TARTU, ESTONIA

Tartu, with its population of 101,246 (Population Census data from 2000) in an area of 38.8 square kilometres, is the second largest city of Estonia. Tartu, located 185 kilometres south of Tallinn, is also the centre of Southern Estonia. The Emajõgi River, which connects the two largest lakes of Estonia, flows for the length of 10 kilometres within the city limits and adds colour to the city.

History
Since being first mentioned as a settlement in 1030, Tartu has gone through a long way of development. The milestones in the history of nearly a thousand-year-old Tartu can be considered joining the Hanseatic League in the 13th century, the establishment of the university Academia Gustaviana in 1632, publishing of the (first Estonian language) newspaper “Eesti Postimees” in 1864, holding the first song festival in 1869 and the establishment of the theatre “Vanemuine” in 1870.

University town
Tartu is known as a city of education. In addition to Tartu University, founded in 1632, two more large institutions of higher education are located here: the Estonian Agricultural Academy and the Tartu Defence College. Tartu has a total of 16 institutions of higher education. Since 2001, Tartu has been the seat of the Ministry of Education of Estonia.

Administration
The City Council of Tartu, elected by the electorate of the City of Tartu every three years, is the representative body of the municipal government. The Tartu City Government, which is formed by the City Council, is the executive body of the municipal government.

Internationalisation
Thanks to its favourable geographic position as a junction of both waterways and big roads, Tartu has been a mediator between West and East for hundreds of years. In the course of times the creation and dissemination of intellectual values has replaced the simple exchange of goods and services. Together with the growth of Tartu’s cultural and innovative potential, its internationalisation has taken place. Tartu today is a renowned co-operation partner in the Baltic Sea region.

International motorways which guarantee a quick connection with the Republic of Latvia and Russia pass through the town. Tartu has a rail connection with St. Petersburg, Riga and Pskov. Lake Peipsi is conveniently reached along the Emajõgi, from where East Estonia and Russia are easily accessible. Tartu airport facilitates the connection with different places of the world.

Development
To direct Tartu’s purposeful development, a long-term strategic and master plan until the year 2012 has been drawn. The general aim of the development of Tartu is to create an internationally competitive humanistic, educating and regenerating environment. Tartu’s model of development proceeds from the aspiration to be the key figure in the building up of the Estonian info-society. To achieve this, preconditions for extensive innovative activities are created, involving Tartu’s citizens, local authorities, state institutions, private sector and volunteers.

Text from http://www.tartu.ee
4. Urban planning and land-use in post-socialist Estonia

The case of Tartu

Jussi Jauhiainen

4.1 Urban development in the socialist system
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4.1 URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM

4.1.1 Urban planning and urban growth
Urban development and planning were of particular importance during the socialist period in the Soviet Union. Towns played an important part in the organisation of the economy and their development occurred through organised top-down planning following the principles of a command economy. There are certain similarities in the general urbanisation patterns between capitalist and socialist urbanisation. The evolutionary trend of urbanisation, suburbanisation, counter-urbanisation and reurbanisation is similar. Industrialisation and specifically the socio-economic situation have been in the background of rapid urbanisation in socialist countries. Until recently, scholars have merely argued which of these two was the main factor. However, recently there has also been discussion about the role of the state and large companies in constraining and enabling urban development and the land-use in towns. However, it is often argued that urbanisation in socialist countries came later and was more controlled than in their western counterparts. This means that urban growth took place in Eastern Europe from the late 1950s until the 1980s, somewhat later than in Western European countries.

In the command economy system, urban planning was part of the total organisation of society. This led to particular land-use patterns that were designed through strongly hierarchical planning practices. These can be seen as anomalies from the perspective of capitalist land-use and current planning practices. The immigration into urban areas during the urbanisation period signified particular land-use patterns in socialist countries, like construction of large suburban neighbourhoods and densely developed areas for manufacturing industry on the periphery. Many other areas, like traditionally important historical centres and inner city areas were not developed with such intensity. They were hardly maintained during that period.
An introduction to three districts in Tartu
Supilinn, Jaamamõisa, and Kekk

Two underdeveloped areas in Tartu, the districts of Supilinn, Jaamamõisa, and more generally the industrial area of Kekk, will be described on the following pages.

