

STUDIO I URBANISATION 2019



BEYOND BORDERS *MOVING THROUGH MAARDU*

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Foreword

Shortly after arriving in Tallinn, we (students from the Estonian Academy of Arts urban studies master's programme, along with several Erasmus students) joined tutors Keiti Kljavin and Andra Aaloe for our first studio. From day one, the course aimed to guide us in reading the political, social, economic, and cultural processes which have been shaping the urban form in Estonia. The country's disproportionate growth in the capital, Tallinn, has acted as an accelerator for changes throughout Estonia, which is visible in the built space. Students of this semester's studio course were given the task of exploring Maardu—a municipality of just over 16,000 residents, located 15 kilometers east of Tallinn.

Our class, made up of eight urban studies master's students, one environmental design student, and three Erasmus students from architecture, film, and sculpture backgrounds, was about exploring the space by bike, foot, and bus in order to study the process of urbanisation. Several main events structured the semester, with group work, studio presentations, and one-on-one meetings scattered in between.

The semester began with a bike tour through Maardu to introduce everybody to the vast and complex site itself, followed by group work where we explored traces, flows, and ways of living. On October 20, we hosted our first public tour in Maardu, leading participants through narratives, exercises, and guided walks on location.

At the midpoint of the semester, we analysed scholarship on the process of urbanisation and entered into dialogue with the authors by producing individual reading diaries. On October 27, we departed from Tallinn for a three-day Estonia Diagonal trip. The exploration to the east and south encouraged us to recontextualize our place within Tallinn and Maardu and develop our curiosities around the environment in which we found ourselves.

In the second half of the semester, our task was to narrow our interests and begin working on individual projects determined by the nagging questions still circulating from the first half of the semester and the Estonia Diagonal trip. From this point on, we utilised a variety of research methods, such as interviews with residents, field observations, comparative work with archival materials, photography and film work, theoretical research, psychogeographical field work, and analysis of found objects to dive deep into our selected sites and interests. On a weekly basis, we presented our latest findings and cognitive maps to the class to receive feedback and guidance from our tutors and one another.

The urbanisation studio course culminated in a final festival on December 14, where we presented our individual, on-site exhibits: guided walks, photo installations, participatory exercises, lectures, ceremonial performances, and a final film screening at a familiar karaoke bar.

This book, a summary of the semester's projects and events, was produced by the Estonian Academy of Arts studio one urbanisation course. It highlights the processes, projects, and peculiarities of our semester together where we fought with our natural instincts, followed our curiosities (at moments to hidden treasure and at other times to literal dead-ends), questioned ourselves and each other, and, after sweating through a stressful semester, jumped into the ice cold liberating, startling, and exhilarating water.

Estonia Diagonal

Three-days trip through the east and south of Estonia
25–27 October 2019



Thirteen participants. Two Tutors. One PhD student. One bus driver. Twelve nationalities from all around the world (Estonia, Ireland, Turkey, Germany, the Netherlands, Australia, India, Pakistan, Great Britain, the United States, Denmark, and Ukraine). The essence of the urban studies master's programme is its international composition which gives different perspectives in the field of urban research. To introduce Estonia as a country which has experienced a lot of political and economic changes in the last ten years, a three-day trip around the east and the south offered an overview to the first-year and Erasmus students about the different developments in urban and rural areas and especially

the differences between its attractive capital Tallinn and Estonia's other regions.

Estonia, which is currently known for its rocketing ascent in terms of digitalisation and economics compared to the other Baltic states and the rest of the European Union, strives to the political, economical and administrative standards of the Nordic states. Being always the industrial backyard of the Soviet Union until its collapse in 1991, Estonia's Russian population increased from eight to 30 percent in 45 years. Relocated in the frames of Stalin's recruiting program as factory or farm workers from all over the Soviet Union, Russian-speaking people began





calling Estonia their new home in 1946. Russian-speaking kindergartens, schools, and in general the whole cultural life itself took place in a parallel universe. Estonians felt betrayed about their own state independence and lost identity, which is one of the reasons why the tensions between the Russian-speaking population and the Estonians remain perceptible today.

The conflict between those two ethnic groups, the migration into the capital Tallinn, and the connected shrinking population of rural areas in the country was certainly noticeable during the three days of the trip. Starting the tour with the breathtaking view from the hill of the Kiviõli Adventure Park, the group crossed several partially and totally abandoned villages

and small towns around the seaside town Sillamäe. After stopping at the coast of Sillamäe with its spa and sauna resorts, Russia, and, at the same time, the end of the Schengen area came closer and closer. The population of Narva, the town at the Russian border, is 95 percent Russian speaking and the built space is apparently influenced by its Soviet past. Walking along Khrushchevian and Stalinist residential buildings, the group was also confronted with Narva's industrial remains, like the textile factory.

Consequences of industrial places were also shown while travelling towards Lake Peipus, like a relict of an oil share mining and a tainted alkaline lake, based near Auvere. Following the Onion Road southwards along the



shrinking rural areas in villages like Kallaste, Alatskivi, Varnja, or Antsla, it is obvious that the east of Estonia has to confront the tension between the growth of the capital city Tallinn and the subsidence of population in rural parts of the country. It is difficult to attract people to move into those rural areas when Tallinn is too tempting to live in with all its possibilities. In this way, it has to find strategies to condense those areas to make all kinds of infrastructure affordable for the established population. Ending the trip in another border town, Valga, the group faced another kind of border: the border to Latvia. Not really noticeable in a visual way, the border was revealed through the lack of a continuous railway connection between the Estonian city Valga, and the Latvian city, Valka. This will

