largest country in the world, most of which was under snow for seven months of the year, therefore making the entire country dependent on the car in the 1920’s would be difficult. Furthermore, the country was in tatters after seven years of turmoil and did not have the economic capacity to build enough cars, or general infrastructure, for the proposed ribbon developments to work.

Despite these impracticalities, the de-urbanist school had a significant effect on future Soviet urban planning. Aspects of both schools lent to the development of the next generation of Soviet urban planning – the linear city, which was actually applied to planning and establishing a multitude of cities.

The First Five-Year Plan and The Linear City

With the onset of the first Five-Year plan in 1928 the Soviet leadership dismissed the impractical utopian theorists of the 1920’s. This change in policy was clearly stated in the May 29th edition of the newspaper *Pravda* in 1930: “The implementation of these harmful and utopian proposals, which disregard both the actual resources of the country and the degree of preparedness of the population, would lead to vast expenditures of

⁵¹ Bater, 24.

⁵² Ibid, 23.

⁵³ Andrusz 1987, 486.

money and would seriously discredit the very idea of a socialist transformation of the way of life.”⁵⁴ Additionally, the article stated that due to the country’s state of “economic and cultural backwardness” it was necessary to “concentrate most of [the country’s] resources on rapid industrialization which alone will create the necessary material basis for a radical transformation of the way of life.”⁵⁵ Therefore instead of promoting the development of idealist communes “research [would be] channeled into developing ways of supplying accommodation as quickly and cheaply as possible.”⁵⁶ This new policy would remain the focus of Soviet urban planning for the rest of the regime’s existence. The first attempt at achieving this combination of providing cheap and quick housing while simultaneously promoting rapid industrialization was the linear city model.

Although the Soviet linear city was not a complete break from the utopian models, and was in fact quite idealistic, it was a significant step towards reality. It combined practical aspects of the 1920’s utopian models, like the transit corridor of the ribbon development, with already existing western linear models.

The first applied model of a linear city was the *Ciudad Lineal* in Madrid, designed by Don Arturo Soria and associates in the last decade of the nineteenth century.⁵⁷ The *Ciudad Lineal* was a residential development consisting of detached dwellings along a modern transportation corridor – a streetcar line in the middle of a broad avenue. As interest grew in this new form of urban planning a general concept became associated with the term “linear plan.” It would be a new development built along a linear transportation corridor facilitated by the most modern public transit available – the

⁵⁴ Andrusz 1987, 487.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 487.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 487.

⁵⁷ George R. Collins. “Linear Planning throughout the World.” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol: 18, No: 3 (1959): 74.

streetcar or tram. This was in stark contrast to Ebenezer Howard's garden city, which supported new development in a radial pattern.

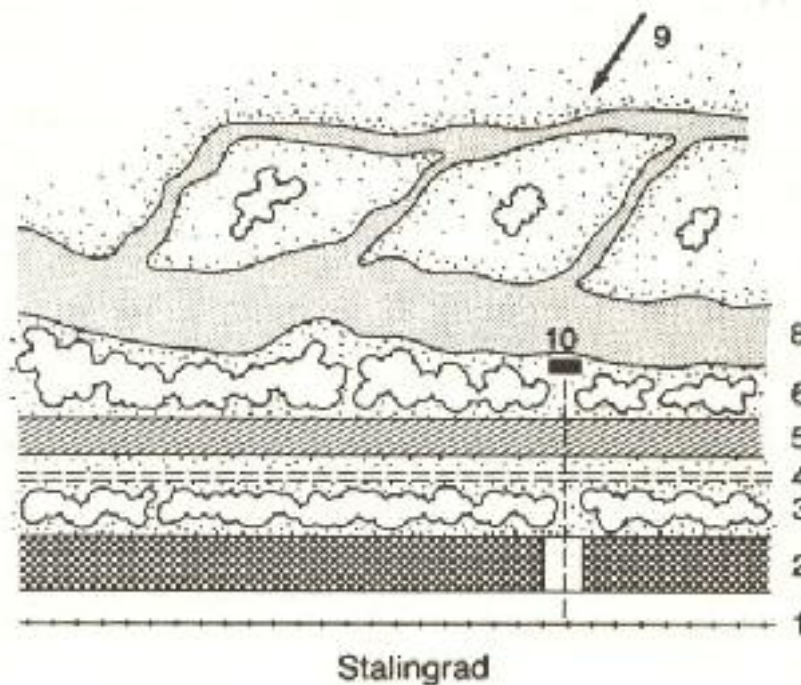
In the early twentieth century many urban planners recognized the linear city as an alternative to Howard's garden city. Its supporters considered the linear model a practical approach "for the extension of existing cities, if not for the foundation of new cities."⁵⁸ Through the 1930's linear models were either implemented across Europe and South America as means of urban expansion or renewal.

The linear city was further seen as a way to combine the best aspects of urban and rural life. Early models of linear cities included abundant green space along transportation corridors and easy access to the countryside.⁵⁹ Plans implemented in the early twentieth century generally consisted of detached housing units. Over time however, advocates of the linear city began to include collective buildings, like apartments, as part of the model. In addition, planners began experimenting with the idea that the linear city would not just include residential communities but also industrial enterprises. This concept caught the attention of Soviet urban planners searching for a model that facilitated 'quick and cheap' development of housing and industry. During the first Five-Year Plan (1928-1933) Nikolai Alexander Miliutin was the first Soviet planner to create a Soviet linear city - Stalingrad (presently Volgograd).

⁵⁸ Ibid, 77.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 78.

Western linear city planners such as the Frenchman Tony Garnier heavily influenced Miliutin's plan for Stalingrad. Garnier had developed plans for a *cit  industrielle*, where industrial and residential areas would be set up in a strict linear fashion along transportation corridors such as rivers and rail lines. These areas would be intermixed with substantial green space in the form of communal gardens.⁶⁰ Miliutin organized Stalingrad as a series of parallel zones stretched along the river Volga (see



1, railway; 2, industrial zone; 3, green zone; 4, thoroughfare; 5, residential zone; 6, park; 7, Ural River; 8, Volga River; 9, prevailing wind; 10, House of Soviets.

Diagram 1: Proposed design for Stalingrad as a Linear City (Bater, 1980).

Diagram 1). Transit corridors and green zones would separate these industrial, residential, and service zones. Stalingrad was designed as the first part of a larger plan that Miliutin hoped to implement across the entirety of the Soviet Union. He wanted the

⁶⁰ Collins, 88.

entire country to consist of linear cities “systematically arranged in such a fashion to break down the distinction between rural and urban proletariat.”⁶¹

Similar linear city models were applied during the first Five-Year Plan, such as Magnitogorsk and Komsomolsk-na-Amure. However the actual implementation of linear planning in these cities was limited. The Soviet leadership was so intent on developing the industrial capacity of these new cities that the city designs were for the most part ignored. The implementation of the linear design was only further hindered by shortages of building materials and the lack of skilled laborers (Komsomolsk-na-Amure, for example, was built by Komsomol volunteers).⁶² The architect behind Magnitogorsk, the German Ernst May, was in fact so upset by the blatant disregard for his design that he left the Soviet Union in disgust before the city was anywhere near completion.⁶³

The Hierarchical Socialist City

Towards the end of the first Five-Year plan there was a major shift in the values held by Stalin and therefore by Soviet society. Just as theoretical utopian urban planning fell into disfavor with the Soviet leadership, the same happened to the linear city. Instead of focusing on the collective, attention was given to the individual – the model citizen for all Soviet citizens to emulate – a *stakhanovite*, or Stalin himself. When society began focusing on some individuals as more important than others, the same happened to the urban landscape. In 1931, Soviet leaders “decreed that further debate about the future

⁶¹ Collins, 87.

⁶² von Geldern, James and Richard Stites. *Mass Culture in Soviet Russia* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995). Pg. 243.

⁶³ Aaron Ritz. “Life in Magnitogorsk.” (Magnitogorsk, Russia, 2000), www.macalester.edu/geography/courses/geog261/aritz/housing.html (accessed April 11, 2007).

form of the Soviet socialist city was redundant. All Soviet cities must be socialist by virtue of their being part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.”⁶⁴

Just as society had taken steps backwards and become more hierarchical, so did the city. Individual buildings and city districts became more important than others and consequently received more attention. Buildings that were located in areas of high value (and high traffic flow) were built taller and with more ornamentation. This was a stark contrast to the functionalist and deconstructionist buildings of the Soviet Union’s first fifteen years. This frame of mind was best exemplified by Stalin’s desire to build the Palace of the Soviets, to be the tallest building in the world, as the centerpiece to his 1935 general plan for Moscow. It would stand where the Cathedral of Christ the Savior once stood - along the banks of the Moscow River in the heart of the Soviet capital.

As the utopian theories of socialist urban planning fell into disfavor, there was no universal agenda for the development of Soviet cities as there had been during the first



Image 1: The Second Architectural Planning Studio, Avenue of the Palace of the Soviets, 1936, (Paperny 2002).

⁶⁴ Bater, 26.

Five-Year plan. However certain principles became standard practice in planning and in planning education. In James H. Bater's book, *The Soviet City*,⁶⁵ he states that it was "the near universal application of these principles which has helped to standardize parts of all Soviet cities."⁶⁶ Ten of these principles were recognized as the foundations of Soviet planning when they were prescribed as the basic principles behind the 1935 general plan for Moscow. These principles behind the planning of Moscow can further be considered universal principles for the entire Soviet Union since Moscow is not only the "Symbol of the Soviet Union,"⁶⁷ but also a "laboratory for socialist city planning."⁶⁸ Although these principles maintained some of

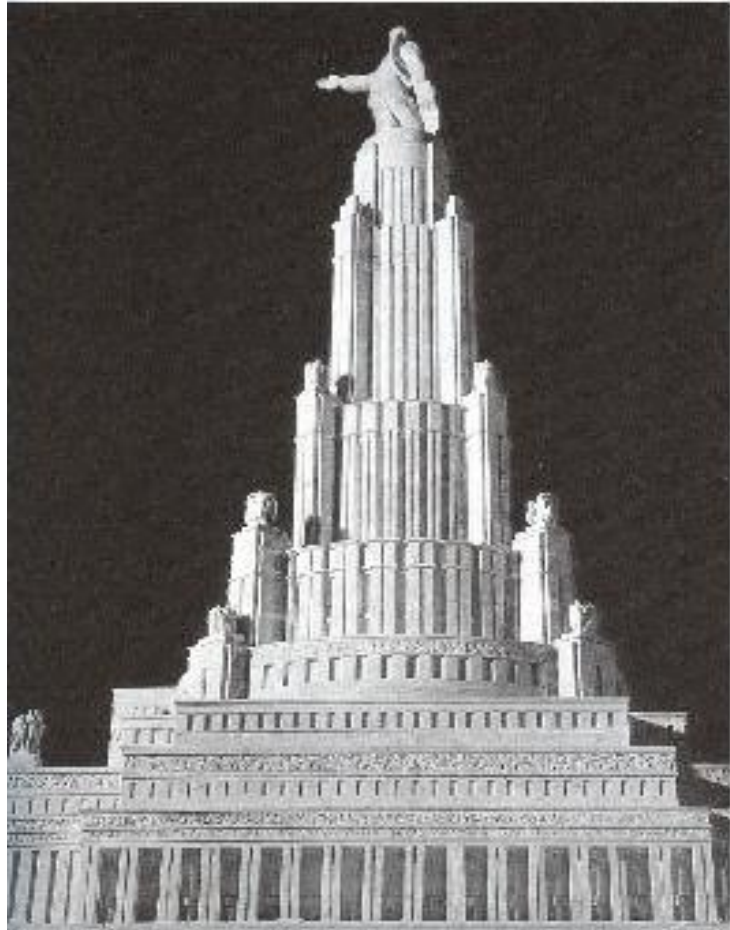


Image 2: B.M. Iofan, V.A. Shchuko, and V.G. Gel'freikh, Place of the Soviets competition entry, 1930s. (Paperny 2002).

⁶⁵ Bater, James H. *The Soviet City: Ideal and Reality* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications Inc., 1980).

⁶⁶ Bater, 27.

⁶⁷ Lappo, G., A. Chikishev and A. Bekker. *Moscow: Capital of the Soviet Union* (Moscow, USSR: Progress Publishers, 1976). Pg. 8.

⁶⁸ Lappo, Chikishev, and Bekker, 9.

the basic concepts advocated by the utopian planners of the twenties, they also demonstrate that a new era of Soviet urban planning had come into being. Bater listed these ten principles as follows:⁶⁹

1. *Limited city size:*⁷⁰ Amenities, social services, and items of collective consumption could all be provided efficiently and economically by limiting the city's size. City size would ideally be limited to 50 or 60,000. This concept was carried over from the era of utopian planning, where Strumilin and Sabsovich prescribed that the optimal size of a city be limited to 30 or 35,000 inhabitants.⁷¹ For already existing cities with large populations, such as Moscow at 3.5 million, limits were set. Moscow's upward limit was set at 5 million.⁷²
2. *State Control of Housing:* In order to ensure equality and that the standard of living was hygienic, the design, administration, and planning of housing was centralized. Although idealized by the utopian planners, only during the first Five-Year plan did it come into practice, and even then it was nowhere near universal. For example the majority of Magnitogorsk's population lived in tents and privately built wooden cabins by the end of the First-Five year plan.⁷³ Even during NEP, Lenin allowed a program of "quasi-private" land tenure. Mortgages were given to individuals and communes to build their own housing.⁷⁴ This non-hierarchical form of housing control allowed collectives to build housing that was more suitable for their commune and their environment. Under the 1935 principles, housing would be more equitable across the entirety of the Soviet Union, and even its satellites, entirely disregarding

⁶⁹ Bater, 27- 30.

⁷⁰ Note: Headings in italics are original author's own words.

⁷¹ Frolic, 286.

⁷² Bater, 27.

⁷³ Ritz, Aaron.

⁷⁴ Andrusz, 1990, 260.

- differences in local environment and tradition. The only variation would be the amount of living space per capita measured in square meters. Therefore residential units were designed for Muscovite culture and weather, leaving large Tajik families in stuffy, cramped, hot apartments; and Yakuts froze during the harsh Siberian winter.
3. *Planned Development of Residential Areas:* Residential areas were planned so that “day-to-day facilities like schools, shops and so forth would be within walking distance.”⁷⁵ This was initially done with the construction of the ‘super block’ accommodating up to 1,500 residents. An example of this type of construction in Moscow would be in the area surrounding the Studentcheskaya Metro station, east of the central city. In this area, super blocks surround courtyards with schools, administrative centers, police stations, etc. Shops would be located on the ground floor of these super structures. Another area in Moscow developed with “super blocks” was along Prospekt Mira, shown in Image 3. This third principle was more fully applied after the Second World War with the development of the *mikrorayon*, which will be discussed later in this chapter



Image 3: A housing block along Prospekt Mira built in 1937.

4. *Spatial Equality in the Distribution of Items of Collective Consumption:*

Ideally, items of collective consumption would be distributed throughout a Soviet city in a fashion where all residents would have equal access to similar amenities. This concept was not only limited to creating equality within cities, but also between. As

⁷⁵ Bater, 28.

is evident with the urban hierarchy that already existed and continued to exist in the Soviet Union, with Moscow as the primate city, its inter-urban application was nowhere near as successful as its intra-urban application.

5. *Limited Journey to Work:* Forty-five minutes was considered the maximum amount of time that one should have to travel to work.⁷⁶ This was to be done by planning residential areas around nodes of employment. This concept was originally an integral characteristic of the urbanist models and the linear city, and remained important throughout the entirety of the Soviet Union's existence. One's commute would also be traveled on public transport, not private. Therefore Soviet cities, no matter the size, received considerable investment for the development and maintenance of their transit systems. As a result, Moscow currently has one of the most efficient metro systems in the world, and the second busiest after Tokyo.

6. *Stringent Land-Use Zoning:* In order to ensure that all of the principles were successfully applied, strict zoning of residential and industrial districts was necessary. Green zones would often be used as buffers in order to separate areas creating pollution from residential and amenity districts.⁷⁷



Image 4: Communal dining halls, or *stolovaya*, were spread out evenly across Moscow. They were not the most attractive establishments.

⁷⁶ Bater, 29.

⁷⁷ Bater, 29.

7. *Rationalized Traffic Flow:* Routes of high traffic volume were to be concentrated and segregated from residential districts allowing a more pleasant living atmosphere. Industrial districts would be serviced by transit lines integrated with civil ones, however they would be even more strictly separated from residential districts. In Moscow, this rationalization of traffic flow made it an exploded radial city, where only a handful of large avenues and boulevards handled the majority of traffic flow. A similar phenomenon occurred in Tallinn and Kazan.
8. *Extensive Green Space:* Although green space played an important role in utopian urban planning, its inclusion in city plans was meant for a different purpose. Green space was supposed to be blended into the urban landscape, deconstructing the long standing rural-urban divide which had forever separated the proletariat from the peasantry. Under the 1935 principles on the other hand, green space would be strictly segregated from residential and industrial zones. The Soviet leadership did not want a “scruffy, rural-urban fringe.”⁷⁸ With public ownership of land, it was easy for urban planners to demarcate which areas would remain protected from development. Bater points out that because of this, Soviet cities had far more green space than their western counterparts. Green space would also be used in Soviet urban design to act as lungs for a city, bringing in fresh air from the countryside, clearing away noxious fumes created by industry.