Jaamamõisa is a relatively new residential area that has been separate from general town development because it was a functional part of a military base in Tartu. This particular history has created significant difficulties for integrating the area socially and economically with Tartu and for creating a sense of community and feeling of belonging within the neighbourhood.

The wooden house district of Supilinn, located in the old part of Tartu, has experienced social and structural decline in recent years. After the nationalisation of private property during the Soviet period, it became an area of rental flats for people with low incomes. The area was segregated from the town, because the aim was to demolish it. Both areas have been of specific concern for town planning in the late 1990s and the aim is to revitalise them. The empirical material is based on the research “Tartu ja tartiased” conducted in 1998, based on a random selection of 1,518 people and a structured questionnaire. Further information is based on an analysis of the current socio-economic situation in Tartu regarding impact assessment research in 1998.

The industrial area of Kekk is described briefly.
In socialist towns there often emerged a deteriorating ring of housing between the centre and the suburban areas. In the post-socialist period these housing areas have an advantageous location in the town structure. The integration of these housing areas into the town structure has become an important task for planners. Implementing sustainable urban development and communicative and participatory planning practices in the redevelopment of these declined neighbourhoods is a particular challenge in former command economy societies.

4.1.2 Gentrification

One aspect of this study is an analysis of the planning approaches, participation in planning and sustainability principles of planning in Tartu and how great a role sustainability has played in development plans. Girardet (1999, 13) defines sustainable city as a 'city organised so as to enable its citizens to meet their own needs and to enhance their well-being without damaging the natural world or endangering the living conditions of other people, now or in the future'. This definition becomes particularly important when the redevelopment of these neighbourhoods is addressed.

The development possibilities in run-down neighbourhoods are framed by the concept of gentrification, a general theory of neighbourhood development in the late capitalist society. Gentrification has often been used in the context of advanced industrial countries during the 1980s and 1990s. Broadly defined, gentrification means the physical and social upgrading of a run-down neighbourhood that takes place as an initiative of the local public authorities, private development agencies and some inhabitants. In the study, the role of public and private agents in promoting rehabilitation and gentrification in the run-down neighbourhoods of Supilinn and Jaamamõisa are looked at. A particular issue is to discuss the possibilities that exist for learning about planning and development from the case of Tartu. It is important to think about how this knowledge could be applied in the case of other cities around the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea and elsewhere in Central Eastern Europe.

4.1.3 Urban planning in Estonia

The analysis of urban development and planning in a post-socialist town must be contextual because the current situation is not sufficient for understanding planning practices and possible future development plans. Also, direct comparison to the western situation in the late 1990s would easily lead to mistakes. The intention here is to illustrate the basic features of urban planning and development in Estonia with particular attention to the case of Tartu. This creates an opportunity to compare other post-socialist towns and to illustrate the major similarities and differences to western towns.

Urban planning in Estonia is organised hierarchically in the national Planning and Building Act, following the division of the country into national, regional and local levels. The national plan, the Estonia 2010 document, provides general strategic development guidelines for the country and presents the alternatives for Estonia in the year 2010. The document indicates the position of Estonia regarding the neighbouring countries, especially Finland, Russia and the European Union in general. There are two general options: 1. Estonia as a part of the European Union acting as the gateway to Russia 2. Estonia as a peripheral confrontation territory in Europe. These scenarios are then divided into four more specific options: the ‘Ferryman’, ‘Gateway’, ‘Oasis’, and ‘Finland’s periphery’ options (Estonia 2010). These give general development options for the counties and local authorities and for urban development in the country. Because these options are more scenarios than real development plans, the regional plans are more important for local development.

The regional level of planning is provided by the county plans which direct the territorial development of each of Estonia’s 15 counties. The county plans also include directions for local development, including Tartu and the County of Tartu. In general, the directly elected municipal councils have broad legal powers with respect to local economic, social and environmental affairs. However, it is technically possible for the county authorities to co-ordinate the activities of the municipalities as they represent the authority which grants approval of the master plan. The counties seldom use these regulatory principles, partly due to the weak status of county plans, partly due to the short time that they have existed.