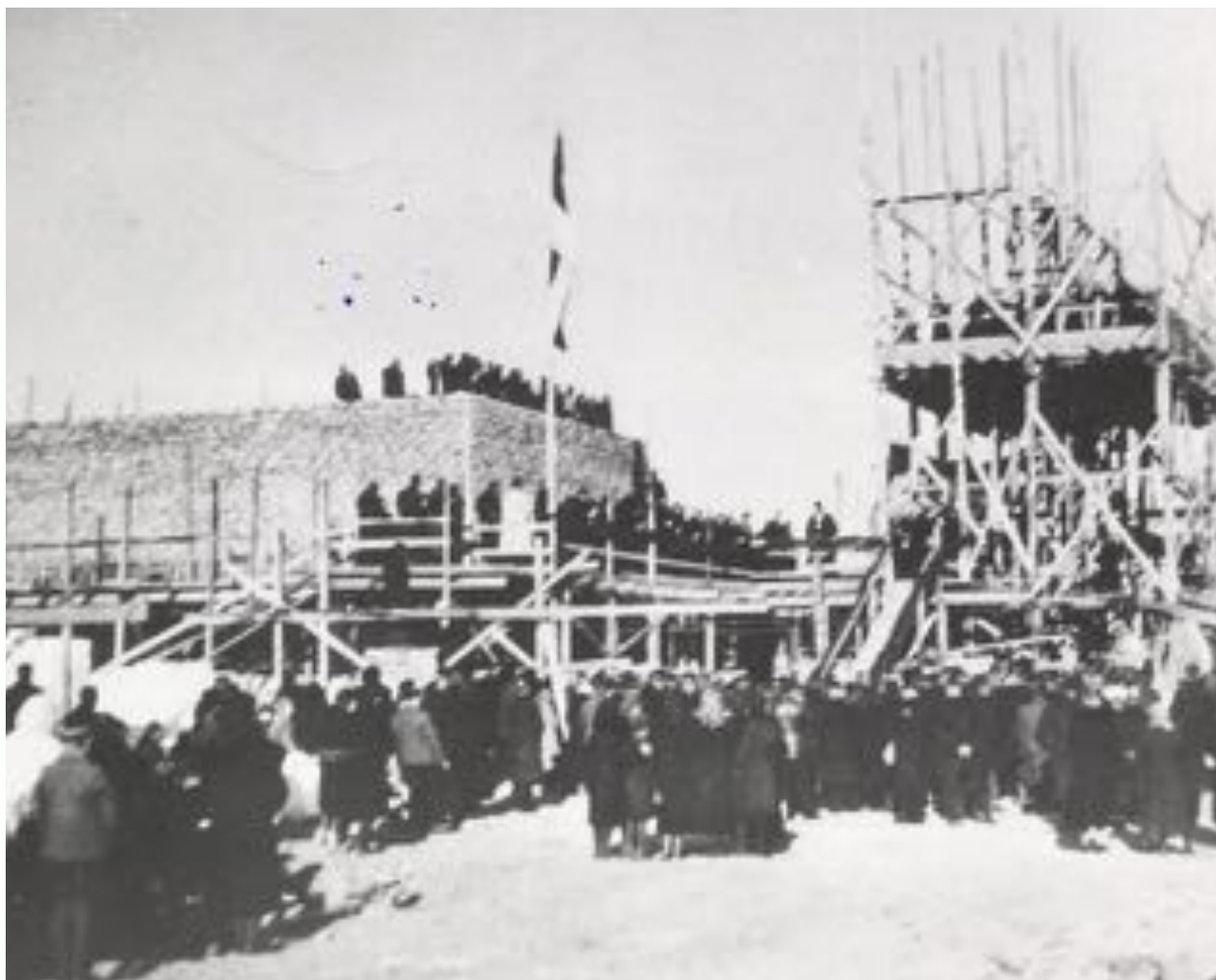
change with the realisation of the Rail Baltica project.

Accompanied by walking tours by external guides but also by our tutors Keiti and Andra, audio podcasts during driving time, and a smoke sauna experience, the diagonal through Estonia was drawn on every layer.






Maardu Timeline



1. Laying of the cornerstone of the new plant (1939) Rahvusarhiivi fotoinfosüsteem

- 1241 Rootsi-Kallavere village first mentioned in the Danish Census Book
- 1397 First mention of Maardu Manor (Jõelähtme)
- 1870 Baltic Railroad opened, connecting Tallinn to St. Petersburg
- 1894 Maardu Lake drained



■ 1925	First mine opened in present-day Maardu First concentrating plant opened in present-day Maardu
■ 1938	Fire at concentrating plant
■ 1939	New plant built after the fire (Eesti Fosforiit) Maardu Lake Restored
■ 1941	World War II German occupation of Estonia
■ 1944	Soviet occupation in Estonia begins Maardu Gymnasium opens (Estonian-speaking primary school)
■ 1947	Building of the Tallinn–Leningrad Motorway (today: St. Petersburg motorway)
■ 1949	Soviet-run chemical plant opens (phosphate ore mined)
■ 1950s	Muuga aedlinn developed
■ 1951	Borough rights granted to Maardu
■ 1962	Tallinn absorbs Maardu
■ 1980	Muuga-Lagedi railway line opens Maardu established as a town within the Tallinn municipality
■ 1986	Muuga harbour and Maardu port are built
■ 1987	Peak of Phosphorite War environmental campaign

STUDIO I URBANISATION

■ 1991

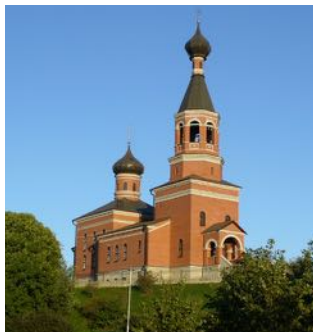
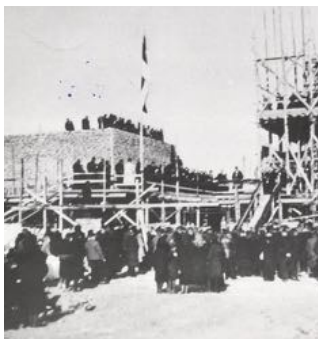
Maardu is separated from Tallinn
Chemical plant is shut down
Estonian Independence from Soviet Union

■ 1997

Cemetery formed outside Kallavere

■ 1998

Church of the Archangel Michael (Russian Orthodox) built in
Kallavere





2. Chemical plant workers (1973) Rahvusarhiivi fotoinfosüsteem



Bike Tour

Expedition into the Edge
11 September 2019



On September 11, twelve students from Estonian Academy of Arts urban studies masters programme, coming from the most diverse backgrounds, met with their bicycles on a “little circular park” at the cross-section of Merivälja tee and Kloostrimetsa tee; a meeting point that was easy to miss. The route, curated by Andra the tutor, did not take students through well-paved roads, but through paths, gravel, fields ... roads that were not quite roads.