⁷⁸ Bater, 29.

9. *Symbolism and the Central City:* In socialist cities, utopian planners wanted no sense of hierarchy within the city, as well as between cities. In contrast, the 1935 principles required the center of the city to act as the center of political and social life. In Moscow, the center of the city would be host to the greatest symbols of the Soviet Union, such as the Palace of Soviets, Lenin's tomb, and large parade and demonstration grounds – Red Square. This principle was effectively implemented across the Soviet Union, from the smallest town to the large industrial centers of the Urals. Even in the smallest administration centers in rural Mongolia, there existed a symbolic city center.

10. *Town Planning as an Integral Part of National Planning:* With urban planning occurring from the top down, it could be used to carry out development in less industrialized areas and include ethnic minorities in national programs. Planning was also supposed to occur at the regional level in order to reflect regional tastes in urban design, allowing for the Stalin's ideal in architecture – “socialist in content, ethnic in form.”⁷⁹ Regional planning did happen, however its

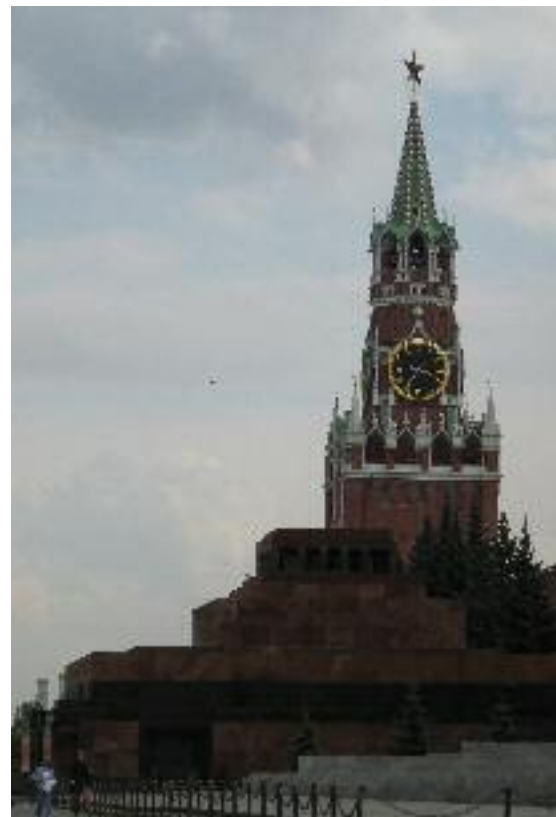


Image 5: Red Square, Lenin's Tomb and the Kremlin – The symbolic center of not only Moscow, but the entire Soviet Union.

⁷⁹ Stalin, Joseph. *Marxism and the national question: selected writings and speeches* (New York, NY: International Publisher, 1942).

implementation occurred at varying degrees of success.

All of these principles can be found in Moscow after 1935, as well as in almost all Soviet cities, with minor differences across the vast territory of the country. The 1935 plan for Moscow would serve as the model for all urban development across the entire union. Buildings and plans in Moscow would be replicated in other cities, while Moscow would continue developing new plans and prototypes for all to copy. This replication eventually allowed for the development of yet another era of urban planning, one more successful than any other – the *mikrorayon*.

The Mikrorayon

The *mikrorayon* was the answer to vast housing shortages following the Second World War. Every detail of entire districts were to be centrally planned in Moscow, prefabricated, and then built where housing was in high demand in a relatively short amount of time. *Mikrorayons* “presented a reasonable, unified, distinctly socialist way of building residential units.”⁸⁰

Multiple *mikrorayons* would be organized into larger residential complexes. Important every day low order functions would be within walking distance of all residents, such as elementary education and small shops. Higher order functions, like clinics, cultural centers, and local administration buildings, would be located in between *mikrorayons*. Still higher order functions, like large sports and entertainment complexes or regional administration facilities, would be centrally located between residential complexes.

⁸⁰ Frolic, 288.



Image 6: A *mikrorayon* in the Timeryazevskaya region of Moscow.

Diagram 2: Plan for a *mikrorayon* in the *Noviye Cheriomushkii* district of Moscow. (Frolic, 1964).

Maintaining the principle of rationalized traffic flow, transit was designed to flow around *mikrorayons*, not through them. This provided a safe environment for raising children, and the development of a supportive socialist community. In some cities principles from earlier stages of the Soviet city would be implemented. One example can be found in the southern *mikrorayon* districts of Kazan where a form of the linear city was used. Running between *mikrorayon* residential districts was a main transportation artery served by trams and buses. This directly corresponds to original western designs of the linear city where residential districts would be organized along tram routes.

Although the *mikrorayon* could house large populations, up to 80,000 or even 100,000 people, it was not designed as a self-sufficient district. *Mikrorayons* were an improved version of the ‘super-block’ built in the hierarchical Soviet city. Some *mikrorayon* plans were modified and used for the construction of entirely new towns,

generally scientific research communities. Therefore, even though the *mikrorayon* was meant as a plan for urban districts, it was used as the foundation for town planning from the 1960's onward.

In addition to the *mikrorayon*, the larger *makrorayon* was also implemented in particular cases. *Makrorayons* could often house up to 45,000 inhabitants, in comparison to the 8-12,000 average of a *mikrorayon*. The *makrorayon* was essentially an expanded *mikrorayon* that included the same basic functions but more of them to sustain the larger population. An example of the *makrorayon*, Väike-Õismäe in Tallinn, will be explored in great detail in the next chapter. The *makrorayon* was however the exception in developing new residential districts, and the *mikrorayon* remained the standard system of urban planning.

Conclusion

In this chapter we see how Soviet urban planning evolved over time. Beginning with idealistic utopian plans, the Soviet leadership decided that efficiency and symbolism would be the driving forces behind urban planning. Therefore, by the mid-1960s the Soviet city had become a uniform but hierarchical city with egalitarian housing districts, the *mikrorayon*. There were however regional variances in planning and application of directives from Moscow, some greater than others. The next chapter will look at our two cities of interest, Tallinn and Kazan, and how Soviet planning was applied in each city.

Chapter III: The Application and Effects of Soviet Urban Planning in Tallinn and Kazan

The application and effects of Soviet urban planning in Tallinn and Kazan share some similarities but were for the most part very different. The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, the local authorities' role in urban planning will be examined. This will

give a foundation from which to analyze how our two cities of interest managed planning issues. Second, urban planning during the Soviet era in Tallinn and Kazan will be examined independently.

The Planning Powers of Local Soviets⁸¹

According to Article 147 of the Constitution of the USSR local Soviets had control over the planning of their territories' economic and social development. They had the power to organize and implement policies concerning construction and maintenance within their jurisdictional areas. These powers were reinforced in 1974 by Article 7 of a decree made by the *Prezidiuma* of the High Soviet of the USSR. This decree stated that local Soviets had the authority to organize and conduct urban and suburban planning in accordance with the capabilities of their territory's economic capacity. All of these rules applied to Soviets at the republic, *oblast*, and *krai*⁸² levels.⁸³ Considering the previously stated planning policies, it is evident that Tallinn and Kazan would be able to conduct their own urban planning without the hindrance of Moscow. However this was not always the case as the regional authorities could only carry out projects if the necessary resources remained within the territory's economic capacity. Therefore the central authorities of the Soviet Union could carry out larger projects demanding high economic input. Such projects might include entities such as *mikrorayons* and large industrial developments.

⁸¹ Note: In Russian *Soviet* means council. All levels of government were formed by Soviets; this ranged from the High Soviet of the entire Soviet Union, down to municipal level Soviets.

⁸² *Oblast'* and *krai* were varying degrees of administrative districts in the USSR and are still used in the Russian Federation. *Oblast'* and *krai* can be translated as province and area or region respectively.

⁸³ Mezhevich, M.N. *Urbanizatsiia i razvitie gorodov v SSSR* (Moscow, USSR: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, 1985). Pg. 104-105.

These high level stipulations on planning had different implications for Tallinn and Kazan. Tallinn was the capital of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) and had more autonomy than Kazan. As capital of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR), Kazan had considerably less freedom in its planning. As an ASSR within the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), the Tatar ASSR was still subject to decisions made by the Soviet of the RSFSR. Therefore, if a project were carried out across the entirety of the RSFSR, it would also be carried out in the Tatar ASSR, and hence in Kazan. Meanwhile, Estonia's status as a full SSR gave the Estonian Soviet the power to conduct its own urban planning policies as long as they were representative of the decisions and interests of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). It is important to note that planning policies were universally applied to the five largest Estonian cities (Tallinn, Tartu, Kohtla-Järve, Narva, and Parnü) because as of 1950 they were under the direct control of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers.⁸⁴ Ideally, the Tatar ASSR would also have the right to conduct its own planning policy as long as it maintained the interest of the CPSU. However the policies of the High Soviet of the RSFSR held precedent. Kazan received additional attention from the higher organs of the USSR because of the city's important role in the Soviet military-industrial complex.

By examining Tallinn and Kazan's statuses within the framework of the Soviet Union, one can assume that the application of Soviet urban planning would be different in the two cities. This was the exact case. Tallinn did indeed maintain more autonomy while Kazan was highly subject to the whims of the central authorities, as will be explored below.

⁸⁴ Raun, 170.

Tallinn

The leading factor differentiating Tallinn from other Soviet cities is that Estonia was only fully incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1945. Even though Estonia officially became part of the USSR in 1940 (according to the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact), the Second World War and attempts at independence postponed their full incorporation as an active member of the Soviet Union.⁸⁵ Therefore the only two periods of Soviet planning that Tallinn experienced were the post-WWII phase of Stalin's hierarchical city and the implementation of the *mikrorayon*. General post war reconstruction across Estonia will first be examined followed by specifically examining the hierarchical city and then the *mikrorayon*. The hierarchical city will however be broken up into two periods: Stalinist Classicism, and post-Stalinism. Lastly an analysis of how Soviet planning laid the groundwork for post-Soviet urbanization will be conducted.

Post World War II Reconstruction in Estonia

Following the Second World War, Tallinn's urban landscape was devastated. Up to fifty per cent of all buildings were destroyed due to fighting between Soviet, German, and Estonian partisan forces.⁸⁶ Damage in Tallinn paled in comparison to other Estonian cities, such as Narva where ninety-seven per cent of the city was destroyed. Demographically the country was devastated. Estimates state that over 100,000 Estonian

⁸⁵ Note: The United States Government never recognized the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union.

⁸⁶ Raun, 175.

citizens, one tenth of the population, either perished or migrated during the course of the war.⁸⁷

Estonia's highly educated population and strong pre-war industrial sector attracted the central Soviet authorities' attention. Therefore Estonia experienced heavy investment in rebuilding the republic's industrial capacity as well as replenishing its housing stock. The most important part of the industrial sector was the oil shale reserves. Oil shale was an integral part of rebuilding Estonia and the entire northwestern Soviet Union's industry. By 1946 the oil shale sector was completely rebuilt and expanding.⁸⁸ This readily available energy resource allowed the Soviet authorities to quickly develop the SSR's industrial sector. Estonia's industrial growth was further buttressed by its strategic location on the Baltic with good natural harbors (especially Tallinn), and the importation of dismantled German factories.⁸⁹ All of these factors gave Estonia the highest industrial growth of any SSR in the post World War II period. Estonia's industrial growth rate from 1940 to 1950 was 342 per cent, about twice the Soviet Union's national average.⁹⁰

Tallinn's strategic location as a port on the Baltic attracted considerable industrial development. This can be seen by the city's rapid population growth. In 1944 Tallinn's population was 133,700 inhabitants. In 1950 the population had reached 212,400 and by 1955 had swelled to 260,800 inhabitants. The republic's industrial growth can also be measured by the rise in rural to urban migration. By 1953 the Estonian urban population climbed to 52.5 per cent from 31.3 per cent in 1945.⁹¹ This demographic shift was

⁸⁷ Ibid, 166.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 175.

⁸⁹ Raun, 175.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 176.

⁹¹ Ibid, 183.

primarily the result of the rural population trying to escape Stalin's forced collectivization.⁹²

One of the most dramatic demographic changes that took place during reconstruction was the influx of non-Estonian ethnicities in the Republic to compensate for the lack of available labor that the region's industrial growth required. ...Raun gives a description of this period in his book *Estonia and the Estonians*:⁹³

...the pace of industrialization was such that the Soviet authorities recruited workers from the RSFSR for Estonian industry in, for example, the oil shale region and the large factories in Narva. From the wartime low of 26,000 industrial workers at the end of the German occupation, the number in Estonia more than tripled to 80,800 by 1950. Although no figures are available on the ethnic composition of this labor force, there can be no doubt that non-Estonians constituted a substantial minority.

The change in Estonia's ethnic constituency can be more closely observed by the population percentage that ethnic Estonians formed. In 1939 Estonians made up 92 per cent of the total population of Estonia. However after Soviet reconstruction ethnic Estonians only constituted 76 per cent of the Republic's total population.⁹⁴ This influx of non-Estonian ethnicities would of course play a major role in defining Estonia and Tallinn's post-Soviet identity.

Reconstruction and Stalinist Classicism

Specifically looking at Tallinn's urban landscape, the post-war era had dramatic effects. A major factor in the city's post-war development was half of all Estonian

⁹² Hallas, 14.

⁹³ Raun, 176

⁹⁴ Raun, 182.

architects fleeing prior to Soviet occupation in 1940 and during the course of the war.⁹⁵

That aside, as in much of the Soviet Union, replenishing housing stock was of the utmost importance. In most situations this issue was satisfied by the construction of four or five storey brick apartment buildings. These were prevalent in Tallinn, especially in the areas east of the city center and near the industrial areas north of the center. However, because of Tallinn's special status as the capital of an SSR, the local authorities had a lot of freedom to determine what to build and how. Furthermore, because the remaining Estonian architects and planners had not learned "the compulsory vocabulary of Soviet architecture"⁹⁶ they had freedom of design. However by the end of the 1940's Estonian architects had succumbed to what was expected of them by their fellow Soviet architects and designers. Stalinist Classicism had become standard in Tallinn by 1950.

The evolution of Estonian architecture and city planning from independence through the Stalinist era and into the sixties can be traced by the career of architect Alar Kotli. Prior to the 1940 Soviet occupation and WWII, Alar Kotli was a celebrated Estonian architect who contributed greatly to the urban landscape of independence era Tallinn. His two most important works for independent Tallinn were the redesigning of the Parliament building's south wing in Toompea and the President's Office in Kadriorg. Both of these buildings exemplified historicist design using a neo-baroque style as not to detract from their historical surroundings. Aside from historicist styles, Kotli was an advocate of the functionalist style exemplified by the Tallinn Technical School and house designs in the garden city suburb of Merivälja.

The Parliament and President's Office stand in strong contrast to Kotli's buildings built during the Stalinist period. The first Soviet era building of note by Kotli was the

⁹⁵ Hallas, 14.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 15.

Estonia Theater and Concert Hall. Originally built between 1910 and 1913, the building was badly damaged in 1944 during a Soviet air raid.⁹⁷ Immediately thereafter, Kotli's design for restoration won the open competition. The Parliament and President's Office



Image 1: Vlasov's apartment building on Tartu Road.

stand in strong contrast to Kotli's buildings built during the Stalinist period. The first Soviet era building of note by Kotli was the Estonia Theater and Concert Hall. Originally built between 1910 and 1913, the building was badly damaged in 1944 during a Soviet air raid.⁹⁸ Immediately thereafter, Kotli's design for restoration won the open competition. At this time, Kotli had not succumbed to Soviet and Stalinist principals of design and planning. Therefore restoration of the concert hall "had in itself very little to do with Stalinist principals of building."⁹⁹ The interior of

the building, not designed by Kotli and completed in 1951, did conform to Stalinist principals and was lavishly decorated with Soviet symbols.

By the end of the 1940's Kotli learned the demands of Stalinist design. This evolution is apparent in the design of the Arts Foundation Building (1948-1953), on Vabaduse Square, and Kotli's proposed design for the Tallinn House of Soviets. The Arts Foundation Building is a classical example of Stalinist Classicism and its façade is reminiscent of the detailing added to the Lubyanka in Moscow during the 1940's. The

⁹⁷ Hallas, 50.

⁹⁸ Hallas, 50.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 15.

design for the House of Soviets was a typical wedding-cake style reminiscent of the skyscrapers in Moscow and reflected the celebrated Stalinist architect Alexander Vasilievich Vlasov.