Like everywhere in Europe, real development at the local level occurs through detail plans and building permits given and regulated by local authorities. Basic rights to develop private property are indicated in the law. At the local level, a broader strategic development plan that indicates the long-term development path for the locality is also important. In Tartu, such a document, ‘Tartu 2012’, was approved in 1999 by the town council. The major development principles are to foster the position of Tartu as an important regional centre in Southern Estonia and to highlight the importance of Tartu as an academic and medical centre and transport node (Tartu 1999b).

Public participation in planning is guaranteed by law in Estonia. However, the law does not formally indicate the methods of participation, except with regard to information delivery and public hearings. The law also grants the right of the public to participate in environmental assessment by taking comments from the public into account in the final environmental statement. The Environmental Impact State-

**Table 4.1** The land-use in Tartu, 1999. (Source: Tartu 1999.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area (ha)</th>
<th>%</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land with residential buildings</td>
<td>982.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land with industrial enterprises</td>
<td>311.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other occupied property</td>
<td>546.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graveyards</td>
<td>43.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway</td>
<td>81.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Streets, roads</td>
<td>367.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water bodies</td>
<td>131.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public parks, green areas</td>
<td>238.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshland and shrubs</td>
<td>698.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural land</td>
<td>94.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>384.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>3,880.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ment contains information about possible environmental impacts, planned measures to mitigate pollution, and reduction of risks for the environment. The Environmental Impact Assessment has been used to widen participation and to integrate it into the planning process. This requires also an expansion of the concept of environment to include not only the traditional green areas and non-built environment, but also social and economic issues regarding the built environment. However, planning practices in Estonia illustrate that the final stage of planning is still the most important with regards to participation, i.e. when the draft of the master plan is finished and delivered for public hearings.

4.1.4 Land-use development

Socialist towns had a particular legacy in land-use dynamics that put the towns in a particular context in the post-socialist period. In the command economy land was not a commodity with capital value so the exchange value of land was not the decisive factor behind land-use and urban structure. This is why a central location did not have the importance that it had in western towns and why land-use in the centre of the towns is not always so intensified. Also people preferred living in the newly built and refurbished suburban areas than in the decayed inner city. This is actually a large challenge in developing post-socialist towns.

Despite this situation, there was a strong functional division of land-use between the town centre, inner city, suburban areas and more distant locations. These land-uses were regulated through functional urban planning realised with rigid top-down methods and general comprehensive plans. There are, of course, significant local differences in land-use but a general pattern can be described in the socialist town, especially in the Baltic States and other Central Eastern European countries. The legacy of the past both in the built environment and its regulation is a major issue when thinking about possibilities for urban development and planning. A general discussion about the characteristics of land-use in a socialist town with specific references to Tartu follows (See Jauhainen 1998).

4.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF TARTU

4.2.1 Population

Tartu is a town where development from the socialist to the post-socialist period is illustrated. After the annexation of Estonia into the Soviet Union, a rapid demographic development began in Tartu, related to immigration from other Soviet republics and to natural population growth. Important to the development of Tartu was the large Soviet military air base of Raadi, located just a couple of kilometres from the centre. It hindered the development of the town and had a particular importance for Jaamamõisa.

In 1959, there were 75,000 inhabitants in Tartu and by 1969, the number had risen to 83,700 (+8,700 people, +11.2% in ten years). In the late 1970s, the construction of the large neighbourhood of Annelinn began which facilitated the allocation of immigrants to the town during the 1970s-80s. In 1979, there were 104,500 people in the town (+20,800 people, +24.9% in ten years). In 1989, the population reached a peak of 114,000 (+9,500 people, +9.1% in ten years). (Table 4.2) The growth followed the expansion of Tartu as the industrial and administrative centre of southern Estonia.

The population declined considerably after Estonia regained independence in 1991. In 1995, there were 105,100 persons in Tartu. In 1999, the population was estimated to be 100,500 (-13,500 people, -11.8% in ten years). The official registered population, 94,800 people, indicates a more rapid decline (-19,200 people, -16.8% in ten years). However, the registration of population is less accurate than in the early years, so the exact number is not known. Furthermore, there are students pursuing higher education in Tartu (around 13,000 persons in 1999), many of whom are not registered as local inhabitants. Part of the decline in the population is due to the emigration of Russians after the end of the Soviet Union.