That day, which began in sunshine and ended in hail, they rode almost 60 kilometres, trying to grasp an urban pathology that everyone refrains from touching: Maardu. Students were

given a map at the start not only to locate themselves within a country in which they just arrived one week prior, but also to locate the elusive place itself. Passing through a cemetery full of dead, affluent people to stop beside a municipal dump, or beside a giant boulder that had travelled from Finland many years ago, one meaningful question arose during every single stop: Is this Maardu?

Maardu's borders seemed fluid and as ambivalent as the route through which students were taken. One could traverse three municipalities in a space of five kilometres. One might be in Maardu only to exit and return within the next minute. At least that is how it



1. After cycling from Pirita through Muuga aedlinn and the port of Muuga, students arrive in Kallavere for a lunch break at local restaurant and karaoke bar Fortuna.



2. Instructor Andra Aaloe leads the pack of cycling students through the Kallavere district of Maardu.



3./4. Students cycle through the grounds of the abandoned chemical factory for the first time after visiting the town of Kallavere built to house its employees.



5. Maardu landfill



6. Port of Muuga

felt during the constant hustle they endured between observing what they were surrounded by and protecting themselves from the rain above, automobiles beside.

From the detached summer houses of Muuga aedlinn to Khrushchyovkas, from the municipality's patronising interventions upon the Kallavere landscape to the heritage-protected Rootsi-Kallavare, from drastic traces left by the phosphorous mining industry to green networks and giant boulders; this place, encircled by oil pipes, was overwhelming. A puzzle to be solved. A puzzle that students would wrestle with for the next three months.

STUDIO I URBANISATION

From atop the hill of the St. Michael the Archangel church, we locate ourselves with a red, wooden sign.

Perched in a grassy landscape of northern Estonia's town, Maardu, the sign reminds us of our geographical place in the world—15 kilometers from Tallinn, 812 kilometers from Minsk, and some 5000 kilometers from Mongolia. In closer proximity lies Estonia's largest cargo harbor to the north and man-made Maardu Lake just south.

While Maardu gathers its identity by reaching to each cardinal point in space, the municipality also gazes backwards and forwards in time:

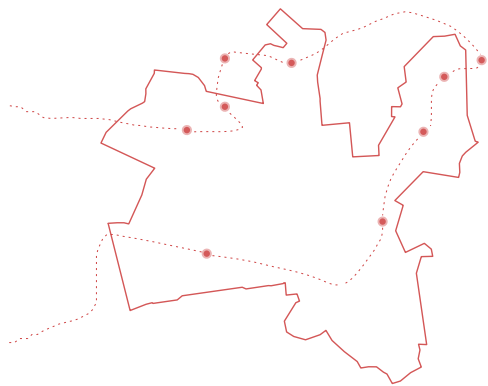
a 13th century Swedish village, former and present summer cottages, Stalinist and

late modernist housing, and remnants of phosphorus mining all collide with the future development plans for the Muuga harbor and new single-family homes to create the present-day traces, flows, and ways of living in Maardu.

First year students from the Estonian Academy of Arts' master's program in urban studies invite you to join them on Sunday, October 20, in asking questions of identity, place, and urbanisation in Maardu. Together we will explore—on foot and by bus—the expanse of the town, all the while considering what is this place called Maardu, what memories do its forests and factories hold, and to which networks within and beyond its municipal boundaries does it contribute?