Vlasov was one of the major adherents of Stalinist Classicism and designed many of the Stalinist era buildings in Kiev and Moscow.¹⁰⁰ His apartment building on Tartu Road in the emerging Soviet city center of Tallinn shares many similarities with buildings in Moscow built during post-war reconstruction. Notable features include the wedding cake appearance, use of classical themes like columns, and of course the inclusion of Soviet symbols - a wreathed red star crowning a tall spire.

One building, which specifically met Stalin's standards of "socialist in content, nationalist in form," is the Sõprus (Friendship) Cinema. Built in 1955 towards the end of Stalinist Classicism, the building's Stalinist character is expressed by the reliefs adorning



Image 2: The Sõprus (Friendship) Cinema, built in 1955 and one of the last building in Tallinn designed using Stalinist Classicism.

the entrance, which depict mining, heavy industry, fishing and the fine arts. However the architects managed to incorporate many Estonian forms into the building's design: "[t]he nationalist form is revealed by the application of ethnographic relief

¹⁰⁰ "А.В. Власов: Тверские памятные даты." *Тверская областная универсальная научная библиотека им. А.М. Горького*, (November, 2000), http://www.library.tver.ru/tver_memodate/tmd-112.htm (accessed April 11, 2007).

ornamentation of Saaremaa dolomite and the columns resemble the sleeves of a Setu folk costume.”¹⁰¹

Despite Estonian architects’ submission to Stalinist principals of architecture; some architects continued to apply their own creativity and design buildings appropriate for an ‘Estonian’ Tallinn. An example of this is the apartment building on 2 Niguliste completed in 1954 in the center of the Old Town. Designed by Estonian architect Ilmar Lassi, the building was meant to replace parts of the Old Town damaged during the war while maintaining the area’s traditional character. The design completely defies the norms of Soviet Classicism and Soviet architecture in general. The façade especially stands out because it was designed “in the spirit of 17th century Netherlands Mannerism.”¹⁰² Not in the spirit of 1940’s Stalinist Classicism.

Overall, in the 10-year period following WWII, the majority of new construction took place in the previously developed parts of the city damaged during the war. Industry and housing were the two primary concerns of the Estonian Soviet authorities. The most dramatic development of this period was the shift in focus away from the Old Town. Even though the Old Town was restored and still held the government’s seat of power, the economic and cultural center of the city moved to the southwest, outside the city walls. This new city center became the hub of the city’s public transit system, as well as a symbolic city center with Soviet-Estonian, monuments in the parks and squares. However in comparison to other cities, Tallinn’s city planners did not closely adhere to the ten principals highlighted by Bater.

The city’s population grew quickly because of laborers migrating from the RSFSR to fulfill Tallinn’s industrial labor needs. Government control of housing ensured

¹⁰¹ Hallas, 33.

¹⁰² Hallas, 35.

that certain standards were followed. One standard that Estonian architects continually struggled with was the amount of living space per capita (in square meters) which could not be exceeded. Estonian architects constantly pushed the limit of allotted living space and by 1977 Estonia had the all-union high of 10.1 m² per capita.¹⁰³ However, in terms of design and layout, there was no greater plan for all of Tallinn's housing.

Considering that Tallinn had a pre-existing capitalist character, it was difficult to implement many of the principals emphasized by Bator. Planned development of residential areas, spatial equality of items of collective consumption, and the limited journey to work were especially difficult to impose upon the existing city structure.

It is evident that many principals were ignored for the sake of efficiency. Residential areas already well established before the war were simply rebuilt or restored in a fashion similar to their pre-war state. In some districts, the five-storey 1-317 standardized housing block was used to develop new districts of the city located near labor nodes. The 1-317 block was a nationally implemented housing unit



Images 3-4: Above – Housing in central Tallinn rebuilt in the post-war period. Below – A 1-317 standardized apartment block with bay windows in Kazan.

¹⁰³ Bator, 106.

designed as efficiently as possible to satisfy the post-war housing shortage. New areas consisting of 1-317 blocks lacked ornamentation and were considered highly undesirable in the Soviet era as well as the post-Soviet period, but the 1-317 block was not implemented to the same extent in Tallinn as similar communities in Moscow and other cities in the RSFSR.

Stalin's death in 1953 brought drastic change to urban planning in Tallinn. Stalinist Classicism fell into disfavor across the entire Soviet Union. In 1955, at the Congress of the Soviet Union of Architects, "the previous decades were condemned as the period of excess."¹⁰⁴ Thus in the fifties and sixties Estonian architects moved further away from the Soviet Union's centralized planning authorities. Due to Estonia's large economic and industrial capacity, most projects were within the Republic's capacity. Therefore assistance and design from the rest of the Soviet Union were not necessary as long as the Estonian SSR upheld the ideals of the CPSU in its planning.

Khrushchev's 'Thaw' and Post-Stalinism

Urban planning in Tallinn after 1955 was characterized by both experimentation and conformity. Following Stalin's death, foreign influences appeared in Tallinn's landscape. Experimentation resulted from the availability of Western architecture and planning journals in addition to Estonian architects making foreign visits. However conformity to national Soviet planning procedures came in the form of the *mikrorayon*.

Probably the largest effect of Stalin's death was that plans for completely reshaping Tallinn's landscape were abandoned. One example is Vabaduse Square, where a massive triumphal arch to the victory of the Soviet army was to be erected. Likewise,

¹⁰⁴ Hallas, 16.

the House of Soviets on Viru Square never materialized. Other grandiose plans would have destroyed parts of the Old Town and dramatically altered the entire character of the city.

Alar Kotli again provides an example of how Estonian architects and designers

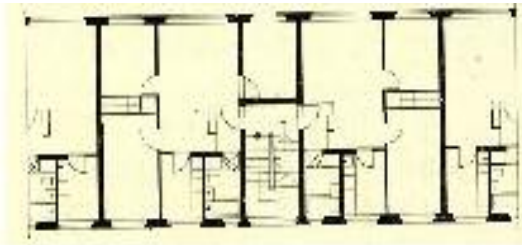


Image 5: Floorplan of Kotli's improved version of the 1-317 standardized block (Volkov, 1987)

evolved with Soviet norms and struggled with them. Kotli and architects from the Building Research Institute sought to improve the 1-317 apartment block. This experimental building was constructed in

1963 to the southwest of the city center along

Gonsiori Street. Their design maintained the principal of apartments built around a series of entrances, or *pod"ezd*. Improvements upon the original structure included double insulation and increased privacy for residents while maintaining Soviet standards of per capita living space. Privacy was achieved by making rooms smaller and centered around a common living space; instead of making rooms serve both as sleeping and living quarters.¹⁰⁵ This design was however entirely experimental and not replicated anywhere else in Estonia or the Soviet Union.

The best example of how Estonia developed its own style during the Soviet era is the Flower Pavilion and café located in Pirita to the west of the city center north of Kadriorg. Based on contemporary Finnish and Danish design, the building is integrated with the landscape and built with it rather than against it. The building is now considered one of the best examples of organic Estonian architecture from the twentieth century.

¹⁰⁵ Hallas, 72.

One of the most striking examples of how Estonia looked towards the west and not the east for its urban identity is the Viru Hotel. Built by the Finns using Scandinavian design, the 22-storey Viru Hotel was the first high-rise in Tallinn. Because of its height and western design, the hotel stood out from Tallinn's low-rise medieval and Soviet skyline. An important aspect of the Viru's construction was its location on Viru square, at the heart of the city. Therefore the hotel's construction was the first step towards the development of a capitalist central business district.

During the late seventies and early eighties Tallinn's urban planning was overshadowed by grandiose projects in preparation for the 1980 Olympics. Even though the Olympics were in Moscow, the regatta took place in Tallinn. Many projects were controversial and then hastily completed in anticipation of the Olympics. Projects included the Pirita Yachting Center, the Olümpia Hotel, and the City Hall entertainment, sports, and cultural complex. The latter of these three was one of the most momentous undertakings in Tallinn. The City Hall was a mega-structure in the style of a ziggurat. It extended into the sea near the ferry terminal as part of a project to improve the neglected waterfront area. The massive structure held Tallinn's largest auditorium, an ice rink, a café, and a bowling alley. The project received many awards and international recognition. However its monstrous proportions meant difficult maintenance, which is apparent in the building's present state.

The most controversial building built during the latter years of the Soviet era was a flower shop designed by Vilen Künnapu in 1983. A young architect striving to break the mold of the Soviet city brought postmodernism to Tallinn. His project was extremely controversial because its postmodern design stood out from the surrounding historical buildings in the Old Town. Nevertheless the building was seen as a major step away

from principals of the Soviet landscape. Künnapu later enjoyed a successful career reshaping Tallinn’s post-Soviet landscape.

Three or four “garden suburbs” existed in Tallinn by the end of Estonia’s interwar independence period. All were located on the city’s periphery and included the suburbs Merivälja, Mähe, Nõmme, and Viimsi. These areas were established during the interwar period and based on

Ebenezer Howard’s proposed garden city, but did not strictly adhere to his intended design.

Instead these suburbs were a collection of individual plots available for sale that families

could develop independently. Set



Images 6: Olympic Yachting center in Pirita.

in a natural forested landscape, communal gardens differentiated these suburbs from other suburban developments.¹⁰⁶ Therefore they included some principals of the original garden city, but did not exist as semi-autonomous districts with labor nodes.

In the 1960’s Tallinn’s Soviet government continued development of these garden suburbs. New design standards and limitations on living space made the new housing units more modest than those of the interwar period. New architecture in these districts was heavily influenced by modern Finnish design altered to meet Soviet parameters. In Merivälja, the modernist setting “became synonymous with Finnish-influenced organic architecture, characterized by a broad wooden cornice, large windows and spray plaster

¹⁰⁶ Torim, Leena. “Mähe Garden Suburb.” *Estonian Architectural Review*, (September, 2005). <http://www.solness.ee/majaeng/index.php?gid=44&id=597> (accessed April 11, 2007).

façades.”¹⁰⁷ Although capitalist in nature, these suburbs upheld the principals of the CPSU. They supported community gardens and the already existing communal design fostered a socialist lifestyle. With the introduction of private property rights after independence, these suburban landscapes were once again affected by private investment.

The Mikrorayon in Tallinn:

Despite constant attempts to break away or revolutionize the Soviet mold, Tallinn was in dire need of large-scale housing projects to satisfy the city’s rapid growth. Stalin’s mass industrialization had no place for consumer needs. By the 1950’s the entire Soviet Union was facing a major housing crisis. Bater makes note of this in his book *The Soviet City*: “a family per room had become the rule rather than the exception.”¹⁰⁸ Following Stalin’s death in 1953, the Soviet authorities reexamined the housing issue. The solution to this crisis was the *mikrorayon*, as discussed earlier in chapter II.

In 1961 the *mikrorayon* had arrived in Tallinn. Even though the *mikrorayon* was a nationally implemented planning policy, Tallinn managed to manipulate plans in favor of Estonian standards. Three *mikrorayon* projects were carried out in Tallinn: Mustamäe, Väike-Õismae, and Lasnamäe. Each of these will be examined independently in order to observe the evolution of the *mikrorayon*’s design in Tallinn.

Mustamäe

Although smaller *mikrorayon* projects, like Pelugrand, were built at the very beginning of the *mikrorayon*’s implementation, Mustamäe was the first large-scale

¹⁰⁷ Hallas, 128.

¹⁰⁸ Bater, 99.

project of this new urban planning style in Tallinn. Construction of Mustamäe started in 1961 and was completed by 1973.

Mustamäe was the least innovative of Tallinn's large-scale housing projects. Although designed by a group of Estonian architects, the plan was strongly influenced by the Noviyе Chermushki *mikrorayon* project in Moscow.¹⁰⁹ Noviyе Chermushki was the first mass *mikrorayon* project and served as a model for all other projects throughout the Soviet Union. This project strengthened Moscow's role as the Soviet Union's urban planning laboratory.

Mustamäe was a larger consisted of nine *mikrorayons*, each with its own centers of communal consumption and usage. Designed as a quick solution to the housing problem, it supported between 80-100,000 inhabitants. The project was largely criticized because of its poor construction, sub-standard infrastructure, and lack of innovative design. The district used prefabricated apartment design 1-464, which was manufactured in Tallinn and became an all-union standard.¹¹⁰ However the district underwent much revising, and a variety of standardized buildings were added to the original plan. The pre-fabricated concrete slab construction was considered too industrial and drab. Therefore projects to diversify the landscape were continually carried out. Shops and other services were housed in newer red brick buildings, and the building facades went through numerous facelifts trying to reduce the district's industrial sense of place.

The lack of innovative design made the project stand out from later projects. One must consider that Estonian architects did not know how much leeway they had in

¹⁰⁹ Volkov, L.M. *Architecture of the Soviet Estonia* (Moscow, USSR: Stroiizdat, 1987). Pg. 129.

¹¹⁰ Volkov, 128-129.

designing these massive new housing districts. But the Estonian *mikrorayon* soon diverged from the standard with the construction of Väike-Õismae.

Väike-Õismae:

An entirely revolutionary approach was taken in designing Väike-Õismae. The Estonian architects abandoned traditional standardized approaches towards *mikrorayons*. Instead of a conglomeration of multiple *mikrorayons*, Väike-Õismae simply consisted of one massive *makrorayon* for 45,000 inhabitants. The most revolutionary aspect of the region's design was the heavy influence which western planning had.

The architects of Väike-Õismae integrated Ebenezer Howard's principal of the garden city to the fullest extent possible. Like Howard's garden city, Väike-Õismae was designed in a circular fashion with two concentric ring roads of varying sizes. The

central part of the district was a large garden with open green space and an artificial lake. Schools, shops, kindergartens, and garages surround the artificial lake, making them easily accessible to area's population. The district further upholds Howard's principals by maintaining a rational population



Image 7: Mock-up of Väike-Õismae residential area, architects M. Meelak, M. Port, (Deviatikh, 1987).

size of 45,000. Howard's ideal population for his garden city was 30,000, however

45,000 inhabitants stands in strong contrast to other housing projects of 100,000 or more inhabitants.

Paldiski Mnt, a large separated highway with regular public transit service, connects the district to the rest of Tallinn. Paldiski Mnt does not however run through Väike-Õismae, therefore maintaining the principal that the *mikrorayon* should be a family friendly haven removed from principal traffic corridors.

Väike-Õismae differs from Howard's garden city in a number of ways. First, the district does not include a ring of industrial enterprises along a circular railway line surrounding the periphery. The district was instead strictly residential with readily available domestic services for its occupants. Labor nodes remained in their already existing locations established during Tallinn's period as a capitalist city.

Another striking difference between Väike-Õismae and Howard's garden city was the style of housing implemented. As a Soviet socialist housing enterprise, Väike-Õismae's housing units consisted of a variety of standardized apartment blocks. Howard's ideal instead required that each family unit have its own plot of land and build



Images 8-9: The “great wall of China” and the artificial lake in Väike-Õismae.

individualized dwellings meeting certain design standards. Howard did however intend for the garden city to promote many socialist values such as common gardens and co-operative kitchens.¹¹¹ These were common principals for Soviet urban planning in the 1920's, but not in the 1970's.

Ranging from five storey blocks to sixteen storey towers, the district was an imposing array of Soviet housing, especially the 300-meter long block on the inner ring nick-named by locals "the great wall of China." The use of sixteen storey apartment towers as suburban residences are reminiscent of Le Corbusier's principals making housing more affordable for laborers by increasing the height of buildings and improving their overall living conditions by incorporating extensive green space.

The revolutionary design of Väike-Õismae was well recognized both internally and internationally. However the Soviet authorities did not replicate its idealistic design anywhere else in the Soviet Union, or even again in Estonia. The last of the three major housing projects in Tallinn, Lasnamäe, was the largest project and also a fresh mixture of traditional *mikrorayon* designs complimented by entirely new concepts.

Lasnamäe:

Designed specifically as a dormitory suburb located to the far west of the central city, Lasnamäe would be the last and largest *mikrorayon* project in Tallinn. Construction started in 1977 and has in fact continued to this day. The project was immense and intended to provide housing for up to 160,000 residents. The size of the project was intended to support the ever-increasing amount of immigrants coming to Tallinn from other parts of the Soviet Union.

¹¹¹ Howard, Ebenezer. *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1965). Pg. 54.

Lasnamäe's original design was extensive. The area would be divided up into eleven *makrorayons* further broken down into various other *mikrorayons*. Two ten-kilometer expressways would intersect the territory providing easy access to the central city and other employment nodes. A revolutionary concept was having the two thoroughfares cut six to seven meters deep into the area's limestone. This would reduce sound pollution and eliminate the eyesore of an elevated highway. Additionally pedestrian bridges and overpasses would span the expressways so that residents would not feel cut off from other parts of the territory.