During the 1990s, the most important large-scale change was the closure of the former military air base of Raadi. In the Soviet period, Tartu was a partly closed town due to this military presence. There was discussion about possibly reusing this area as a civilian airport or an international air cargo centre. In the late 1990s, it was decided that there would not be an airport in the area. The runway (3,200 metres) is used as place for selling used cars or as site for car races, around once a month.

The closure of many industries led to a reduction in industrial jobs. Today, Tartu can still be considered a multicultural town even though emigration has consisted primarily of Russian speaking people. Three-quarters (76%) of the population in Tartu are ethnic Estonians, slightly less than one fifth (17%) are ethnic Russians, 6% have their origin in other Slavic Estonians, and about 1% are ethnic Finns (Tartu, 1999). There are also some hundreds of people from 'western' countries; most are Finnish students at the University of Tartu.

The two case study areas, Supilinn and Jaamamõisa, have different histories and physical structures. Supilinn being an old and relatively low-density area with wooden

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.2 Population in Tartu.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
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<tr>
<td>changes</td>
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<tr>
<td>change in %</td>
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4. Urban Planning and Land-use in Post-Socialist Estonia

buildings and Jaamamõisa being a relatively new and dense area of apartment blocks. Despite the differences in physical environment, there are many similarities between these two neighbourhoods. They have both been in a particularly complex situation with regard to the general development of Tartu since they have declined significantly during the last decades. Both have been excluded from the development of the town and currently there are problems with physical and social degradation. However, they are relatively centrally located in the town and they have been addressed in the town plans in the late 1990s. The development of these neighbourhoods is described along with recent plans in the area and the viewpoints of inhabitants regarding planning and development prospects of their own neighbourhoods. The current challenge in Tartu is to integrate Supilinn and Jaamamõisa into the town structure and launch positive development there. The industrial area of Kekk illustrates briefly the situation which occurred when a large Soviet industrial complex broke into smaller units and how there are different and perhaps temporary land-uses in this area located on the periphery of the town.

4.2.2 Land-use in Tartu’s districts

The land-use in Tartu shows formal zoning inherited from the Soviet period and includes features from a pre-socialist, socialist and post-socialist town. The general urban structure follows the socialist pattern of a town built partially before the socialist period, reorganised during socialism, and redeveloped after socialism. Important local regulative legal instruments in Tartu have been the comprehensive plan from 1974, the temporary building decree from 1994, the building decree from 1996 and the comprehensive plan from 1999. Due to large differences between the plans and the real situation, development in the 1990s has taken place through detail plans and building permits.

4.2.3 The Old Historical Core

The old historical core in the socialist/post-socialist town has a clear connection to the past. The physical structure of central areas is dense and mostly consists of historical buildings. In the pre-socialist period it was the most desirable location with a high exchange land value. The central parts of Tartu (Südalinn) were badly damaged during the Second World War and later they were only partially rebuilt leaving a large amount of unbuilt areas in the centre. However, as in other socialist towns, the exchange value of land disappeared during the socialist period. There was no particular need for large areas for consumers, so the damaged area across the river was converted into green space. There were some interventions in the central part related to the symbolic value of central squares, monuments and main buildings, but in general, the old historical centre experienced decline during the socialist period. The population aged with the buildings and did not belong to the wealthy sectors of society. In 1982, 13,700 people lived in the central part of the city. The location of many university buildings in the centre is important for land-use activities.

A general feature in post-socialist towns has been the development of a specific concentrated central business district attached to the historical centre (Smith 1997). In the 1990s, this has also been the case in Tartu. Currently the old historical core and the attached central business district (Kesklinn) are undergoing regeneration and the most important projects have occurred there in the late 1990s. Former open space and green areas are now being partly converted into shopping areas, offices, specialised services and restaurants. This development has also reached the eastern side of the river which was a low density land-use area during the Soviet period (Figure 4.1). The social composition of the historical centre of Tartu is very different from western cities because a more elderly and less wealthy population lives there. However, since 1988, the centre has lost over one third of its population and there are currently about 9,400 residents. It can be estimated that gentrification has only taken place to a very limited extent and mostly by people originating in western countries.