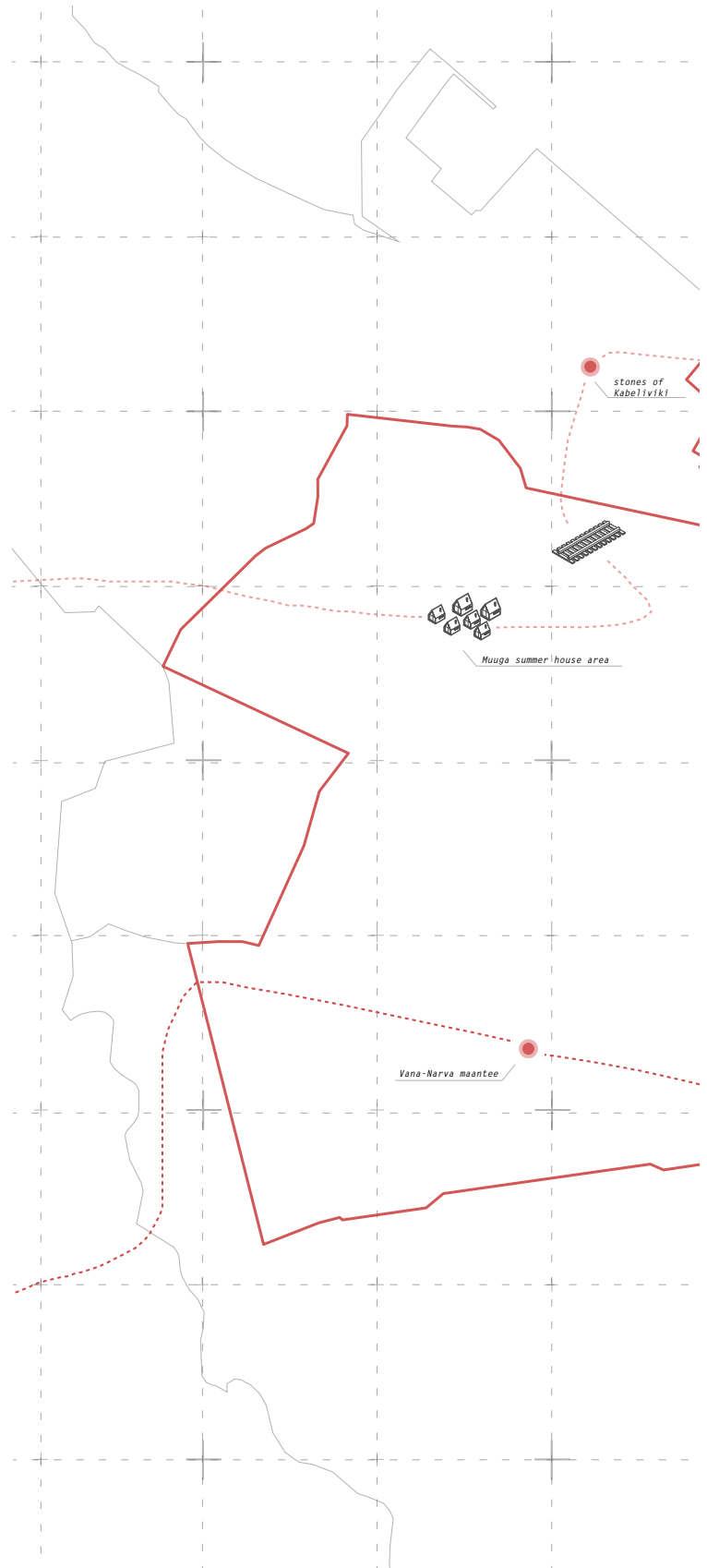
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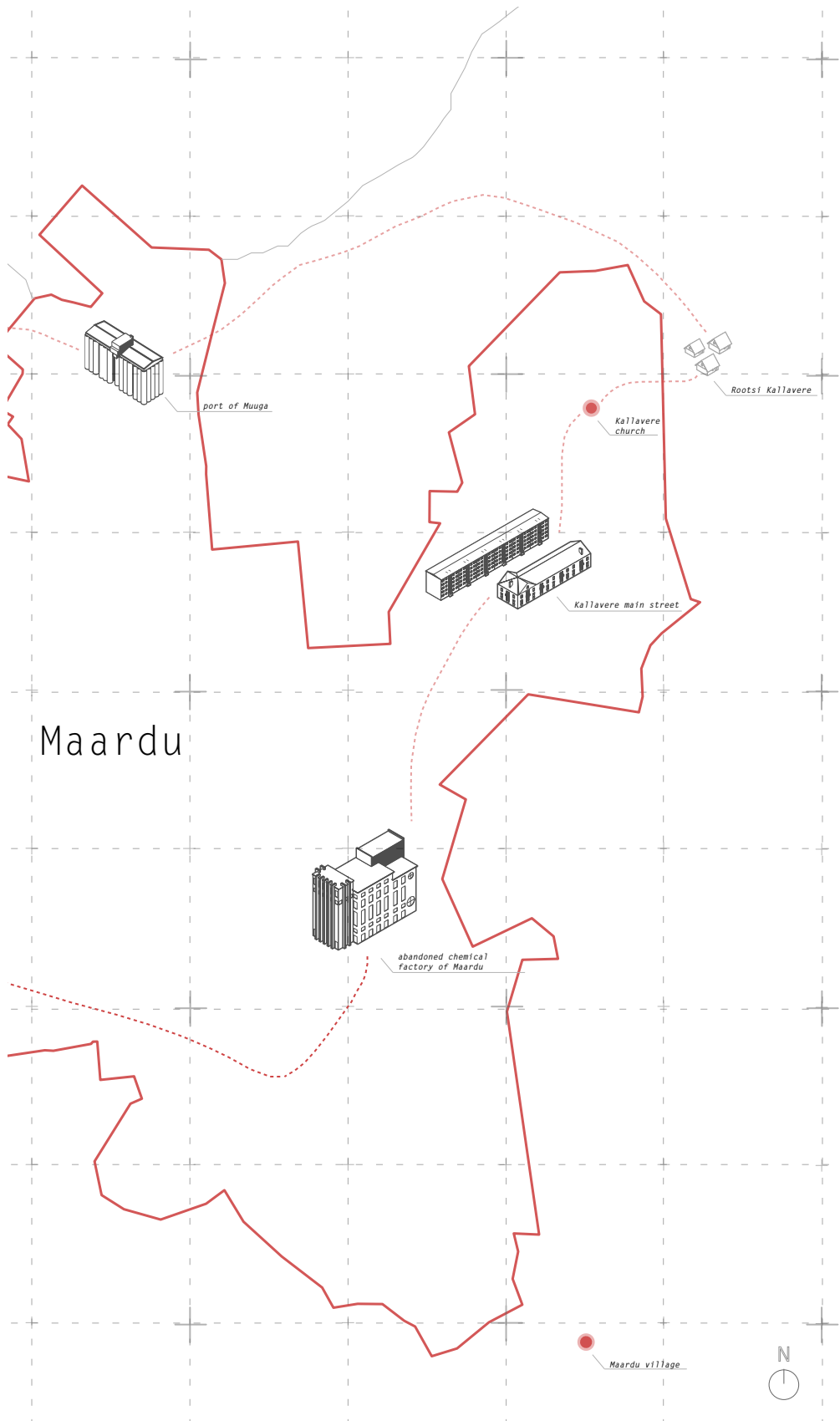
URBAN STUDIES



A Day Out In Maardu: *Chasing the Fox Tails*

URBAN EXPLORATION on foot and by bus
orientation map





A Day Out in Maardu

First Urban Walk
20 October 2019



1. Participants emerge from the Kabelikivi boulders and walk towards the port of Muuga.

Rain plummeted through the October leaves during the urbanisation studio's first public tour through Maardu. The event—A Day Out In Maardu: Chasing the Fox Tails—was a guided exploration of the processes of urbanisation by traveling, on foot and by bus, the expanse of the municipality. At various stops, guests were invited to consider a new perspective for defining Maardu, what memories its forests and factories hold, and to which networks within and beyond its municipal boundaries does it contribute.