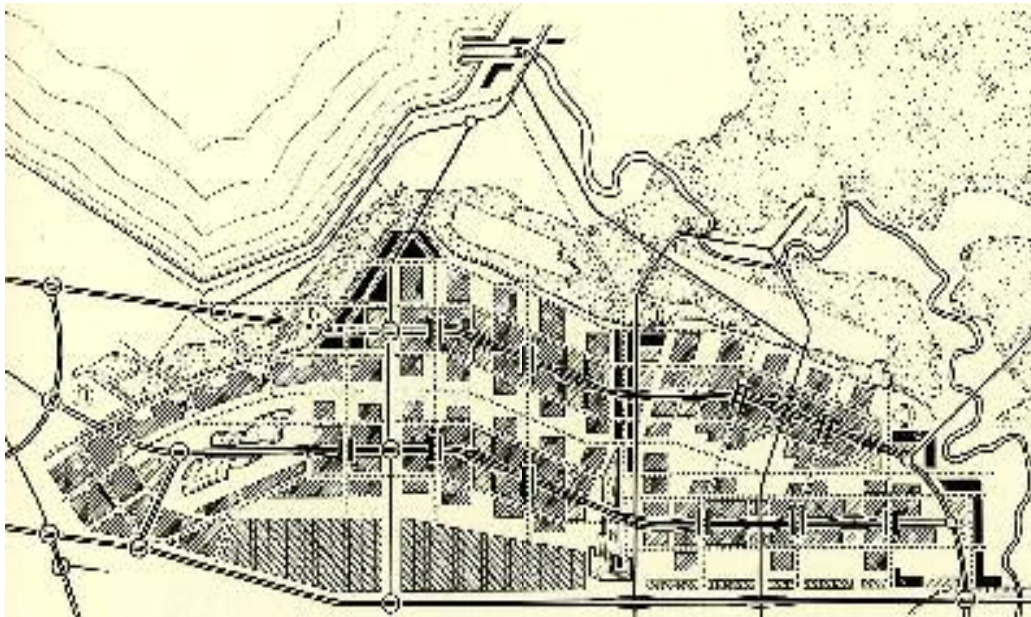


Diagram 1: Original design for Lasnamäe *mikrorayon* residential project (Deviatikh, 1987).

An important aspect that set Lasnamäe apart from Mustamäe and Väike-Õismäe was the quality and design of the apartment houses built. Not only were the materials of



Image 10: Highway cut into limetone in Lasnamäe.

higher quality but also the unit designs were more comfortable. The uppermost floor of the nine and sixteen storey blocks were designed as studio flats which attracted the artistic

and intellectual community to the area.¹¹²

The extensive undertaking of Lasnamäe was difficult to complete and was not finished by the time of Estonia's independence. Therefore only one of the two expressways was completed and much of the region remains under construction. However the entire area was recently redesigned according to different standards and principles of urban planning. Thus, Lasnamäe's final form will be completely different than its intended form, which will be discussed in Chapter V.

Conclusion on Tallinn

Tallinn experienced three distinct stages of urban planning during the Soviet-era. The post World War II period was integral in defining how Estonian architects would work within the new framework of Stalinist Classicism. After 1955 Estonian designers and planners were able to slowly break away from the parameters laid upon them during the first part of their inclusion in the Soviet Union. Starting in the 1960's the *mikrorayon*

¹¹² Hallas, 135.

came to Tallinn and redefined the urban landscape. Even though the *mikrorayon* received the majority of attention and investment, individual projects that defined Estonian-Soviet architecture continued to be executed until the end of the Soviet period. This was a fate entirely different than the development of Kazan's urban planning during the Soviet era.

Kazan

Kazan's urban development during the Soviet era stood in great contrast to Tallinn. Unlike Tallinn the local Tatar population did not overtly resist the Soviet regime through architecture and urban planning. Nevertheless ethnicity still played an important role in defining the Soviet urban landscape for two reasons in particular. First, at the beginning of the Soviet era Russians and Tatars were highly segregated and for the most part remained so throughout Kazan's history as a Soviet city. Second, Tatar architects sought to create an organic Tatar style of architecture and design. This was quite a bit more difficult in Kazan than in Tallinn because they did not have either the resources or the freedom of Estonian architects. In the end, the foundation for Tatar architecture had been laid, but would not be fully realized until after Kazan had escaped the influences of the Soviet Regime. Factors such as various five-year plans and the effects of the Civil War and the Second World War also greatly affected Kazan's urban landscape.

The development of Soviet Kazan will be looked at by separately analyzing the city's Soviet legacy in three distinct sections. First the growth and development of the Tatar population in Kazan will be looked while paying attention to the role of the Tatar ASSR in the Soviet Union and RSFSR. Thereafter the various stages of urban

development prior to the Second World War will be examined. Lastly the city's evolution during and after the war will be analyzed.

Tatars, Russians, and Tatarstan

When the forces of Ivan the Terrible conquered Kazan, the city's population was almost uniformly Tatar. However quickly following the khanate's conquest, Russians began quickly moving into the city. Meanwhile the region's agrarian population remained dominantly Tatar. By the end of the nineteenth century Tatars were fifteen per cent of the city's 160,000 inhabitants and the city had become more of a Russian city than a Tatar city.

These two populations were highly segregated during the Imperial era. The Tatars were to the west and south west of the city center, between the Bulak Canal/Lake Kaban and the Volga River. This part of the city maintained a different identity than Russian parts of the city. Numerous mosques and bazaars reminiscent of Central Asia defined the Tatar districts, often referred to as the Lower Town. The Tatars were occupied with handcrafts, light manufacturing, and trading. In general, the Tatar districts were poorer than the Russian ones and inhabited by the lower and lower-middle classes of the city. However some Tatar merchants did manage to increase their social status through their success in business. Successful Tatar merchants became more Russian, and most wealthy Tatars bought houses in the Russian districts and integrated with the Russian bourgeoisie and upper classes.¹¹³

Ethnic segregation began to wither in the Soviet period. Unlike other non-Slavic ethnicities in the Soviet Union, Tatars were more readily accepted as equals by the

¹¹³ Bukharaev, 90-91.

Russians in the union's ethnic hierarchy. This was possible because the Tatars and Russians in Kazan had been interacting with each other for centuries despite their segregated districts. With industrialization, rural Tatars moved to centers of labor such as Kazan. By 1970 Kazan's Tatar population had increased to 35 per cent of the city's one million inhabitants. Meanwhile, Russians only accounted for 60 per cent and the remaining 5 per cent consisted of other nationalities from throughout the Soviet Union. With the increase in Tatar residents, segregation significantly decreased. Districts were now heavily mixed, and it was hard to define specific Russian parts of the city. In the 1974 survey of Kazan's ethnic patterns, the traditional Tatar districts remained dominantly Tatar. But Tatars never made up more than eighty percent of any district's population.

The influx of Tatar migrants generally moved to either the new *mikrorayons* or to a type of suburb unique to the Soviet Union. The "captured village suburb" is where an agricultural village loses its agrarian function due to a nearby expanding city. Inhabitants of the former farming community abandon their traditional livelihood and occupy themselves with low order professions in the city. However in Kazan, these "captured suburbs" allowed Tatar rural migrants to slowly adapt to urban life without immersing themselves in it. They could rent a small residence or build their own wooden dwelling, avoiding the high costs of urban residency and continue small-scale farming. Furthermore, these migrants would not have to apply for a Kazan residency permit until they had secured a career that would supply them with an invitation for residency in the city and the right to state provided housing.

Development of Tatar identity during the Soviet era is important because the Soviets codified what it meant to be Tatar. Language, national dishes, national clothing,

national sports, and national everything were selected as representations of Tatar culture. This standardization unified the RSFSR's second largest ethnic group (numbering seven million in 1989) not only in Kazan and Tatarstan but also across the entirety of the Soviet Union.

By standardizing the Tatar ethnicity historical traditions were adopted and manipulated to fit the Soviet context. Some of characteristics of "Tatarness" remained historically accurate, such as the language and many dishes. However some codified traditions were entirely artificial, architecture in particular.

Tatar cities were last independent of Russian influence in 1552. Until 1917, the Tatar urban population made up a very small percentage of the total urban population. Nevertheless, mosques were prevalent under Russian rule, and maintained a style unique to the area, though heavily influenced by Arabic and Ottoman Islamic traditions. Later, during the Soviet anti-religious campaigns of the twenties and thirties, many Mosques in Kazan and across the USSR were either torn down or deconsecrated (specifically removing the minarets). Aside from mosques, Tatars had very little architecture to call their own in 1917. Throughout the Soviet era attempts were made to bring "Tatar" characteristics into the urban landscape. Therefore, a new style of architecture was born in the name of national Tatar architecture. This was done by taking Tatar designs based on historical Tatar motifs (from clothing and art) integrated with various epochs of Soviet architecture ranging from constructivism to Stalinist Classicism to Bauhaus. Examples of these will be discussed in the following two sections concerning the development of Kazan's urban landscape.

Kazan Before WWII

During the Soviet era Kazan turned into an important city in the Soviet urban hierarchy. With its port on the Volga River, the city served as a major break-in-bulk point intersected by the Trans-Siberian railroad. Kazan's location along these transit lines meant that the city could escape its role as an agricultural and political center to become a major center of industry, commerce, and transit. Unlike Tallinn, industrialization in Kazan took many decades and the city did not significantly increase its status in the urban hierarchy for at least twenty-two years after its incorporation into the USSR. Nevertheless the Soviet regime did transform Kazan's urban landscape from an imperialist provincial capital to a major Soviet center of economics, politics, and culture.

The Sovietization of Kazan's urban landscape began immediately following the Civil War. During the war parts of the city were badly damaged during fighting between the Czech Legion and Bolshevik forces. Shortages of everything caused the city to come to an essential standstill. Manufacturing, food production, and transit services ceased to function. War casualties, famine, and epidemics caused a drastic reduction of the population. By 1920 the city's population was reduced by sixty thousand, leaving an approximate total of 146,000 inhabitants. Therefore at the close of the Civil War, in 1921, the Soviet authorities had much to deal with in order to revitalize the city.

Starting in 1922 the new regime began to renovate the city's infrastructure. Electrical power returned and the tramlines, which had not worked in four years, began to operate again. Houses and other structures destroyed and damaged in the fighting were either rebuilt or repaired. By 1923 the city began to return to its pre-war form, and by 1926 the city was reinvigorated. In 1926, the city's population had increased by twelve

thousand, diesel buses began operation, most private homes had been rebuilt, and forty new governmental and cooperative buildings had been built.¹¹⁴

The city's progress was however slowed by a devastating flood in 1926. Approximately 2,600 houses were under water and people took refuge in schools and the new government buildings in the higher sections of the city. Thus, the majority of the 1920's were spent constantly rebuilding the city from war and flood damage.

By 1928 the city had for the most part completed its renovation and began its transition into a new Soviet urban center. A power station was built on the banks of Lake Kaban, providing power to sections of the city where it had not been previously available. A campaign to improve the sanitary conditions of the city included building the banks of the Bulak Canal, improving bridges, providing clean water and a new sewage system. By 1930 almost all of the private homes damaged during the civil war and 1926 flood had been renovated or rebuilt. With these improvements, the city began to industrialize.

During the first Five-Year plan from 1929-1934, the city's urban landscape began to truly transform. The *Leninskii raion*¹¹⁵ received the most attention and many nearby villages and hamlets were incorporated into the urban network because of the city's rapid growth. Throughout the city attention was given to the general improvement of infrastructure and the overall standard of living. Roads were paved, new multi-storey apartment buildings were built around labor nodes, and electrical service spread. Establishing parks, squares, and erecting monuments around the city improved Kazan's aesthetic appeal. Kazan's cultural and academic capacity also received attention during the first Five-Year plan. Many new academic buildings were built, including student

¹¹⁴ Deviatikh, 138.

¹¹⁵ Note: A *raion* can latterly be translated as region, but is the term used for an urban administrative district.

dorms, institutes, and faculties. A major endeavor was the removal of the tramline on Bauman Street.¹¹⁶ The street was converted into the city's economic and cultural center, moving it away from the upper town. This was a major shift towards the realization of Stalin's hierarchical city.



Image 11: The Kazan Financial-Economics Institute.

To the south of the city center, the *Stalinskii raion* was also transformed. New apartment blocks, social clubs, schools, and other communal structures were added to the landscape. This was extremely important since this

area would soon become an important industrial district supporting the river port built after the war. Like the *Leninskii raion*, nearby agricultural villages were absorbed by the expanding urban landscape. In the 1930's the city grew to the south and north along the banks of the Volga River. Not until after the Second World War did the city begin to grow in other directions.

In terms of architecture, the city was slow to develop its "national" architectural forms. Not only were "national" buildings not built, but also very few experimental designs were implemented. This is unlike projects being carried out in Leningrad and Moscow at the same time. During the twenties and thirties most buildings in Kazan were built as economically as possible. Almost all of the city's energy was given to the development of the industrial sector and rebuilding the city from war and flood.

¹¹⁶ Note: Bauman Street is simply known as "Bauman" to locals and will be referred to in this manner for the rest of the project.

Therefore very few buildings of note were built during this period. Not until after the end of the first Five-Year plan did architectural creativity appear in Kazan.

Stalinist Classicism came to Kazan with the realization of the hierarchical Stalinist city. The Kazan Financial-Economics Institute was the first building designed in the Stalinist Classical manner. The new building held an imposing position atop a hill in the city center overlooking the bustling Tukaya Square at the end of Bauman. A colonnaded front entrance and neo-classical motifs make the building stand out from the neighboring imperialist era buildings. The building resembles a classical Greek temple honoring Kazan's intellectual power. Throughout the thirties other government and academic buildings were built using Stalinist Classicism in the city center.

Despite the widespread construction of Stalinist buildings during the thirties there was one major exception. The *Dom Pechati*, or Press House, on Bauman Street was a remnant of the 1920's utopian styles. This was the first constructivist building built in Kazan and one of the first built outside of Moscow. The building stands out from the Stalinist buildings of the 1930's that were dominating the central city's landscape. The building is still regarded as one of Russia's best examples of constructivist architecture.

Towards the end of the 1930's, what would be considered Tatar national architecture began to appear. The architect P.T. Speranskii studied Tatar designs and motifs from clothing and art and began incorporating them in small projects like benches, pavilions, kiosks, and small bridges.¹¹⁷ Speranskii's work was important in defining the foundation of Tatar architecture because, as previously mentioned, the Tatars lacked an urban culture where specific architectural traits could be formalized. Therefore Tatar

¹¹⁷ Deviatikh, 194.

organic architecture had to be created by integrating these traditional designs and artwork in Soviet Russian architectural styles.

An example of how these designs were included in Stalinist Classicism is the Cinema “*Rodina*” designed by architect P.S. Borisov. The façade, porticos, and interior included “traditional Tatar ornamentation.”¹¹⁸ Meanwhile the building also maintained its Soviet character and socialist purpose. Cinema “*Rodina*” is an example of how Stalin’s principal “Socialist in content, national in form” was applied in Kazan.

Another example of how traditional motifs emerged in Stalinist Classicism is the Dzhilil Opera and Ballet Theater on *Ploshad’ Svobody*, or Freedom Square. Construction started prior to the Second World War using stereotypical Stalinist architecture, including Tatar ornamentation for the interior design. However construction was halted due to the war and the building was not actually completed until 1956. From the outside the building resembles a classical Greek temple more than an opera house – a prime example of Stalinist Classicism. However the interior is an intricate mixture of Tatar ornamentation and classical imperialist theater architecture, similar to the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow.

On the eve of the Second World War, Kazan was an odd conglomeration of architectural styles. Ranging from traditional wooden Russian houses to neo-Classical theaters to constructivist meeting spaces. No true Tatar architecture had been established, however architects began subtly incorporating Tatar designs in public buildings and smaller projects, like parks and monuments. The post-war period would take Kazan down another path. Its rise in importance, increasing Tatar population, and economic development would allow the city to develop a Tatar urban landscape while

¹¹⁸ Deviatikh, 194.

simultaneously becoming more subject to the centralized regime of the Soviet union. This bi-polar identity conflict turned post-war Kazan into an even more varied and dynamic landscape.

Kazan During and After the Second World War

Kazan's role in the Second World War as a new center for industry and commerce had an unprecedented impact on the city's development and rising importance in the Soviet urban hierarchy. The city's short, but safe, distance from the front made it a prime location for the development of defense industries as well as a recipient of refugees. The industrial areas of the occupied Soviet territories, as well as Moscow and St. Petersburg, were devastated and inoperable for the majority of the conflict. Therefore most industries in Kazan were converted to the production of war materiel. Furthermore, the central state savings bank of the USSR moved to Kazan in 1941.¹¹⁹ With it came every bureaucrat associated with the bank. This shifted the USSR's financial heart and brought Kazan into the upper echelons of the union's urban hierarchy. Even though the bank returned to Moscow after the war, Kazan's importance as an economic and industrial center in the Soviet Union remained.