4.2.4 The Inner City

Typical for Northern European towns is an inner city built around a historical centre constructed during the 19th and early 20th centuries. In larger towns it consisted of stone buildings but in some cases there are detached or semi-detached wooden buildings. The urban structure is relatively low density with local, vernacular architectural styles. Usually some of the detached buildings house a more wealthy population. In Tartu, the desirable neighbourhood of Tammelinn, in fairly good shape due to self-made repairs to the buildings is an example of this kind of district. The social composition is made up of people from higher social classes and academics. In 1982, the population was 7,500 and in another similar area, Tähtvere, there were 5,700 inhabitants. The development of these areas was not of particular concern in planning during the socialist period. These areas have a particularly positive image in the town and Tammelinn’s population has remained stable (7,600 people in 1995) whereas Tähtvere’s population declined to 4,600 by 1995. However, areas with a lower standard and a lower social composition are also typical for an inner city in a socialist town. These are the former areas of immigration to the town borders annexed to the town during early urban expansion. During the last decades these areas were not specifically developed and they have experienced both physical and social decline. In Tartu, there is a ring of wooden houses that have characteristics of inner city decline. The wooden house district of Supilinn on the western border of the historical centre was built primarily during the 19th and early part of the 20th century (Figure 4.1). During the socialist period it was not renovated and in the town plans the aim was to convert it to an area with large apartment buildings. In the 1960s, the population was greater than 4,000, and declined to 3,200 by 1982. The population continued to decline during the 1980s and by 1995 there was a population of 1,900.

4.2.5 The Suburban Areas

The development of the suburban areas was the most important urban intervention during the socialist period. Large, dense, modern, suburban areas were built in towns according to the land-use principles of socialist town planning. Land-use was very functional and followed Soviet urban theories of rational-functional linear city development, for example, by Nikolai A. Miljutin in the 1930s. Spatially and
socially functional mikrorayons (housing areas) were a fundamental part of organisation of urban society and structures in the Soviet Union. The land-use was designed to enhance socialist society and to fulfill its social, economic and political needs. The largest neighbourhood in Tartu, Annelinn mikrorayon, was built in the 1970s-1980s according to these principles. It is located at a relatively short distance, 2-5 kilometers, from the centre and consisted primarily of six to nine story apartment buildings. Annelinn had all the modern facilities that were lacking in many parts of the town: central heating, large grocery stores, a market square and other cultural and social services. A regular and dense public bus service provided transportation. A rational organisation of cultural and everyday services for the population and the formation of town centres for public use were realised in the neighbourhood. In 1982, there were 22,600 inhabitants and by 1988 the number had risen to 28,700 and by 1995 to 32,100. However, the expansion of Annelinn ceased with the end of the Soviet Union. The district is popular although inhabitants are negative about the lack of green and open areas. Despite the relative newness of the neighbourhood, there are structural problems and there has already been some renovation of the buildings. One of the neighbourhoods, Jaamamõisa, consisted of large apartment buildings from the 1960s-1970s and functional land-use and services. It was constructed to house personnel from a nearby Soviet military base with 9,000 soldiers. In 1982, 4,100 inhabitants lived in Jaamamõisa and in 1995, there were 3,200 left after the big emigration of the early 1990s. The quality of buildings and construction was not good in the district.

4.3 THE LEGACY OF THE SOCIALIST PERIOD IN URBAN PLANNING IN TARTU

4.3.1 Hierarchical system of planning

Large-scale urban planning was surprisingly similar in Western and Eastern Europe in the post-Second World War period. In most countries the aim was to produce a hierarchical urban system based on central places and their hinterlands. The territory was designed as functional economic space based on comprehensive development plans at different spatial levels. This policy lasted in Western Europe until the 1970s when the growing political integration and internationalisation of the economy made it impossible for states to regulate spatial economic development in the same way as before. In Eastern Europe, this functional planning lasted until the end of the 1980s.

This general situation also applied to the Baltic Sea area and Estonia. Part of this hierarchical spatial planning was the idea of organising local spatial structure from the extended regional level to the narrow level of neighbourhoods. This meant a comprehensive approach in planning with detailed land-use determination in municipalities. In the command economy, often the guidelines, if not the whole plan, were designed away from the particular town the plan was meant for. This means that there was very limited if any consultation from local inhabitants regarding the planning principles.