The tour began with a public bus ride from Balti Jaam to Muuga aedlinn. Guests were provided with a student-created brochure

containing an illustrated map of the route, interviews from residents, historical moments in the town's history, and archival photos of the region. The first departure out of the bus began with a tour through the Muuga aedlinn (Muuga garden city) summerhouses to the railroad tracks that run through Maardu to the Muuga port. As the group walked along the tracks, they traced their way through the chronology of Maardu.

Before leaving the brush, the group visited the Kabelikivi boulders, carrying with them their own stone weights and choosing to hold them tight or discard them, and the national narratives they symbolized, in the unfamiliar landscape. Out of the weeds and back on the



10. Lisa Rohrer and Wimke Dekker lead the tour participants in an exploration of fantasy and reality outside of Kallavere, in the heritage-protected village of Rootsi-Kallavere.



3. Hemmed in on either side by the thick brush, student Marina Pushkar leads the way down the Miiduranna railroad tracks.



4. During the first stop in the tour, participants are led through Muuga aedlinn to observe the Soviet summer-houses more often occupied year-round.



5. The group travels into the forest to the Kabelikivi boulders, which, like the participants themselves, have traveled from afar to arrive in Estonia.

bus, the tour twirled around the port, looking at Maardu within a global context and complicating the linear concept of progress and capital circulation. Dizzy from such explorations, they continued to blur their vision by venturing into the 13th century Swedish village where students led an exploration of the boundaries of urban and rural, fantasy and reality, preservation and lived space.

The group marched out of the forest to engage with the neighborhood of Kallavere—Maardu's city created for phosphorous mining employees in the 1950s under Soviet rule in Estonia. They peered across the landscape from atop the town's hill, adorned with a Rus-

sian Orthodox Church, and then filed along Keemikute street, guided by the narratives of Soviet housing and post-Soviet neoliberal urban development.

With the daylight dwindling the tour boarded the bus for their final stops: first, a visit to the abandoned chemical factory viewed from the safety of the bus, followed by a drive through Vana Narva maantee where stories of infrastructure, sex, and metal warehouses were shared over the bus speaker. The group returned from the day out in Maardu having chased the phosphorous foxtails across the territory, all the more curious about this assemblage of sites called Maardu.



6. The tour group walks past Soviet-modernist housing in Kallavere to the center hill upon which the Russian Orthodox church sits.



7. As the urbanisation studio students present their work, participants follow along the route with a specialized map of Maardu.

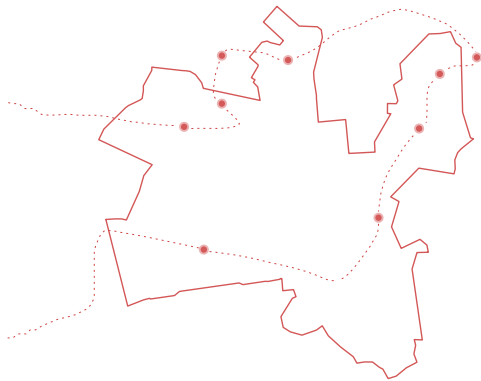
A lake and a port. Summer housing and mass housing. Metal, steel, automobiles, and the not-so distant memories of phosphorus mining. Beyond the towers of Vanalinn and the limestone of Lasnamäe exists this municipal assemblage that over 15,000 people call home.

Beyond Borders: Moving through Maardu is a public output & final grading of Estonian Academy of Arts Urban Studies Urbanisation studio "Tallinn-Maardu: expedition into the edge", tutored by Andra Aaloe & Keiti Kljavin.

Whether or not you are familiar with Maardu, this festival of a kind will urge you to experience the area through various

site-specific interventions exploring its physical and conceptual boundaries, the global and local activities that shape it, and the area's relationship to neighbouring localities.

There will be a private bus service to transport guests to each event according to the programme below. You are also welcome to visit individual exhibits via your own transportation at the times displayed in the program schedule below. Please note that the private bus will not return to Tallinn, but public transportation runs between Maardu and Tallinn for our return trip.