¹¹⁹ Deviatikh, 140-141.

In the decades following the Second World War, Kazan's economic and industrial status continued to improve. This rise in status eventually gave the city a head start for economic development after the collapse of the USSR. Despite Kazan's rise in status, the city received little attention in the years immediately following the war and its urban landscape did not change much from its prewar form. The majority of the USSR's energy was given to areas devastated by the fighting. This lack of attention is especially evident when one considers that the first building of note completed after the war was the Dzhaliil Opera and Ballet Theater in 1956 – eleven years after the war. Nevertheless Kazan still received investment in its industrial sector and continued to act as major center of heavy industry and manufacturing.

After the completion of the Opera and Ballet Theater, the city continued upon its original trajectory of rapid development. Towards the end of the fifties, the Soviet authorities built two hydroelectric stations, *Kuibishevskii* and *Volgogradskii*, along the middle section of the Volga. The dams created massive reservoirs, which brought the course of the Volga closer to Kazan. With the construction of twenty-six kilometer dikes



Image 11: The Kazan river port complex on the Volga completed in 1962.

along the Volga's banks, the city was protected from floods while the river was now a

reasonable but safe distance from the heart of the city. This allowed for the construction of the Kazan river port complex. The river port began in 1957 and was completed in 1962. The surrounding region's agricultural productivity and the city's already strong industrial capacity made the port an important break in bulk point integral to not only Kazan's economy but the entire Soviet Union's. The river port made Kazan so important that the city was given the name "Port of the fifth sea."¹²⁰

After completing the river port, modern concrete buildings speckled Kazan's landscape. The first of such projects was the Kazan circus building. Many of Kazan's inhabitants refer to the building as the flying saucer because of its otherworldly appearance. The circus was built west of the Kremlin and stands out because of its industrial concrete exterior.

In the seventies the city authorities moved to modernize the city's appearance and skyline. The first part of the city to experience this modernization was Kazan State University. During this period many new modern high-rises were added to the campus in the heart of the city. This gave the central city the foundations for what resembled a hierarchical capitalist central city. The Hotel Tatarstan, also built during this period, further added to the city's skyline. Outside of the city center the massive Tatar



Image 12: *Corpus Dva*, one of the additions to the Kazan State University campus to modernize Kazan's urban landscape.

¹²⁰ Deviatikh, 142.



Image 13: *Gorki Raion* where a form of the linear city model dependent on the tram (left side of picture) was incorporated into *mikrorayon* planning.

newspaper-magazine publishing house was constructed. Other than a handful of a half dozen new high-rises, few others contributed to the “modernization” of Kazan’s city center and urban landscape.

To the north of the city, the massive new *Leningradskii* and *Moskovskii mikrorayon*/industrial districts were built. These districts were built using standard models of mass construction and brought nothing new to the city’s urban landscape other than homogenous apartment blocks. This stands in great contrast to Tallinn’s implementation of *mikrorayons*. The Tatar authorities simply implemented designs similar to those in Moscow instead of trying to improve the *mikrorayon* design.

There were however some attempts of incorporating *mikrorayon* design with earlier epochs of Soviet urban planning. In many of the *mikrorayon* residential projects a form of the linear city was incorporated. This is most apparent in the *Novo-Savinovskii* and *Gorki raions*. Central multi-modal transit corridors lined with *mikrorayon* residential districts characterize these areas. Of particular importance is the use of the tram in the

transit corridor, which was a key component of Don Arturo Soria's original *Ciudad Lineal* in Madrid.

One building of particular importance was the Kamal Tatar State Academic Theater located on the northern shore of lake Kaban. This theater housed plays either originally written in Tatar or translated to Tatar. The theater gave the city a center to showcase non-Russian cultural events. Architecturally the building's stark concrete design added little to the city except that its interior was designed using traditional Tatar motifs similar to those used in earlier "national" projects. Presently, many of Kazan's citizens believe that the interior decoration of the Kamal Theater, as well as the Hotel



Image 14: The Kamal Tatar State Academic Theater on Lake Kaban.

Tatarstan, helped preserve traditional Tatar architectural designs so that they could be replicated after the collapse of the Soviet Union.¹²¹

¹²¹ Deviatikh, 195.

Conclusion:

Since the dawn of the Soviet era, Kazan's urban landscape changed drastically. In comparison to Tallinn, Kazan's architectural development was quite limited. Unlike Tallinn, Kazan never underwent any mass periods of reconstruction. The city was only marginally damaged during the Civil War and the flood in 1926. Therefore Soviet authorities could regulate the city's growth during the Soviet period. Few experimental architectural projects graced the city. Additionally, architecture was not used as a means to speak out against an "occupying" culture. Therefore what was considered "Tatar" architecture was quite limited, and generally confined to the interiors and ornamental façades of large state projects. The overall design of most projects was anything but Tatar. The lack of creative initiative in creating new urban districts and styles meant that new parts of the city had a particularly Soviet feel to them. Nevertheless the central city maintained its original form, which is a distinct similarity between Tallinn and Kazan.

The fact that Tatar architects did not use their designs as an expression of their displeasure with the regime meant that Kazan had little architecture to call its own. After the collapse of the Soviet Union this would have a drastic affect on the city's urban landscape when its administrators would try to redefine the city as a "Tatar city," just as Tallinn would try to redefine itself as an "Estonian city." Chapter V will closely look at this issue. How both cities, independent of central state planning, would redefine themselves using their nationalist identity as expressed by the landscape and architecture.

Chapter IV

The Nature and Origins of Ethnic Identity and Nationalist Movements in Estonia and Tatarstan

With the collapse of the Soviet Union Kazan and Tallinn acquired the freedom to make decisions concerning their city without the watchful eye of the CPSU. Nationalism and ethnic identity heavily affected these decisions as well as political and economic policies in each city. This chapter will examine the nature of the Tatar and Estonian nationalist movements. Each movement will also be placed in the context of leading theories concerning nationalist movements. Understanding the nature of these nationalist movements will give a better picture of how ethnic identity and nationalism affected the post-Soviet urban landscape. Combined with Chapter III, this chapter will provide a basis from which to analyze each city's post-Soviet urbanization in Chapter V.

Tallinn and Estonia

Estonian national identity did not appear with the collapse of the Soviet Union. The movement evolved over time, starting in the mid-nineteenth century when an Estonian educated middle class began to emerge. This new class fostered the perfect setting for development of a national consciousness. Using historical traditions, the new Estonian intelligentsia set out to define the Estonian nation. What was to become the

Estonian national identity could be defined as a mixture of historical traditions adopted and codified by a new and highly educated middle class.

One can deconstruct the national movement in Estonia by applying ethno-symbolist theory. According to Anthony Smith in his article *Nations and History*¹²² national movements are derived from “an indigenous intelligentsia opposed to imperial rule.” This new intellectual elite “will seek to mobilize ‘the people’ for political ends through the rediscovery of ethno-history and the politicization of vernacular culture.”¹²³

The rise of “an indigenous intelligentsia” is exactly what happened in Estonia during the 19th century. Secondary education in Estonian became available for the first time. The University of Tartu, established in 1802, was the first university in the entire Russian Empire. This was actually a reopening of the original *Academia Gustaviana* founded in 1632 by the King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. After reopening, from 1802 to 1893 instruction was in German and some Russian. After 1893, instruction was only available in Russian.¹²⁴ Therefore the academic community in Tartu existed in between the Russian and German intellectual communities. Western philosophies held a certain place in instruction, which stood in strong contrast to the Russian academic community. Furthermore, it was during this period that the rise of the German national consciousness took place. Thus the rise of the Estonian national consciousness had similar roots as that in Germany and the concept of the nation state legitimized by that nation’s historical, cultural and linguistic identity.

¹²² Smith, Anthony D. “Nations and History” in *Understanding Nationalism*, ed. Guibernan and John Hutchinson, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Polity Press, 2001).

¹²³ Smith 2001, 25.

¹²⁴ Tamul, Sirje. “Facts About the University of Tartu,” (Tartu Ülikool, June 2006), <http://www.ut.ee/general/history> (accessed April 9, 2007).

Specifically considering the “rediscovery of ethno-history,” the *Kalevipoeg* was written in verse by Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald and published in 1857. The *Kalevipoeg* was the myth behind the origins of the Estonian people. The published version was based on various versions of the story told throughout Estonian society. The *Kalevipoeg* was the beginning of Estonian literary tradition.

The *Kalevipoeg* was used as a hallmark of the Estonian national movement. Beginning in the 1870’s, Estonian students at the University of Tartu would meet to read and discuss verses from the *Kalevipoeg* in Estonian. Students who attended these meetings established the Estonian Students’ Society, which was one of the first nationally minded movements in Estonia. In 1884 they adopted the blue, black, and white tricolor as their flag.¹²⁵ This flag later became the national flag of both the inter-war and post-Soviet Republic of Estonia.

It was also during this period that the first song festivals were held in Tartu and other cities throughout Estonia. The first official song festival was in 1869 in Tartu. Although only two of the songs were of Estonian origin, the event was considered unique to Estonia and the national movement.¹²⁶ Thereafter, song festivals were held every five years in Tartu and later in Tallinn. Estonians considered the song festival as an event that identified the Estonian people and separated them from the Russian and German populations.

Under Soviet rule, the Tallinn song festival continued every five years and corresponded to “Red Holidays.” Despite attempts by the Soviet regime to use the song

¹²⁵ Tamul (2004).

¹²⁶ “The Historical Overview of the Estonian Song Celebrations.” *Estonian Song and Dance Celebration Foundation*, <http://www.laulupidu.ee/vana/eng/index.php?th=5&fid=5-1> (accessed Monday April 9, 2007).

festival as a political tool in their interest, Estonians understood the event as a uniquely Estonian experience. Over time the song festival became a uniting force of the Estonian people and served as a means to speak out against their occupation.¹²⁷ The Estonians considered themselves a “singing nation,” a characteristic that separated them from their Russian-Soviet occupiers. The 1988 Tallinn song festival served as a catalyst to the independence movement. Thereafter small sporadic “night song festivals” served as a means of protest against the Soviet regime. At these gatherings people would sing patriotic songs and songs sung by the Forest Brothers during the 1940’s.¹²⁸ When Estonia eventually regained independence in 1991, as will be discussed later, the revolution was called “The Singing Revolution.”

When Estonia first achieved its independence after World War I, there was an explosion of Estonian nationalism. Nationalists consider the inter-war Republic of Estonia the country’s “golden age.” Reference to a “golden age” is another attribute of the ethno-symbolist approach to ethnic nationalism. Smith describes these “golden ages” as “periods in which the community was wealthy, creative and powerful, making important contributions to culture, religion and knowledge, or displaying heroic feats in nature and in battle.”¹²⁹

It was during this period that the Estonian intellectual community made major advancements in literature, art,



Image 1: Song Festival grounds in Tallinn where mass demonstrations took place in the late 1980s demanding Estonian autonomy from the USSR.

¹²⁷ “The Historical Overview of the Estonian Song Celebrations.”

¹²⁸ Laar, Mart. “Crimes of Communism.” *Crimes of Communism - Mart Laar*, <http://blog.irl.ee/Mart/crimes-of-communsim/>, (Accessed April 9, 2007).

¹²⁹ Smith 2001, 24.

and architecture. “Heroic feats in battle” are exemplified by the Liberation War from 1918-1920 when the Estonians resisted both German and Bolshevik forces. The first Estonian Prime Minister, Mart Laar, summarized the success of the inter-war republic as follows: “In twenty years of freedom and independence, Estonia had made of itself a normal European state.”¹³⁰

During Soviet occupation, authorities suppressed this surge in nationalism. Despite being part of the Soviet Union, the Estonian national consciousness survived. The initial reaction to occupation was strong and in fact thousands of men who had fought for Nazi Germany, Finland, or the Red Army during World War Two began a guerilla war against the Soviet regime as a force called the Forest Brethren. Dissenters were brutally repressed by Stalin and eventually armed resistance withered away by the mid-1950’s.

Non-violent dissent appeared in all forms throughout Soviet occupation. Estonian officials in the Communist Party of Estonia believed that they were working in the interest of Estonia from inside the Soviet nomenclature. Other dissenters existed in the form of underground intelligentsia, artists, student groups and overt political dissenters. After Stalin’s death, western academic journals became available. This gave the Estonian intelligentsia access to ideas from the west, which corresponded to western-based Estonian academic traditions derived from the University of Tartu’s Germanic nature. This affected architecture, which also became a form of protest against the Soviet-Russian culture as demonstrated in Chapter III.¹³¹

Despite repression of Estonian culture by the Soviet regime, the most fundamental aspects of national identity were retained. For example, the Estonian Song

¹³⁰ Laar, Mart. “Crimes of Communism.”

¹³¹ Hallas, 16.

Festival continued as an official event as discussed earlier. Furthermore, the Estonians identified with their Finnish brethren to the north who maintained their independence from the Soviet Union. Residents of northern Estonia adopted parts of the Finnish identity as their own because they had access to Finnish television channels.¹³² In addition, after Stalin's death Estonian intellectuals could make foreign visits therefore adopting Western ideas and philosophies as their own, further separating the Estonian academic community from the Russian.¹³³

Demonstrations demanding greater economic and political autonomy from the USSR began in 1987. These demonstrations gained much broader support and by 1989 the Estonian populace was no longer calling for autonomy, but full independence. In 1991 there was a united demonstration involving Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania where over two million people linked hands across all three republics. Full independence was finally achieved on August 22, 1991 following the Putsch in Moscow.

Under Soviet rule, the Estonians had worked against the imposed Russian culture, but could only live apart from it and never be free of its strong presence. Song lyrics could be changed, food not eaten, and Russian language not spoken. But Tallinn's urban landscape was always subject to Soviet-Russian culture. The Estonians did have agency to express their nationalist tendencies and separateness from the Russians in architecture, but this remained within the Soviet framework. For example, integrating Ebenezer Howard's garden city with the *mikrorayon*. Despite the difficulties involved in completely redefining an urban landscape, Tallinn's government did manage to do such a thing after 1991 as will be shown in Chapter V.

¹³² Laar, Mart. 'Crimes of Communism.'

¹³³ Hallas, 16.

Kazan and Tatarstan

Kazan's immediate history following the collapse of the USSR was quite different from Tallinn's. Tatar nationalism was not as high profile as other national movements in the Soviet Union. There were movements for Tatar self-determination during the early part of the twentieth century in the name of pan-Turkism. But these were isolated movements without widespread popular support. During the Soviet era Tatars integrated with the ethnic Russian minority in Tatarstan, which accounted for 43% of the population in 1989. Although the two populations were segregated before the formation of the Soviet Union, by 1990 the situation was quite different. Inter-ethnic marriages and Tatars who spoke Russian as their mother tongue were the norm rather than the exception.

Towards the end of the 1980's some nationalist groups advocated Tatar national self-determination.¹³⁴ In 1990 Tatarstan officially made demands for more autonomy from the Soviet Union. On August 30, 1990 Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Tatar ASSR, Mintimer Shaimiev, declared Tatarstan a full Soviet Socialist Republic. From the perspective of the Tatar authorities Tatarstan would still be part of the Soviet Union, but no longer as an ASSR subject to the RSFSR. This declaration created the foundation from which the *de facto* Tatar SSR could establish its *de facto* independence after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

¹³⁴ Jack, 231.

When the Soviet Union disintegrated, the Republic of Tatarstan saw itself as an independent country and entered a state of undefined independence. This view was grounded in that Tatarstan had previously been an SSR, howbeit for one year; therefore it had the same rights to independence as Ukraine and Estonia. The Tatar authorities carried out bilateral agreements with the Russian Federation and other sovereign states such as Turkey and Kazakhstan. Eventually, in 1994, Tatarstan signed an agreement with Russia as discussed in Chapter I.

During the period of 1991-1994 the government as well as other independent groups moved to show how the Tatars were historically and culturally different than Russians. Signs in Tatar began to appear on the streets. Elementary and higher education taught in Tatar became more widely available. Books were written which celebrated Kazan as a Tatar city. In one book, *Kazan – The Enchanted Capital*,¹³⁵ Islam is termed “the ancestral faith” and everything that is not Russian is celebrated. Even so, there is still a celebration of Kazan’s cultural and ethnic diversity.



Image 2: The Tatar flag flies at the same height as the flag of the Russian Federation in the Kazan Kremlin.

Day of the Republic became an official holiday. Traditional Tatar fashion shows, wrestling competitions, and dance performances were hallmarks of the celebration. The majority of events were constructed traditions from the Soviet period when Stalin standardized the identity of the USSR’s ethnic groups. What was considered national

¹³⁵ Bukharaev, 1995.

dress incorporated the imagined with the historically accurate, for example the *tyubetey* or skullcap, is worn in Kazan as it is across both the Central Asian and Muslim world.