In the Western context, this kind of comprehensive plan was also common up to the 1960s, but then public participation became part of planning. In the beginning it was connected to the legal framework in which people could comment on the final draft of the plan, but in the 1980s, consultation became more common during the preparation phase as well. New planning approaches, like communicative planning, negotiative planning, impact assessment and Local Agenda 21, created greater opportunities for public participation in local development.

4.3.2 The general plan of Tartu

In the case of Tartu, the preparation of the fundamental comprehensive general plan of 1974 was designed away from the town. The land-use goals followed the patterns of a typical socialist town in which different activities - housing, industry, and communal services - were separated and connected to each other by a transport network. In the plan, the most important single development project was to develop the large suburban neighbourhood of Annelinn, realised in the 1970s-1980s. The district of Jaamamõisa was built as well, but local authorities had even less control over
the construction, because the area was connected to military activities. Actually, the military area appeared as a "white area" on local maps. The plan indicated an aim to increase the population of the town, so part of the less dense wooden inner city was to be demolished. However, the chief of the local planning office fought against this renewal plan by slowing the procedures, which finally resulted in a postponement and end to the demolition plans.

In local land-use development, the most important planning instrument has been the 1974 general plan. The plan included the building of the Annelinek mikrorayon (realised), the conversion of the inner city wooden house area of Supilinn into a district of apartment buildings (not realised), the expansion of industrial estates (realised), and the construction of large ring-roads (partly realised).

When Estonia became connected to market development, the planning tools used were detailed plans and building permits because the valid general plan was out of date. Planning in Tartu became important in the mid-1990s when the city centre and the advantageously connected urban fringe came under pressure from rapid construction. The abnormal outcome of the command economy started to change to capitalist land-use patterns of exchange value. The pressure from the new legal system led to the design of a new master plan, started in 1997 and approved in 1999.

In the 1999 master plan, sustainable development was the main principle. The social needs of the inhabitants were the first priority and the support for economic development and enterprises the second. Intensification of land-use was seen as fundamental to the achievement of sustainability and economic constraints. However, since the plan indicated a slow growth in the population and the average size of housing space per person is increasing, a need to intervene in the degraded and low-density inner city areas arose.

4.3.3 Participation
 Participation in planning was used in the preparation of the new master plan for Tartu. Local authorities had working group meetings, there were articles in the local newspapers, and formal visits by the town planners to the neighbourhoods. At the end, there was a round of open discussion on thematic issues as well. The participation aspects were integrated with the impact assessment when the plan was designed.

In the national planning law there is a relatively old-fashioned view of planning with functional zoning and rigid comprehensive planning at the local level. This is partly the reason why the planning methods were traditional and that for the participation of local inhabitants, traditional consultative methods were used. This is understandable because when Estonia became independent, there was no broader knowledge of practices regarding participatory planning.

During the preparation of the master plan, the normal development activities were organised through territorially more limited general plans and detail plans. Between 1995-99, dozens of detail plans were designed in Tartu. Planning covered the city centre, the inner city district of Supilinn, and the former military housing area of Jaamamõisa as well.

The master plan for the city centre was more an architectural evaluation than a real land-use plan or development strategy. The plans regarding Jaamamõisa and Supilinn are discussed in more detail later in the study. Importantly, Local Agenda 21 was also introduced in Tartu in 1998. It consisted of comprehensive material for environmental planning and issues of public participation. It influenced the preparation of some environmental aspects of the master plan.

The Local Agenda 21 has been important in linking different interest groups involved in planning questions, especially within the non-governmental sector. As earlier mentioned, the local strategic vision for the year 2012 was finished in 1999 as well. In a technical and legal sense, the whole territory of Tartu has been an object of contemporary planning.

4.4 CONCLUSIONS FROM DEVELOPMENT OF THE THREE DISTRICTS

4.4.1 The historical context
 In all post-Soviet towns there are districts like Supilinn and Jaamamõisa with features particular to a change from a command economy to a market economy. A number of conclusions, both positive and negative, can be drawn from the development and planning that has taken place in Supilinn and Jaamamõisa. Both areas are separate from the rest of the town and planning has not succeeded in integrating them into the town structure. The areas have been treated as secondary subjects in the development plans of Tartu.