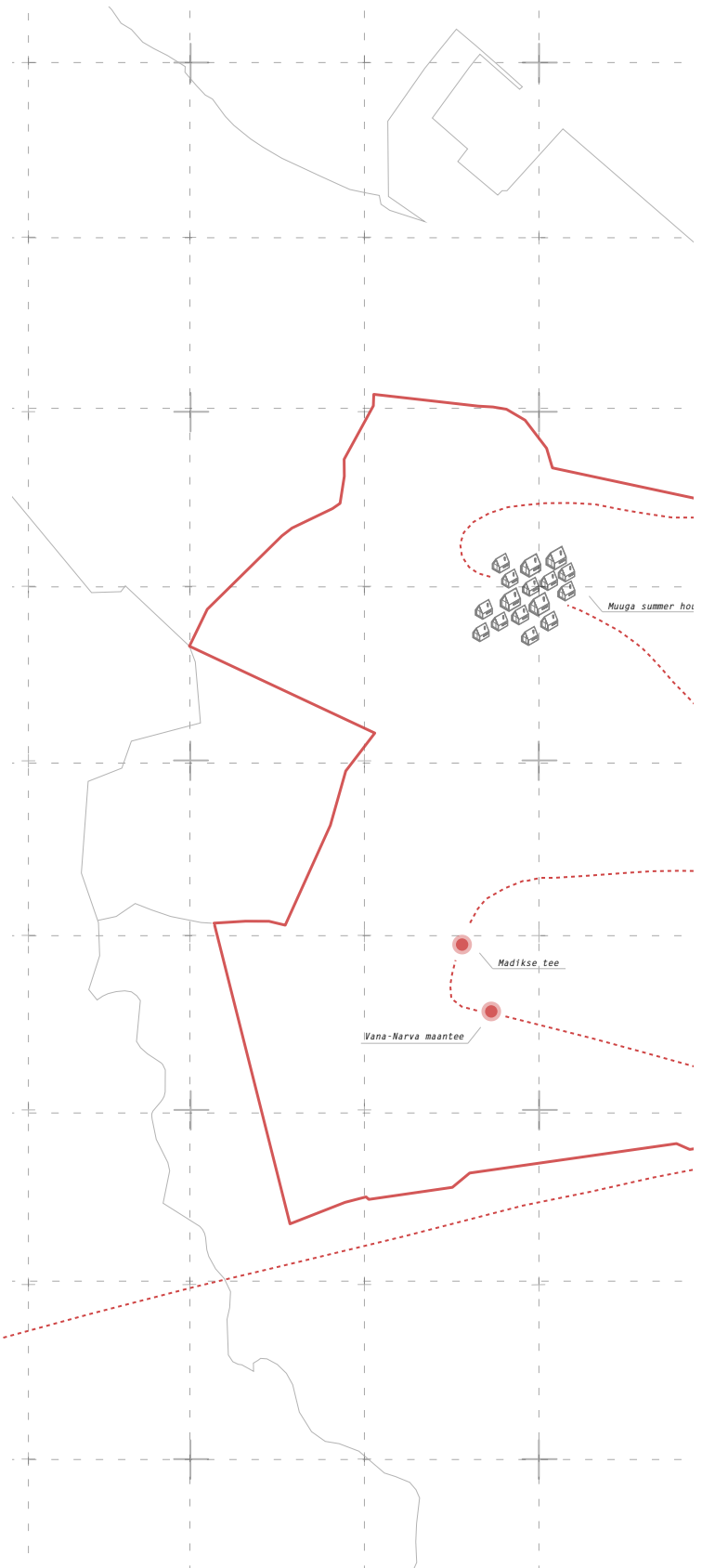


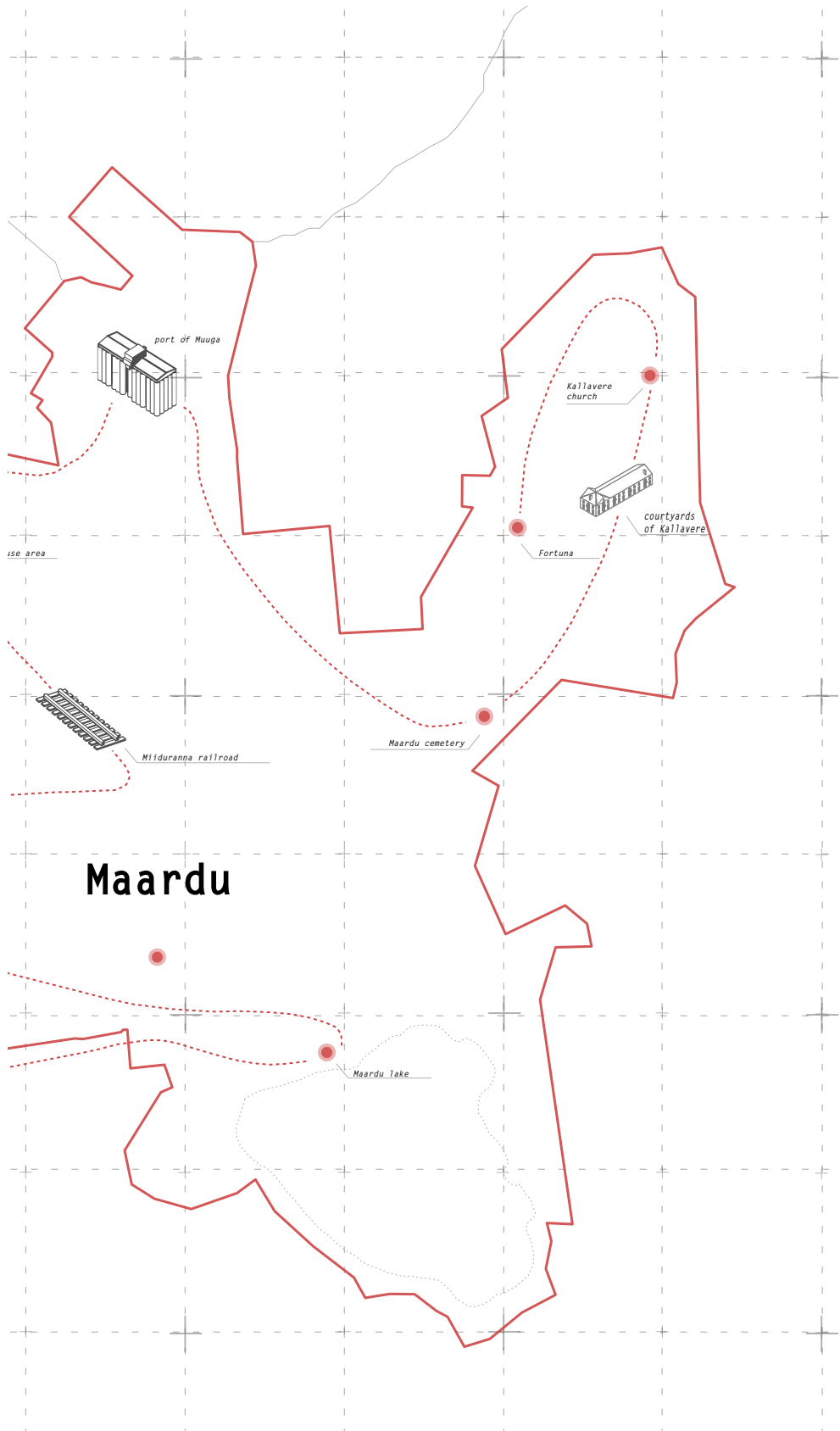
BEYOND BORDERS

MOVING THROUGH MAARDU

EKA Estonian Academy of Arts

URBAN STUDIES





All Along The Watchtower

Jesse Keddie
Mackay, Australia



1. Rootsi-Kallavere - All along the watchtower

I am 13,000 kilometres from home, and it may as well be lightyears. This place, Estonia, the western side of Eurasia and the eastern side of continental Europe, filled with forests and woodland fairies with their mushrooms to munch on, is about as alien to me as the far side of the moon to a neutrino sitting in the centre of the sun. It's about as far from Airstrip One and Oceania as you can get before Narva (für Oksana!) and on to St. Petersburg.