Examining these events, Tatar nationalism lends itself to modernist theories concerning the nature of nationalist movements. Ernest Gellner defines nationalism as:



Image 3: Tatar man on the right is wearing a Tybetey in Kazan.

...essentially the general imposition of a high culture on society, where previously low culture had taken up the lives of the majority, and in some cases the totality, of the population. It means that generalized diffusion of a school-mediated, academy-supervised idiom, codified for the requirements of reasonably precise bureaucratic and technological communication.¹³⁶

The codified identity given to the Tatar people by the Soviet state served the interests of the union's bureaucratic machine. The people of Tatarstan were told what their ethnic identity was by those who held power. Day of the Republic did not only celebrate Tatarstan's autonomy, but displayed Tatar fashion, song, sport, and folklore to the broader population. The people identified with this culture and supported it without regard to it being imposed upon them by an educated elite seeking to secure its own power.

Tatar nationalism drew further support from the uncertainty of the situation in 1991 as the Soviet Union disintegrated. Eric Hobsbawm quotes Miroslav Hroch in describing the collapsing state: "[nationalism] is 'a substitute for factors of integration in

¹³⁶ Gellner, Ernest. "Nationalism and High Cultures," in *Nationalism*, Ed. John Hutchinson & Anthony D. Smith (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1994). Pg. 65.

a disintegrating society. When society fails, the nation appears as the ultimate guarantee.’’¹³⁷ Following the collapse of the USSR and increased autonomy, the Tatar government drew wide support from the local population. This is partially due to Tatarstan’s economic policies during the nineties. In comparison to the rest of the Russian Federation, costs of living remained low and through government subsidies Tatarstan avoided many of the hardships associated with privatization. This alternative system of economic restructuring provided by the Tatar national government further strengthened the support of both the Tatar and Russian populations.

Unlike Estonian nationalism, Tatar nationalism was not driven by national self-determination. An independent Tatar polity had not existed since 1552 and there are few records describing the khanate of Kazan. Therefore, when Tatarstan acquired its *de facto* independence, the republic’s government sought to strengthen the Tatar identity separating Tatarstan from Russia reinforcing the Tatar government’s legitimacy to power. One of the strongest government policies that defined Tatar ethnicity was Tatarizing the urban landscape.

Considering the nature of nationalism in Estonia and Tatarstan major differences in the movements become apparent. The Estonian national movement began in the mid-nineteenth century as nationalist fervor swept across the rest of Eastern Europe. Estonian nationalist leaders looked at the country’s past and used their historical oppression by occupying powers as grounds for national self-determination. Incorporating philosophies from the West with Estonian folklore, myths and traditions the Estonians established their identity.

¹³⁷ Hobsbawm, E.J. *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Pg. 173.

The Tatar nationalist movement however did not fully develop until the end of the Soviet Union. Tatarstan did not experience the same wave of nationalism during the nineteenth century experienced in Eastern Europe. The western concept of a nation did not reach the region until the Soviet Union was established and Asiatic ethnic groups in the USSR were defined as nations and prescribed an artificial cultural identity. Additionally the Tatars had already been widely accepted by the Russian population and vice versa. The Tatars saw Russians as equals, not occupiers. Therefore, as Hobsbawm noted, it was only in a situation of uncertainty that Tatar nationalism became the guiding light of the Tatar people.

Despite the differences in the nature of the movements, both acted quickly to separate their identity from the Russian identity. This took place in the media, education, economic policies, and in the landscape. The urban landscape became a political tool for reinforcing Estonian and Tatar ethnic identity. In some cases inadvertent planning policies defined the landscape as “national,” but in many cases the policies were intentional. These intentional and inadvertent planning policies and architectural designs will be examined in the next chapter in order to determine to what effect ethnic identity and nationalism had on the urban landscape of Tallinn and Kazan respectively.

Chapter V

Analysis of Post-Soviet Urban Planning in Tallinn and Kazan

Post-Soviet urbanization in Tallinn and Kazan was, and still is, heavily affected by the development of national identity of each city's primary ethnic group. This nationalization of the landscape was affected by numerous factors including history, economics, politics, language, and identity. In this next chapter post-Soviet Urbanization in Tallinn and Kazan will be closely examined in order to determine exactly what factors played a decisive role in the development and nationalization of each city's urban landscape.

Tallinn

In the post-Soviet era, Tallinn has implemented a holistic approach to developing its post-Soviet urban landscape. Tallinn's rebirth can be explored by examining five districts in particular – the Old Town and the harbor, the central business district, the sub-urban periphery, the Soviet *mikrorayon* projects, and public transit. All of these areas have received considerable attention from the city's authorities. Each area has been transformed in a different way in relation to what Tallinn's government believed was important in the lives of the city's inhabitants and in the interests of the city's future.

The Old Town

The last time the Old Town received any considerable attention from the government was after the Second World War. Despite some plans for restoration in the 1980's, little was done to the Old Town since the post-war period. The Soviet regime's disregard for the Old Town was a blessing in disguise since it preserved what would become one of Tallinn's greatest assets in redefining the city's identity. Developing Tallinn's Old Town had two distinct goals. First, like the Kazan Kremlin, which will be discussed later, the Old Town was the seat of Estonia's government. Therefore the country's government had a vested interest in preserving symbols that defined the new Estonian state. Second, the Old Town had great potential as a major tourist attraction providing a strong base for Tallinn's economy.

When Tallinn first achieved independence there was great debate over the future of the Old Town. Preservationists wanted to maintain the area's heritage while forward-looking investors wanted to develop the Old Town to its fullest potential. Debates between the two sides, as well as issues of land ownership, prolonged the debate long enough that the Old Town escaped mass development. The area retained much of its original character and was made a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1997 guaranteeing the Old Town's preservation.¹³⁸

One modern building was constructed before the Old Town became a protected area. This was the shopping center on Viru Street in the eastern section of the Old Town. The shopping center was built on three vacant lots of houses destroyed in World War II that were never rebuilt. Therefore no historic buildings were sacrificed to make room for

¹³⁸ "Europe and North America: Estonia." *UNESCO.ORG: Estonia*, (2006), www.unesco.org (accessed April 11, 2007).

this ultra-modern structure. Designed by Estonian architects, the shopping center was built using an array of limestone, glass, and wood separated into three sections giving the appearance of the three original plots. The building follows the medieval street front and is the same height as neighboring buildings so as not to be too intrusive on the historic landscape. The modern architecture of this shopping center is important because it shows how Estonian architects liberally synthesized different styles of Western European design in order to create something uniquely Estonian.

The first project built after independence was the harbor passenger terminal to the northeast of Old Town. Started in 1992, the terminal was built in three different stages and consists of a variety of buildings. All parts of the harbor were built using functionalist styles adopted from the west. The harbor terminal was considered of the utmost importance because it would reestablish ties with Estonia's neighbors, Finland and Sweden. Completion of the harbor terminal established Tallinn as a node in the



Image 1: The Tallinn ferry terminal.

Baltic ferry network increasing the inflow of tourist and business traffic.

Currently up to thirty boats a day travel between Helsinki and Tallinn.

The early establishment of Tallinn

has a node on the Baltic ferry network was especially important in

establishing the tourist industry. The

harbor's close proximity to the Old Town meant that visitors could make day trips from Helsinki and enjoy the city's scenic beauty with little transportation cost. Therefore after

the harbors completion the importance of preserving the Old Town increased significantly.

After the Old Town was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site intensive preservation of historical buildings began. In 1997, the interiors of the Parliament Building, Toompea Castle and Palace were renovated. The exteriors were later renovated and completed in 2006. During this same period the entirety of Old Town was renovated. Churches, houses, streets, and the city walls where all publicly or privately renovated. Currently the Old Town is the heart of Tallinn's tourist industry as well as the city's center of religion and governance. Embassies and consulates have occupied many of the more spacious houses in Toompea, while the lower town is filled with museums, galleries, restaurants, cafes, hotels, bars, and shops. The Old Town's churches and medieval character is appealing to foreign visitors as well as the city's residents.

Now the Old Town has become a symbol for both Tallinn and Estonia. Pictures of the Toompea Castle and the Old Town's skyline appear on the government's website. The Estonian tri-color flies from the top of Toompea



Image 2: Renovations on Toompea Castle, May 2006.

Castle, and all signs are in Estonian, not Russian. The only remaining trace of the Soviet Union's legacy is the wreathed red stars adorning the Sõprus Theater. Additionally, the

area surrounding the Church of St. Nicholas has been uncovered to display the foundations of houses bombed during the second Soviet occupation in 1944. The site was originally uncovered for development, however many of the city's residents feel that the area should remain undeveloped as a reminder of the city's history and struggle for independence.

The years of debate over the Old Town's fate were determined the city's future development. In the Old Town focus was on preservation and emphasizing the Estonian legacy in the city. Soviet symbols were eradicated from the landscape. The only remaining Russian cultural symbols were the Alexander Nevesky Cathedral. Opposite the cathedral however, the Estonian tri-color proudly stands atop Toompea Castle and Palace. The fate of Kazan's Kremlin, as will be discussed later, was quite different. Unlike Kazan, there were no mega-projects establishing the titular nationalities claim to the historic seat of governance and culture in Tallinn's Old Town.

Once the future of the Old Town had been secured as a preserved historic area, the government focused on other parts of the city. The government sought to develop business, increase the standard of living, and spread the benefits of tourism. The new shopping center on Viru Street and the harbor complex laid the foundation for modern



Image 3: The restored Old Town walls looking over the Tallinn Harbor.

Estonian architecture. The new buildings could not be considered uniquely Estonian. But Estonian architects took a modernist approach to redefining the urban landscape. A myriad of ultra-modern designs would become the standard for new projects in Tallinn while maintaining a policy of historic preservation. Where needed older buildings would be incorporated into new buildings. This technique was not used in the Old Town, but was a popular method of urban renewal in the Central Business District.

The Central Business District

This area of the city is usually referred to as “the center.” However it is necessary to call it the central business district (CBD) in order to distinguish it from other cities across the former Soviet Union. The central business district is a key attribute of hierarchically organized capitalist cities in which high-level economic and cultural functions are located. The rigid nature of Soviet urban planning prevented CBD’s from organically evolving in socialist Soviet cities. Instead the Soviet city center was characterized by Bator’s symbolic city center. During the inter-war independence period, a fledgling CBD had come into existence. During *perestroika* the city authorities continued in the direction of developing a CBD with the construction of the high-rise Viru Hotel and entertainment complex. Despite forward-looking efforts, little else could be done in the Soviet period to make the center a true CBD. In the years following independence Tallinn’s city center became a focus of investment and is now becoming a true hierarchical and capitalist central business district.

The CBD is home to Tallinn’s foremost theaters, concert halls, hotels, and business centers. The initial establishment of two shopping centers guided the central district towards becoming the city’s cultural and economic core. The lower levels of the



Image 4: Interior of the Sokos shopping center located in the Viru Hotel.

Viru hotel were turned into the Sokos shopping center. Now one of the main shopping centers in Tallinn, Sokos hosts a variety of high-end shops and cafés. The other shopping center was the

Finnish owned Stockmann department store. Finnish companies were among the first to invest in Tallinn because of the similarity of languages and cultures. Therefore the establishment of the Stockmann department store, which tailored its merchandise to Estonian tastes, greatly appealed to the city's Estonian residents.

During the late nineties, new high-rise office buildings and hotels dominated Tallinn's skyline. The first high-rise was begun in 1995 to satisfy the demand for office space. The 24-storey modern office block redefined Tallinn's CBD. Shortly thereafter, other high-rises also

appeared. These include a new 26-storey SAS Radisson hotel and other smaller buildings. The construction of other high-rise buildings continues to this day and cranes accent the city's skyline.



Image 5: Tallinn's central business district with the Old Town in foreground.

Preservation of historic

buildings has had an effect on development in the CBD. Some older buildings have been incorporated into the new high-rise urban landscape. Others have simply been left as they were fifteen years ago, but are now wedged between modern skyscrapers.

As in the Old Town, the CBD has been stripped of most Soviet monuments. De-Sovietizing the landscape continues to this day. Currently the process has been the focus of much controversy between Estonian and Russian groups. One monument in question has caused such uproar that it has attracted international attention. The Bronze Soldier of

Tallinn was erected in 1947 to commemorate the Red Army's "Liberation" of Tallinn from Nazi Germany. Soldiers who died in or near Tallinn were previously buried at the sight of the monument in 1945.

Estonian nationalist groups and political parties began calling for the removal of the monument in May of 2006. They were however met by stiff resistance by ethnic Russian and some Estonian war veterans and other Russian interest groups. These groups gained further backing from the Russian government who threatened to sever diplomatic relations with Estonia if the monument was removed. Despite these warnings from Moscow, and from the European Union who did not want problems with Russia, the Riigikogu (Estonian Parliament) passed two laws that enabled the removal of the Soviet monument. The first of these two laws, passed January 10, 2007, allowed for the protection or relocation to graveyards of bodies of fallen soldiers of either Estonian or foreign decent.¹³⁹ The second law prohibits the construction or preservation of any monument "which glorifies the occupation of the Republic of Estonia, mass repressions in Estonia...incites hatred or may cause breaches of public order."¹⁴⁰ The law further states that the monument on Kaarli pst 13 in Tallinn, which is the address of the Bronze Soldier, must be removed within thirty days of passing the law.

The debate concerning the Bronze Soldier of Tallinn shows that establishing central Tallinn as an "Estonian" space is an issue of both municipal and national importance. The Estonian national government's involvement in this issue corresponds to the actions taken by Kazan's republic level government in redefining the Kazan Kremlin as will be discussed later.

¹³⁹ "Riigikogu, War Grave Protection Act." *Riigikogu* (January 10, 2007), <http://www.riigikogu.ee/> (accessed April 10, 2007).

¹⁴⁰ "Riigikogu, Disallowed Construction Removal Act." *Riigikogu* (February 15, 2007), <http://www.riigikogu.ee/> (accessed April 10, 2007).

In the post-Soviet period, religion again became a factor in urban planning. New churches keep appearing throughout the city. One of the first was a Methodist church in between the CBD and the suburb of Kadriorg. Its design is innovative and resembles the style of Finnish architect Eero Saarinen, whose father designed the Tallinn 1913 Master Plan, which was never realized. The construction of a church near the CBD played an important role in redefining Tallinn's landscape. The Soviet authorities no longer restricted development, and architects could express themselves in new ways.

The boom of the CBD increased the demand for nearby modern housing.

Demand has brought in new housing projects as well as the renovation of older buildings,



Image 6: New upper-middle class housing built by the Italian firm Breatoni.

further changing the landscape. One project is of particular interest because it resembles the wooden apartment buildings of the interwar period. The project was designed and built by the Italian firm Breatoni and has stunning views of the Old Town and harbor.

Tallinn's central

business district gives the city a Western European atmosphere, which separates Tallinn from other post-Soviet cities. Furthermore, the CBD is standard for making the urban landscape more Estonian, though not through overt nationalism as we will see in Kazan. Instead of creating new 'national' architectural forms, the Estonians define their national identity as Western and European. Estonian architects synthesize various European

styles and create a distinctly Estonian-European form of architecture. Therefore Tallinn's urban landscape is not being nationalized through faux-historicism, as in Kazan, but rather through post-modernism. This principal is especially apparent in the development of Tallinn's suburban periphery.

The Suburban Periphery

The growth of Tallinn's suburban periphery is related to the nationalist notion that Estonians have a unique relationship with their land. In his article "National Identity in Estonia"¹⁴¹ Eiki Berg states "Estonians possess a unique relationship with the Estonian territory that supposedly gives them a primordial right to that space."¹⁴² Berg supports this statement by citing the ethnic constituency of the urban and rural populations. In the year 2000 only fifty-eight per cent of ethnic Estonians lived in urban areas while ninety-one per cent of ethnic Russians were urban. This perspective of the Estonian attachment to their land and natural surrounding can help explain the population shift to new suburban communities outside the city. In the past decade commuter suburbs have appeared throughout the Tallinn metropolitan area. These new areas can be characterized by their innovative architecture, wooded settings, low density, and connectivity to Tallinn's urban core.

¹⁴¹ Berg, Eiki. "Local Resistance, National Identity and Global Swings in Post-Soviet Estonia." *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 54, No. 1. (Jan., 2002), pp. 109-122.

¹⁴² Berg, 111.



Images 7-10: A variety of suburban communities. Clockwise from top right: a single-family unit in a wealthy suburb; an upper-class commuter suburb; the Aaviku residential area, a middle-class community.

Tallinn's suburban developments are a composition of modern, post-modern, and constructivist styles. Some are gated communities that are separated from transportation routes and other built up areas by the forests surrounding Tallinn. Other developments are not gated and lie on major transportation corridors but are still attractive because of their wooded, natural setting. Design typically emphasizes privacy while promoting a sense of community. The Aaviku residential area for example is extremely dense but houses are given individual yards in order to enhance the feeling of privacy. Other communities are dense with shared yards and parking enhancing the feeling of community. The more expensive communities consist of individually designed houses with larger yards and private parking for multiple families.