In the planning history of Tartu both areas have been the subject of strong top-down planning. The idea of not developing the districts originated from those planners who presented rationality as part of the expert knowledge of local authorities. Planning has been an important tool for the situation the neighbourhoods face today, especially the limits that were proposed for Supilinn in the general plan of 1974. Jaamamõisa is also an example of top-down planning in practice and a more specialized case due to the military history of the district. At the close of the 1990s, both areas are experiencing problems from deterioration. Town planning has been used as an instrument for urban renewal and for improving the social and physical structure according to the principles of sustainable urban development.

Sustainability can have different meanings at the local level. In the case of Tartu, local planners use the concept of sustainability as a goal in creating a compact town structure, or for recycling the existing urban structure. In Jaamamõisa, the aim in the comprehensive plan was to rationalise the use of larger buildings and to demolish the poor quality barracks. New buildings with higher living standards would be developed in the barracks area if private developers would invest in the area. In the planning process the participation of inhabitants took place according to the regulations of the Estonian Law on Planning and Construction.

In Supilinn, sustainability is presented with the aim of intensifying the building structure, creating a modern collective sewage and water infrastructure, and demolishing those buildings that are not deemed as worthy of repair. Participation in planning was more active than in Jaamamõisa, and included several hearings, held according to the norms of the law. There were also additional meetings.
4.4.2. Criticism

Criticism from this study include the following: participation in planning was limited, the concept of sustainability was narrow, and planning is still relatively top-down in Tartu. There was not enough effort to include a wider audience in the planning process. It must be said that it has been difficult to engage the population in the planning process due to a lack of experience of methods on both sides. There is a general agreement that rehabilitation has to take place in Jaamamõisa and Supilinn. Nevertheless, some of the local residents have been critical of the extensive renewal plan proposed for Supilinn, as indicated and sometimes inflated by the media. Nevertheless, the experience of Tartu is useful as an example of planning practice and urban redevelopment in a post-socialist town (Table 4.3).

One reason for the slow development in Tartu has been the particularities of post-socialist land-use patterns. Large areas for development have been left in the central part of the town. It is difficult to attract investments to the more peripheral neighbourhoods if there are no particular advantages to it. Another particular constraint on development has been the slow progress of property reform with regard to land ownership. It is difficult to plan with a long-term perspective if the land ownership situation is not clear. Also the recent economic situation in Estonia has been weak.

Table 4.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Jaamamõisa</th>
<th>Supilinn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>traditional, public lead</td>
<td>traditional, public/private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>method</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>low, technical</td>
<td>more active, consultative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainability</td>
<td>secondary, recycling</td>
<td>rational, intensification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concept</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development</td>
<td>physical, improvement</td>
<td>socio-physical, improvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vision</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.3 Lessons for the future

When development is opened to include sustainability and participation in the future, there are a number of questions to be addressed from two aspects. Firstly, it is necessary to consider the possibilities for sustainable development in these two neighbourhoods and their role in the town structure as a whole. Secondly, the methods to achieve sustainability in the neighbourhoods and the role of planning and inhabitants participation in the process should be properly addressed. Sustainability means to use resources appropriately taking into consideration both the existing inhabitants and future generations.

The main concerns regarding the lessons learned from Jaamamõisa, Supilinn and Kekk for the other partners of the SUPERBS project are as follows:

- sustainability should be used as a broad definition and basis for development
- negotiative and collaborative planning should be the development methods used in order to ensure broad participation in neighbourhood development
- top-down practices of planning will be harmful for development and social justice in neighbourhoods
- particular attention should be paid to neighbourhoods with difficult socio-economic situations and prospects: despite problems, they are home to many people
- certain smaller industrial sites with good strategic locations should be promoted as transitory sites for varied industrial activities
- land value theory can be used in calculating development potential and neighbourhood cycle theory can be used for framing the socio-economic improvement (gentrification) prospects of districts close to central areas – mistakes in the West during the 1970s should not be repeated

References

Published written material

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Plans, unpublished material and Internet references