Since my project is vainly about my tomfoolery processes of creating art, I thought I'd channel that conduit once more and just write. What nonsense is likely to pour out of me like a last-minute confession hoping to

get into heaven but only to discover that the Jews were right, and Jesus wasn't the messiah—the text is only disappointing if the reader believes it so. I hope they serve beer in hell.

It's dark and it looks like rain. I'm reminded of the musical meme "Hello Darkness my old friend...you know it's only 3 p.m. ..." I've got approximately 400 words to go after this sentence. Punishingly I soldier on as the warden, which is my deadline, approaches and this Tristram Shandy-esque, Laurence Stern inspired, (seemingly) pointless, and veracious stream of consciousness diary must progress.



2.Roosti-Kallavere - Outside in the cold distance



3.Roosti-Kallavere - Plowmen dig my earth



Artist practice research has forever been a contentious issue within academia, a curry stain that's tough to get out of the wash, even though the dish was fondly enjoyed the previous evening. Art is something we create to the point of pain, punishing ourselves to discover what will hinder our results (and where in the process this will happen) versus regurgitating facts, figures, and other people's diatribe as is the norm in classical scientific academia. Our work is just tastier.

Postmodern artists such as myself re-interpret the world around us through a great filter that is our ego. My teachers, Andra and Keiti, were clued into my cantankerous persona

and performance from the get-go, knowing I'm less about the audience and more attuned to, and buckling up for, the extra-dimensional experience of a northeast to southwest trip through Estonia, and to see what work is produced from such an experience.

I bathed in holy waters and later that evening steam-roasted in the sauna. "Feels like home!" I pompously uttered much to the crowds' groan. Lost in the forest I shoved a camera in my peers' faces and began to interrogate them on ... life ... and why they let it lie to them. Alas, due to the ethical precipice I often find myself in, that project was not to be. Nor the fake history exhibition, or the



4. Roosti-Kallavere - And the wind began to howl

Stalker Walk. I decided to fly into the sun, not forgetting Icarus's failure of doing a shitty job on the wings, and jump off my peers' shoulders as they guided me to where I began—wandering empty spaces thinking I found myself here and producing competent work guided by the environment in which I find myself. "All Along tThe Watchtower," a song by Bob Dylan, had been the reflective inspiration for my piece. I wanted to find a pop culture-loaded lyric that encapsulated the area and to what was rolling around in my head at the time. No matter if you're a plowman, businessman, joker, or thief, we are all beholden to the watchtower.

Occupying The Void

Marina Pushkar
Tallinn, Estonia



“We become aware of the void as we fill it.”

-Antonio Porchia, *Voices*

Conquering new horizons has been characteristic of human nature since the beginning of times. We wanted to hunt better, make our homes warmer, move faster. “Even more and better” seems to be the never-stopping engine of evolution, unquestionable force driving us to the much-desired progress, making us forget that progress is a process, not a result. There is no end-point in this destination, and once we commit we are trapped for life.

“There’s a void inside me, a blank that’s slowly expanding, devouring what’s left of who I am. I can hear it happening. I’m totally lost, my identity dying.”

-Haruki Murakami, *Kafka on the Shore*

Maardu, a highly industrial, monofunctional town can be regarded as an outstanding example of people conquering the space, making the most of it, and moving on. Situated on a swampy terrain that had to be drained to be fit for use and is easily flammable be-



cause of the phosphorous deposits, this land was not meant for living. The single driver for erecting a town there was the start of mining and the establishment of the chemical factory. Due to the primitive and extremely difficult labor conditions, the flow of the workforce was immense—approximately 1000 people per year left in search of a better life. Once the phosphorous mining was not considered feasible anymore, the town was to reinvent its identity.

“Uniformity...creates a void, and Nature abhors a vacuum.”

- Henri-Frédéric Amiel, *The Private Journal*

The history of Maardu Lake demonstrates how creative people can be when approaching the question of occupying space. The lake was drained in the late 19th century and later restored as a water reservoir belonging to the chemical factory. Later on, and by now polluted with industrial waste, the lake was artificially repopulated with non-native fish species. Nowadays it is used as a location for musical festivals, fishing competitions, and Maardu’s “official beach.” On the far side there are modern day mansions rising, equipped with private access to the lake. The lake seems to have survived industrialization and is facing new challenges.



1. Construction of the Maardu Chemical Factory (1970) by Norman, E

Occupying the Void took place in the pedestrian tunnel connecting the Kroodi industrial park and Maardu Lake, which facilitates the physical transition from Maardu's industrial zone to a prefigurative urban wilderness. Through a guided walk and installation, Occupying the Void aimed to present a historical perspective on the area and unveil the layers of human dominance in the process of occupying the space. A big thanks to the Estonian film archive for granting access to the materials used in the project, and Bianca Jakovlev, the author of the soundscape accompanying the project.



3. Pedestrian tunnel- taken by Sarah Gerdiken

Stories From The Other Side

Alice Ashton
London, England



1. The empty billboard frame

Stories from the Other Side was a participatory exercise and installation aimed at recognising and engaging with the role of narrative in urban spaces. The piece took place along a short strip of Vana-Narva maantee, the main thoroughfare connecting Maardu to Tallinn and the international E20 road which links Estonia and Russia.

Stories from the Other Side was developed as a result of a two-pronged “research and development” process which included both site-specific research into the activities and locations in the area, and the application of modern and postmodern theoretical discourse in relation to the area and the wi-

der geographical framework it is located in. Fieldwork into the area started with the initial group expedition to Maardu as part of the master’s programme urbanisation studio. As the class approached the first public excursion, A Day Out In Maardu, I became drawn to themes of national identity, international relationships and trajectories, and the appropriation of objects and phenomena in order to frame these in a sensical way in the local area. The Kabelikivi boulders which lie just inland of Muuga harbour and form part of Estonia’s national heritage of ‘erratics’ are stones which were transported from Finland to their current locations by a massive glacier which subsequently melted and left them

behind. They are a good example of how a history and future of a nation characterised by fraught transnational activity including invasion, occupation, and international trade can become established and situated into local and national conceptions of place and identity.