These new suburban developments are all located in forest settings and greenery is used to make them more comfortable and appealing to residents. Even though the design of these suburban communities resembles new towns built in post-war Scandinavia, they differ in principal. They do not have central shopping districts and are poorly served by public transit. Therefore these communities are designed almost exclusively for professionals commuting to the central city who possess a car.

In contrast to these low-density communities, multi-story developments have also begun to appear in the suburban periphery. To the southeast of the central city, near



Image 11: High-density development in Kadriorg with parking underground.

Väike Õismäe, new high-rise apartment buildings have been built near a new shopping center. Another development in Kadriorg was able to maximize its space by locating its parking facilities under the apartment buildings. Generally these higher density suburban

developments lie along transportation corridors and are better connected to the urban core. There are however critics of these developments saying that they are too dense and do not foster a healthy suburban community.

In addition to the population shift towards the periphery, other urban functions are following the population trend. To the southeast of Tallinn a new, elite private school was built near the wealthier suburban communities. The school's design stands out from

traditional designs. The ultra-modern school is set in the forest with large windows looking out over the grounds.

Other functions that have moved to the periphery include a new hockey arena near Väike Õismäe and the new Art Museum of Estonia, or KUMU. These projects utilized available space in the suburban periphery and were designed to balance the benefits of the tourist industry between the central and peripheral city. Both are easily accessible by public transit and draw large numbers of visitors. KUMU's modern architecture is a site in itself and attendance is far higher than expected. The building was designed by Finnish architects and, like other suburban projects, is integrated with the surrounding landscape appealing to the Estonian primordial attachment to the land.

The suburban periphery has experienced rapid growth in the last ten years, mostly through private investment. The government's investment in the periphery has included road improvements and projects like the new hockey arena and KUMU. Besides these endeavors, the government has had a small



Image 12: KUMU, the Art Museum of Estonia.

role in developing the periphery. The government has instead concentrated on increasing the overall standard of living for the greater population by renovating the Soviet *mikrorayons*.

The Soviet Era Mikrorayons

Over the past decade the government established a project renovating the residential blocks of the Soviet *mikrorayons*. If a residential block is structurally sound and in decent condition, it will simply be renovated. If the block is too decrepit to repair, then it is simply torn down and a new, modern housing unit will be built in its place.



Image 13: Section of a *mikrorayon* in Lasnamäe. On the right are two new housing blocks replacing run down Soviet blocks. The building on the left is the original Soviet block.

This project is being implemented in the three major *mikrorayon* developments of Mustamäe, Väike-Õismae, and Lasnamäe. Only in Lasnamäe are blocks being torn down and replaced.

The government is primarily concerned with increasing the livability of the housing units and the exterior of the buildings. Extra insulation is added to the sides of the buildings to increase their efficiency. The façades of the balconies are covered in color panels in order to reduce the drab and gray atmosphere of the residential units. The stairwells, or *pod'ezd*, of the blocks are also renovated enhancing the industrial construction. In addition to the residential blocks, schools and other amenities in the *mikrorayons* are also renovated.

Prior to this project, the city experienced a major population movement from the *mikrorayons* by both the Estonians and the Russians. Generally Estonians moved to the periphery suburbs or other new housing developments because of the dilapidated state of the *mikrorayons* and reminder of Soviet occupation. Russians, many of whom lost their jobs when the Soviet Union collapsed, moved back to the Russian Federation. Those who stayed remained in the *mikrorayons* and now form the



Image 14: Renovated apartment block in Lasnamäe

bulk of the population in these regions. The renovations have improved the overall standard of living and made previously undesirable residences more habitable. These districts are now seeing a rise in investment as citizens privately renovate their own apartments.

Transportation

Tallinn's post-Soviet transportation system changed rapidly and can be examined by looking at four different aspects of it – the harbor, airport, train station, and the city's internal public transport. Each facet of the transportation network was developed at a different stage based on its importance to Tallinn's economy. Nodes that connect Tallinn and Estonia to the West, such as the harbor and the airport, were the first to receive attention. The train station was later renovated after Estonia joined the European Union.

The city's internal transportation network has received continual investment since independence in 1991.

The harbor was renovated in 1992 and, as stated above, was the first step in reinvigorating Tallinn's transportation network. The harbor was extremely valuable in establishing Tallinn's tourist economy during the early stages of independence. The increase in traffic promoted vital economic ties to other countries on the Baltic, especially with Finland. Currently the harbor almost never experiences a lull in boat traffic and up to thirty trips are made a day between the two cities. New boats arrive hourly unloading commuters to and from Helsinki as well as regular tourists traveling the Baltic.

The airport was the second public transit feature that received attention and was renovated in 1998. The original airport design, built 1976-1980, was intended to be nationalistic in form. The roof of the airport is modeled after one of the few organic Estonian architectural designs remaining from before the establishment of Livonia – the threshing barn-cum-house utilized in agrarian Estonia. The renovations aimed at westernizing the airport's interior and making it more welcoming to tourists and visitors on business.



Image 15: Ferries in Tallinn Harbor, up to thirty a day run between Tallinn and Helsinki alone.

The airport connects to major cities throughout Europe, including Helsinki eighty miles away, and is regularly serviced by discount vacation airlines offering round trip tickets for less than a hundred US dollars round trip. Tallinn also maintains flights to Russia, but not as often as during the Soviet era. The availability of cheap flights to Tallinn from the West has made the city a major destination for weekend tourists. Cheap alcohol has further made Tallinn a popular party destination for stag and hen nights for Brits.¹⁴³ A variety of Estonian tourist companies, such as select-estonia.com, specifically organize packaged deal stag and hen nights in Tallinn.



Image 16: Sign at the newly renovated Tallinn train station.

Recently completed in 2006, the train station was the last major transit node renovated. Track renewal was paid for by the European Union while the station itself received substantial public and private investment. The station was westernized and a new hotel was to the complex. Signs in the station are written in English, Estonian, and Russian because funding was received from

the EU that required all three languages be used. This stands out from the ferry terminal and the airport where signs are only available in Estonian and English. The station is the main point of entry for travelers coming from Russia as well as the predominant node for connecting Tallinn to the rest of the former Soviet Baltic republics.

Renovation of the transportation network shows what forms of transit were most important to the development of Tallinn's economy, and displays what connections were

¹⁴³ Note: Stag and hen nights for the English refer to either the equivalent of bachelor and bachelorette parties in the United States or simply a guys' or girls' night out.

most important to the people and the government. Reestablishing ties to old trading partners and political allies such as Finland and Sweden was considered extremely important. Construction of the passenger ferry terminal quickly reestablished these links. Tallinn continued looking west and by renovating the airport the city became a destination for discount weekend trips. Lastly, the train station was renovated which secured connections to Russia, Latvia, and the rest of Estonia.

In examining Tallinn's internal transportation network, few new additions have been made. Trams, buses, and trolley buses service the city. The original Soviet transit lines have been maintained and updated with new technology. Kneeling buses with digital maps of routes have become the norm.¹⁴⁴ Implementation of high-tech buses stands in great contrast to Kazan's ailing internal transportation network, as we will later examine.

Despite improvements the transportation system and the road network are strained by the weight of new population trends. The Soviet transportation network was designed to bring people to the central city from the peripheral *mikrorayon* districts. Peripheral population growth in the past decade has been so high that the system is no longer able to support the city's demands. A variety of solutions have been proposed and city authorities are currently working to find a solution. Solutions range from improving the road network even more or establishing new public transit lines, which will increase service to areas with poor access to the transportation network.

Out of all of Tallinn's transit systems the road network has experienced the most change in the post-Soviet era. The original Soviet road network was not designed to support a society where every family has a car. In the post-Soviet era however Estonian

¹⁴⁴ Note: Kneeling buses are buses that use hydraulics to tilt towards passengers entering the bus making it easier for the elderly and disabled to ascend into the bus.

society has adopted the Western model and almost every family has at least one car. In light of the changing societal trends the government resurfaced all roads and installed new traffic lights. Overall the road network has been completely updated and is comparable to any Western European city's roads.

Growth of the car dependent periphery has however put unprecedented strain on the main arteries connecting to the central city. The central city is located in between Lake Ülemiste and Tallinn Harbor and all traffic must pass through the center in order to cross from one side of the city to the other. Traffic jams are now an everyday fact of life. The city's authorities aim to solve this issue by improving public transportation and building new roads to the south of Lake Ülemiste.

The investment that Tallinn has put into its internal transportation network has visibly changed the atmosphere of the city. However the city is still adjusting to make its Soviet designed network adapt to a western capitalist city. Nevertheless the city has taken the correct steps in updating the existing network to temporarily satisfy the people's needs.

Conclusion on Tallinn

In examining the Old Town and harbor, central business district, suburbs, Soviet *mikrorayons*, and public transportation one can see a trend in how Tallinn is redefining its urban landscape. Investment and redevelopment focuses on reestablishing and strengthening ties to the West. There is also a strong emphasis on preservation of Estonian monuments and state symbols. The entirety of the Old Town is a preserved historical area. Other symbolic structures, such as churches, are also being preserved.

However monuments and symbols promoting Estonia's Soviet legacy have faced a wave of criticism. This continues to this day concerning the Bronze Soldier monument.

In looking at architecture, functionalist, modern and post-modern styles with an Estonian twist define Tallinn's post-Soviet landscape. Tallinn seeks to define itself as an "Estonian" city by changing its lifestyle and creating a Western European sense of place. The car has become one of the primary forms of travel and anything Russian has disappeared from the landscape. Tallinn and Estonia have not implemented expensive projects that lay the groundwork for what Estonian architecture should be. There is no concise model, as there was during the Soviet-era, which defined what it meant to be Estonian and live in Estonia. This approach to redefining the urban landscape has allowed Tallinn to separate itself from its Soviet past and identify with the European community. In doing this Tallinn is not promoting an artificial heritage based on a collection of historical traditions. Tallinn's policies towards redefining the landscape greatly contrast to Kazan's method of development and promoting national identity.

Kazan

Kazan's development has focused on three areas: the Kremlin, the city center, and transit. Investment and improvement in each of these areas is applied quite differently and each will be examined independently. Nevertheless, all three areas of development are interconnected and dependent on each other for their success.

*The Kremlin*¹⁴⁵

Development and renovation of the Kremlin was critical to the city in many ways.

As the seat of Tatarstan's government, it has a symbolic function for the people and the government of not only Kazan and Tatarstan, but also the Russian Federation. Serving as the seat of Tatarstan's government, the Kazan Kremlin stands in direct opposition Moscow's Kremlin, because during the nineties Tatarstan saw itself equal to, not subordinate, to the federal government. Even now, Tatarstan is trying to increase its autonomy within the framework of the Russian Federation. Therefore continued investment in the symbolism that the Kazan Kremlin provides is necessary.



Image 17: Syuyumbike's Tower

Restoration work on the Kazan Kremlin began in the late 1980's with the restoration of the Annunciation Cathedral. The cathedral was badly damaged during the Civil War and never repaired. Restoration of the cathedral continued through the nineties while restoration of other parts of the Kazan Kremlin started. Government buildings, the Presidential Palace and Syuyumbike's Tower were among the first buildings to be renovated. Syuyumbike's Tower was considered extremely important since it has historically been the defining monument in the Kazan Kremlin.

¹⁴⁵ Note: In Russian, the term "Kremlin" simply refers to a fortress that housed a city's or region's political and religious organs. Kremlins exist in many cities across Russia and are not limited to the Moscow Kremlin.



Image 18: Kul Sharif mosque.

In 1995 president Mintimer Shaimiev made a bold move and declared that the Kul Sharif mosque would be built in the Kremlin on the site of an earlier mosque of the same name from the period of the Kazan khanate. In order to finance the new mosque the president established the *Prezidentskii Fond*, or Presidential Fund. The fund is a one per cent tax on business revenues across Tatarstan to pay for city beautification and renovation. Additionally, a variety of private funds were also established in Tatarstan, Russia, and across the Muslim world.¹⁴⁶ The idea of the mosque attracted a lot of attention because it

would solidify Kazan's desired role as the capital of Islam in Russia and reestablish links between Tatarstan and the rest of the Islamic world.

In 1996 a design competition was held and the fanciful design that now dominates the Kazan skyline was selected. Built to be the largest mosque in Russia, it has a central cupola surrounded by four minarets. The mosque holds 1500 worshipers at one time. The square surrounding the mosque supports another 10,000 worshipers for Friday

¹⁴⁶ Kondreva, Olga. "'Kamnenyi tsvetok' kazanskomu millenimumu." *Rossiiskaia Gazeta*, (June, 2005), <http://www.rg.ru/2005/06/25/mechet.html> (accessed April 11, 2007).

prayers. A library, museum of Islam in the Volga region, and a museum of ancient manuscripts complete the complex.¹⁴⁷

Architecturally the mosque serves as the model for modern Tatar architecture. As during the Soviet era, there was no distinct Tatar architectural style. However, architects who had been able to experiment and create a unique regional style now had the political and economic freedom to do as they pleased. The resulting mosque is beyond lavish. The central cupola served two symbolic purposes. Its design is modeled on the *Kazanskaya Shapka*, or the khan's crown. The second symbolic feature of the cupola is to resemble the nomadic yurts used as mosques by the original Turkic peoples of the Volga region. The crossbeams supporting the roof also represent the frame of the traditional Turkic yurt. Therefore the architects claimed that the new design was Tatar in its spirit and nature and laid the groundwork for further projects defining the Tatar identity. These characteristics served as a basis for other projects in establishing Kazan's modern Tatar architecture.



Image 19: Entrance to Kul Sharif mosque. Languages represented are Tatar, Russian, Arabic, and English.

¹⁴⁷ Kondreva, Olga.

Construction of the mosque received some criticism from the city's inhabitants. Many people believed that the proposed design was too extravagant and would destroy the Kremlin's atmosphere. Nevertheless, the government continued to build the 400 million Ruble mosque.¹⁴⁸ It was completed in 2005 in time for the millennium celebration of Kazan. When Kul-Sharif Mosque opened more than 5,000 people attended the event, including delegations from fifty-one countries. President Shaimiev called the mosque "our stone flower," and Kazan's mayor, Kamil Iskhakov, declared that the mosque was "the symbol of our revival, our history, and our tolerance of all beings and other religions."¹⁴⁹

Restoration continued on the rest of the Kremlin and the areas surrounding it during the mosque's ten-year construction. In the year 2000 the Kazan Kremlin was



Images 20-21: Kremlin renovations: Left – The Annunciation Cathedral and a recently added monument to the Tatar architects of the Kremlin. Right – The main gate.

¹⁴⁸ 2005 Russian Ruble = approx. 15.5 million US Dollars.

¹⁴⁹ Kondreva, Olga. Original in Russian: ..."символ нашего возрождения, нашей истории, нашего толерантного отношения ко всем живущим, к разным религиям."

made a UNESCO world heritage site. This declaration increased the city's financing for full restoration and preservation of the Kremlin. However no UNESCO funding could be allocated for the construction of Kul Sharif mosque because it was not part of the historic ensemble that UNESCO determined necessary to protect.

After the year 2000, restoration spread from individual buildings to other parts of the Kremlin. The increase in finances allowed the government to focus on showcasing archeological finds from the original sixteenth century Tatar Kremlin. Old Tatar gravestones and the foundations of the khan's palace are now visible alongside meticulously kept gardens. Monuments commemorating Tatar poets, scholars and leaders were also added to the Kremlin's ensemble of monuments. Additionally, sections of the walls were entirely rebuilt giving pedestrian access to the walls overlooking the Kazanka and Volga rivers.

Restoration of the Kremlin is currently in its final stages. In its renovated form, the Kazan Kremlin serves as the symbolic heart and spiritual center of the city. On any given day, the Kremlin's streets and squares are full of tourists, school groups, and locals enjoying their national heritage. Unlike Moscow's Kremlin, the Kazan Kremlin is open to visitors and the republic's citizens. Kazan's inhabitants often refer to it as "their Kremlin" and freely recall local legends that took place there.

President Shaimiev and the city authorities understood that renovating and preserving the Kremlin was integral to the identity of the city and the Tatar nation. The construction of the mosque told Tatars that the state was serving their interests and not the Russian Federation's. Preserving the orthodox churches allowed the Russian population to also take pride in the Kremlin, and not consider it an exclusively Tatar or

Islamic entity. Restoring the Kazan Kremlin did not distinctively Tatarize the city, but it did establish the basis for Kazan's future development and continued nationalization.

The City Center

If the Kremlin is the city's symbolic political spiritual core, then Kazan's city center is the economic and cultural heart. Heavy investment has transformed the central historic district from its former state. The republic's government has taken particular interest in rebuilding

according to its own vision.

President Shaimiev has established a variety of programs in order to carry out his desire to turn Kazan into an international economic and cultural center. Private



Image 22: Area cleared for the 'Program of Liquidating Decrepit Residencies.'

investment is also playing an important part in redefining Kazan's center and intensifies the transition the city center is undergoing.

President Shaimiev created the State Housing Fund in 1995 to develop residential construction throughout the republic. Part of this fund was the "Program of Liquidating Decrepit Residencies."¹⁵⁰ In this program, residential units considered unfit for living were either renovated or simply torn down. Demolished buildings would be cleared for private or government investment. However this program left large sections of Kazan's historic center vacant and littered with rubble and trash.

¹⁵⁰ "O fonde." *Istoriia GZhF*, (2006). <http://gilfondrt.ru/about/history>. (accessed April 11, 2007). Original in Russian: программа ликвидации ветхого жилья.

Areas most affected by this policy were in the lower town between the train station and the Bulak Canal. This section of the historic district is strewn with empty lots and half demolished buildings. The mosques in the lower town have however seen considerable investment. New loudspeakers for the call to prayer have been installed and the brightly painted mosques stand out from the decrepit surroundings. The square surrounding the train station has also experienced considerable development from private sources. This is complemented by the government's vigorous renovation of the train station. Other than mosques and the train station, the lower town has seen little interest from the government.

As mentioned in previous chapters, the lower town has historically been the Tatar district, hence the abundance of mosques. Even today, Russian is not commonplace in this part of town. The bazaar, with Tatar and Turkish pop blaring from radios, is more reminiscent of a Central Asian bazaar than a Russian market. Even though the republic and municipal governments are trying to develop a Tatar city, they are unfortunately ignoring and even destroying the city's historically Tatar district.



Images 23-24: Street signs in Tatar and Russian. Tatar is placed above Russian and is written in both Cyrillic (image left) and Latin (image above).

In contrast, the upper-town has greatly benefited from this program of renovating or rebuilding dilapidated structures. Historically the Russian district, the upper-town's character is being transformed by the city's nationalistic development. Street signs are labeled in Tatar (both Cyrillic and Latin) and Russian. The Tatar tri-color hangs from

buildings and street-lamps. Investment in the upper-town is concentrated on two streets in particular – Bauman and Ulitsa Karla Marksa.

Kazan's Bauman has become the equivalent of Moscow's Arbat. During the nineties the street was converted into a pedestrian mall. Older buildings were renovated to create retail and office space. Now the street is lined with boutiques, restaurants and outdoor beer gardens during the summer. Two of Kazan's most luxurious hotels are on opposite ends of Bauman. The Hotel Kazan lies on the northern end of the street. The hotel has been gutted and is now being remodeled. The Shalyapin Palace hotel lies at the



Image 25: Clock on Bauman exhibiting 'Tatar' motifs.

far southern end of Bauman and was also recently remodeled to accommodate western businessmen visiting the city. In front of the hotel is a new monument commemorating the Russian opera singer, Feodor Chaliapin, a Kazan native.

The majority of Bauman is covered in signs written in Russian and English, however Tatar is also present.

Cafeterias from the Soviet-era have been remodeled as teahouses and attract Tatar clientele. Signs on the exterior are in Tatar and the staff's native tongue is Tatar. Dishes unique to Kazan are served beside Russian entrées, such as *triugulniki*, which resemble Central Asian samosas. One private venture that Kazan's citizens consider a sign of the

city's economic success is the McDonald's located in the central portion of Bauman.

Of particular importance on Bauman is the presence of monuments and other small details considered Tatar. Ornate street lamps, benches, fountains, and small

monuments line the street decorated using Tatar motifs. Two of these small additions are of particular note – a clock adorned with small people wearing Tatar clothing playing instruments. The clock is inscribed in Arabic and crowned by a miniature minaret. The other monument of particular interest is located in the exact center of the street's length. It is a large bronze star set into the pavement giving distances to various cities around the world. On opposite ends are Moscow and Mecca, demonstrating Kazan's position between the Russian and Islamic worlds.

The section furthest south of Bauman is still under construction and is more ornate and fanciful than the northern section. The street is paved with bricks and granite tiles lined by detailed pavilions, flowerbeds, and lavish granite benches. Miniature dragons, the city's symbol, adorn every new installment along Bauman.

Islam, which in Tatarstan is synonymous with the Tatar national identity, is also being used to differentiate the landscape and make it less Russian. Kiosks advertising in Tatar sell Islamic prayer beads, skullcaps, pictures of Mecca, and Korans. These same kiosks also sell tourist maps, post cards and books



Images 26-27: Kiosks on Bauman sell souvenirs and assorted Islamic items such as prayer beads and religious calendars. Notice the Tatar national flag as a backdrop to the picture of the holy Kaaba in Mecca on the right.

promoting the city and republic. Therefore tourists visiting the city can plainly see that Kazan is not a Russian city, but an Islamic Tatar city.

After Bauman, Ulitsa Karla Marksa has received the most attention from the city's authorities and private investors. Running along the ridge of the long hill leading to the Kremlin Ulitsa Karla Marksa is the focus of Kazan and Tatarstan's government offices. On the southern end lies Kazan State University. In between the campus and the Kremlin one finds such important landmarks as the Opera and Ballet theater, republic and city justice departments, a monument to Lenin, and the State History Museum.

What differentiates Ulitsa Karla Marksa from Bauman is the abounding presence of Tatar used on signs. Every government building is labeled in both Russian and Tatar.



Image 28: Ulitsa Karla Marksa, pre-Soviet Imperialist architecture dominates the street.

The government also heavily invested in beautifying the street. Young saplings line the freshly paved street and sidewalks. New ornate street lamps stand by intricately designed wrought iron advertising boards.

Unlike Bauman, Ulitsa Karla Marksa is not a major pedestrian thoroughfare. Nevertheless, the street's commercial function is still very important. International companies, such as Lufthansa, locate their offices here. Numerous pizzerias and sushi bars advertising in English attract the upper echelons of Kazan's social circles.

In addition to development on these two streets, the government has invested heavily in the city's sports tourism industry. Three new facilities are intended to attract



Image 29: The *Piramida* entertainment complex.

sports fans from across Russia to the city. A new football (soccer) stadium and basketball arena have been built in the central city to accommodate the city's teams and growing number of fans. The third venue is called *Piramida* or Pyramid. This multifunctional entertainment facility has pool halls, movie theaters and a restaurant. The primary purpose of *Piramida* was to host boxing matches, which attracts a different class of sports fans. Kazan's diversified sports tourism has driven the city's investment in regional transport as will be discussed later.

New amenities in the central city attract private development and the city's wealthier citizens. Apartments in renovated historic buildings are selling above the average price in Kazan. To meet demand, private developers are building new high-rise apartment buildings on vacant lots in the upper town created by the President's program of urban renewal. Demand to live in the city center is so high that land values are more than 1.3 times the city's average price.¹⁵¹

Tatarization and development of the central city has had two distinctly different results. First, a new atmosphere has been given to the central city. Kazan now stands out



Image 30: New upper class housing in central Kazan.

from other Russian cities through the use of national and Islamic motifs in public art and architecture. The high amount of government investment in city beautification and nationalization has in turn provided an attractive setting for private investment. Thus urban functions that have not existed in the central city since before the revolution are returning. However, unlike Tallinn, Kazan's central city has not evolved towards

¹⁵¹ Makhrova, Alla G. "Changing Housing Markets in Russian Cities." *Geographische Rundschau, International Edition*. Vol. 3, No 1 (2007). Pg. 33.

becoming a defined central business district. From a distance one cannot distinguish the central city and high real estate values by the presence of high-rises and skyscrapers. This is slowly changing and some private investment is demanding denser development because of increasing land values, but not to the same extent as Tallinn.

The Role of Transit

The internal and external transit systems of Kazan are important features of the city's post-Soviet development. Factors driving investment in certain forms of transit while entirely disregarding others are of particular importance to understanding the city's development. Presently the public transit system is outdated and inefficient. Diesel buses, electric trolley buses, trams, *marshrutkas*,¹⁵² and one metro line serve the city's public transit needs. The city has separated the system between the above ground and metro transit systems. The above ground transit system is out of date by at least two decades. Bus interiors smell of exhaust, are overcrowded, and breakdowns are not uncommon. Trolley buses are just as crowded and often disconnect from the power cables. Used buses discarded by countries in the West slowly replace dying Soviet era buses. But this is only a temporary solution to a worsening problem. The tram system is in even worse condition. The city has purchased some new trams, but the majority have not been replaced for decades. The tram tracks are in such bad condition that when approaching a switch, the conductor must stop the tram, exit and manually change the direction of the rails before continuing. Therefore travel on any of these three forms of transit is not only unpleasant but also unreliable.

¹⁵² Note: A *marshrutka* is a private minibus that follows a set route through the city and stops to pick up or drop off passengers anywhere along that route.

Replacing the decrepit above ground system is the *marshrutka*. These private mini-buses register with the city and their routes correspond to already existing bus and trolley bus lines. In some cases *marshrutkas* also service peripheral areas with poor access to the main forms of transport. Despite being more expensive, these private enterprises have become a popular choice of travel. They are faster than buses, more reliable, and will stop upon request instead of at designated stops.

The reason behind the poor state of the public transit system is that the municipal transit authorities do not receive funding from either the city or republic governments. Instead the public transit system is entirely dependent on fares for wages and



Images 31-32: Buses in Kazan. Left – An out of date bus from the Soviet-era. Right – a bus discarded by the west and decorated with nationalist slogans.

maintenance. Unfortunately fares only marginally cover the costs of the aging and overburdened system.

Despite the condition of the transit system, the government has still invested in covering buses, trolley buses, and trams in nationalistic colors and slogans. The Tatar tricolor adorns the sides of buses with slogans promoting the city’s millennium anniversary. Others are painted with ornate “national” designs and the city’s crest. Thus, the government has more interest in decorating the transport system with nationalistic

displays and branding the Tatar identity upon the city than of providing reliable service to citizens.

In comparison to the above ground system, the metro receives considerable attention from the republic government and even from the federal government. The first metro line opened for the millennium celebration as the first step towards establishing a larger network. The final metro system will consist of four metro lines connecting areas poorly serviced by other forms of transit to the city center. Areas in between the metro lines will be connected by an above ground light-rail system encircling the city. Funding for the metro comes from a project run by the federal government. The city can use these specific metro funds to construct a system that fits the city's needs. The first line is only partially built and connects the Kremlin to Bauman Street, to the Gorki I *mikrorayon* district south of the city center.

Authorities use the metro system as a showpiece of Tatarstan's progress in the past decade. It is clean, efficient, and well maintained. The walls are covered with mosaics depicting Tatar heroes, art and folktales. Station names are written in Tatar and Russian as are all announcements made over the intercom. The metro system has however received a lot of criticism. Engineers recommended the system be built above ground for structural integrity. Instead it was placed underground and many people think it is too shallow and will collapse. It is believed that the government has focused too much on decoration instead of concentrating on the system's structural integrity and efficiency. Another criticism of the metro is that it only serves the tourist industry and not the needs of everyday citizens. Even though more lines are being built which will do more to serve the city's residents, the system's completion is not scheduled until 2020.

Externally, Kazan has focused on regional and national connections. The train station was the first external transit node to undergo complete renovation. Next to the main railway station a new suburban station was built. The government focused on integrating Kazan with Tatarstan, and Tatarstan with Russia. Every day multiple trains connect Kazan with Moscow. There will be an additional train station built in the Northern part of the city for suburban trains in order to reduce traffic to the central station and serve as a hub for the future light rail system.

In comparison, the international airport has received no attention. Yet, despite the lack of investment in the airport, Tatarstan has its own airline and the city maintains connections to various countries including Turkey, Germany, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and



Images 33-34: Left – Entrance to the Kremlin metro station. Right – Mosaic promoting Tatar folk tales and art inside a metro station.

China. In addition to the Tatar national airline, Turkish Air, Lufthansa, and other international carriers operate to and from Kazan.

The river port has been renovated, but not rebuilt. Renovation was driven by the city's tourist industry. Kazan is now a major destination on Volga River cruises.

Although tourists on these cruises only come for day trips, it still brings considerable revenue into the city. Renovation of the port has further allowed the city to retain its importance as a break in bulk on the point middle-Volga exporting agricultural and industrial products.

Kazan Conclusion

In examining the nature of Kazan's post-Soviet urban development, it is evident that Tatarizing the landscape has been used for two purposes. First, it was important for the government of the new republic to gain the people's support and trust. The government was young, weak and only existed "in name" for the Tatar people. Tatar nationalism was in its infant stages and adherents wanted symbols and traditions to identify with. Symbolism came in the form of monuments and architecture, while some Tatar pastimes established during the Soviet era provided tradition. Islam was a stronger source of tradition and was effectively used by the government for this purpose.

As stated in Chapter IV, during times of uncertainty, nationalism is the "ultimate guarantee."¹⁵³ Shaimiev and his government understood this and sought legitimacy for their *de facto* independence. Redefining the urban landscape and giving it a uniquely Tatar sense of place set Kazan apart from other Russian cities, giving the Tatars an Eternal City as their protector and identity.

The second result of Tatarizing the landscape was increased trust in the city, and therefore increased private investment. New private ventures have drastically altered the landscape and brought considerable cash flow to the city. TatNeft, the Tatar oil company, has a vested interest in improving Kazan's image and promoting the republic's

¹⁵³ Hobsbawm, 173.

autonomy from the Russian Federation for purposes of taxation. Most private projects however do not promote the realization of a Tatar landscape as intended by the Republic and city governments. New post-modern housing projects in the city center are plentiful and use none of the ornamentation or ideas prescribed either in the Soviet era or in the construction of the Kul Sharif mosque. One project that certainly does not promote Tatar national architecture is *Piramida*. Even though the project is part of the government's sports tourism program, it is a private venture. Its futuristic stone and glass exterior is anything but Tatar.

Although Kazan's nationalization of the landscape is more blatant than Tallinn's, it is possibly less defining. In general, the people have trouble identifying with the new landscape as other extravagant projects, like *Piramida*, go up around them. Furthermore, the government has done little to improve the general standard of living across the republic. Therefore, Kazan's nationalization of the landscape can be seen as an explosion of creative talent repressed during the Soviet era expressed through ethnic faux-historicism.

Conclusion

An urban landscape mirrors political and economic developments, but it also contributes to evolving cultural and national identity. Estonia and Tatarstan lagged in their development of urban culture, and therefore their urban landscapes before the Russian revolution in 1917 were far from “Estonian” or “Tatar.” Tallinn was defined by German, Swedish, and Russian urban culture, while Kazan was almost exclusively defined by Imperial Russian culture. However one section of Kazan remained distinct as a Tatar district and retained a somewhat different character than the rest of the city.

After 1918 both cities followed very different paths. Tallinn sought to break away from its history of occupation and create a style of architecture unique to Estonia while adopting western urban planning models. These developments separated Tallinn from Russian cities and strengthened the Estonian notion that they were an outpost of Western European culture on the borders of the Slavic Orthodox world.

Kazan on the other hand became even more subject to the centralized state. Until World War II there was little development of “Tatar” architecture and planning. The

central organs of the Soviet regime executed projects that made Kazan evolve essentially as a Soviet city.

After the Second World War, when Tallinn was subject to the Soviet regime, architects, planners, and government officials exerted considerable agency within the parameters established by the framework of the Soviet state. Soviet planning policy and architecture was carried out in Tallinn, but Estonian architects and planners pushed their creative freedom to the limits. Ideas that were either organic to Estonia or more often imported from the West were used as a form of protest against the occupying regime.

In contrast Kazan was still limited by the parameters of the RSFSR in the post-war era. But Russian and Tatar architects, designers, and planners integrated motifs from historical Tatar clothing and art into projects. These endeavors were seen as promoting the development of an organic Tatar style of architecture and design. Unlike Tallinn elites in Kazan never embraced the notion that Soviet architecture could be manipulated and altered as a form of protest against the imposed Russian culture.

In their current state, both Tallinn and Kazan have succeeded in redefining their urban landscapes. Post-Soviet urban planning and architecture was, and still is, an explosion of nationalistically driven creative talent repressed during the Soviet era. Ethnic identity and nationalism have affected urban planning and architecture in two distinct forms. In Tallinn, Western post-modernism is used to separate a modern European-Estonian city from a modern Russian city. Meanwhile in Kazan, faux-historicism is used to align the new Tatar urban landscape with the Islamic and Turkic worlds, which distinguishes it from other cities across the Russian Federation.

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Informal interviews were conducted in both Tallinn and Kazan with street vendors, real-estate agents, students at Tallinn University of Technology and Kazan State University, restaurant workers, and private storeowners. These individuals either simply did not disclose their names or did not wish to disclose their names. Interviews in Tallinn conducted May 9-12, 2007. Interviews in Kazan Conducted May 18-22.

¹⁵⁵ Note: the Majority of information used to write Chapter V came from these interviews.