Vana-Narva maantee is another place where this characterisation is played out; however, unlike the boulders, Vana-Narva maantee does not constitute one single monument or object that can be appropriated to represent a historical narrative. Rather, it is a multifaceted location that embodies the processes that make up this narrative directly and un-ornamentally. The small section of Vana-Narva maantee that is focused on in *Stories from the Other Side* is made up of warehouses, large garages, and workshops for heavy goods vehicles, scrap vehicle sales companies, wood production, and processing plants, as well as residential housing, allotments, and small businesses. Regular site visits were made to speak with workers and residents in the area and explore the physical geography of the site. The phenomena encountered on the visits acted as transmitters of information about the site and, combined with our knowledge about the wider area, formed a narrative which made up our conception of the area. Whilst developing *Stories from the Other Side*, I compared this process to Jean-Paul Sartre's idea of "self-nihilation," put forward in his essay *Being and Nothingness*¹, through the example of the Parisian Cafe.

As Anthony Vidler writes, "[Sartre's] description of the double nihilation...[operates]...as a parable of the dislocation of memory in the modern city."² Vidler goes on to say that classic urbanisation processes are exemplified in modernist dialectic:

"Thence the intersection of urbanism and modernism: both employed the figure, literal and metaphorical, of projection, a mechanism learned from cartography and applied by architecture since the reinvention of perspective."³

In his work on post-urbanism, Vidler argues that this modernist attitude on the part of urbanisation itself is founded on the allocation of monuments in previous classical cityscapes, as a means of transmitting messages that hark to an ideal city, and bridging the gap, or acting as portals, between this ideal and the real physical environment that the monument occupies.

Vana-Narva maantee is the opposite of a monument—it is a functional space made up of many factors. However, like a monument, Vana-Narva maantee can be seen to be a physical structure which both transmits and is dictated by narratives.

This framing of Vana-Narva maantee can be cross-compared with the postmodern conceptualisation of urbanisation put forward in the seminal text *Learning From Las Vegas* by Denise Scott Brown, Robert Venturi, and Steven Izenour.⁴ As opposed to urban spaces manifesting through the act of double-nihilation through the deliberate placing of monuments, which work to promote an accepted idealised notion of place that does not physically exist, postmodern urban theory posits that new urban landscapes are, by default, uncontained and transient. Within these landscapes, narratives are disseminated through the visual and structural acknowledgement of this transience on the part of the structures which exist there. Rather than opening up channels through which the ideal is filtered into the real, as Vidler argues is the case in modernist urban structures, objects of transmission within postmodern urban landscapes must offer themselves as amplified and exaggerated points of stability within vast spaces and structures.

"... It is the highway signs, through their sculptural forms or pictorial silhouettes, their particular positions in space, their inflected shapes, and their graphic meanings that identify and unify the megatexture. They make verbal and symbolic



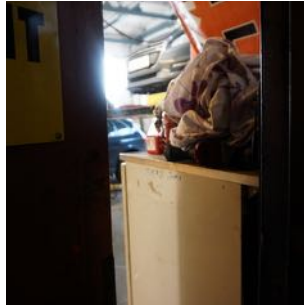
NORTH SIDE- photos 1, 2, 3, 4- elements of Vana Narva maantee NORTH SIDE displayed at the perception station

connections through space, communicating a complexity of meanings through hundreds of associations in few seconds from far away. Symbol dominates space.”⁵

Vana-Narva maantee has a physical and structural semblance to the Las Vegas highway as described by Scott Brown, Venturi, and Izenour but it also, in the context of Estonia’s rapidly developed, yet young, status as a European and international, powerful, financial, as well as national entity, is an important site of representation and assertion, whether intended to be as such or not, because of its embodiment of the local and the global and its position as both an important logistical thoroughfare as well as cross sectional example of the different layers of activity forming Maardu in the present day. In this way it can be seen to be a sort of monument in the way Vidler describes, embodying future infrastructure proposals such as increased road connections to the east and west, the Rail Baltica project, the extension of the Muuga Harbour infrastructure, and the reality of the present day.

To participate in Stories from the Other Side, participants were asked to choose one side

of Vana-Narva maantee to explore, either the North Side or the South Side. They were handed a brochure corresponding to each side which, using literature from development plans, reports, and public documents, presented slightly oppositional narratives to define and characterise each side. The purpose of this was firstly to pay homage to the role of symbolism, stylisation, and exaggeration in being the agents of narrative in placemaking and urbanisation processes as discussed in the theory underpinning the intervention. It was also to embed the very real harnessing of these traits by agencies to physically alter environments according to ideology into the exercise. Participants were then asked to explore a small area of their side. Some ‘points of interest’ were detailed on the map included in the brochure; however, these were not particularly noticeable landmarks, rather they were details that caught my eye on our previous trips and that I found interesting. By putting them on the map and leading people to them without explanation, and perhaps leading to confusion about what exactly is remarkable about these points, I hoped to interrogate the notion of a monument or landmark, again with reference to Sartre’s idea of self-nihilation. The route, however, was generally left up to participants so that they had a chance to form their own impression of the area through immersion and physical experience.



SOUTH SIDE Photos 5,6,7,8 -elements of Vana Narva maantee SOUTH SIDE displayed at the perception station

rience, bringing the contrast between this medium and that of hegemonic techniques symbolised in the brochure. At an interval on each side of the street there was a 'perception station' which consisted of a desk and a wooden frame, based on the yellow frames that National Geographic have placed in 'scenic' spots around Estonia. The tables and frames were handmade by myself out of wood, in order to insert a physical reference to the wood industry that is very prominent on Vana-Narva maantee. Each perception station displayed photographs of the interiors of the buildings along Vana-Narva maantee and small markers of personal or individual character of the site. Some of these photographs acted as postcards which were intended to be sent to the participants on the other side of the street. On the postcards, participants were asked to identify areas of beauty on their side of the street, as well as name three facts and three lies. They were also asked to grant three wishes to the residents or workers of the other side. Participants then had the opportunity to explore the other side of the street. The aim of this was to highlight the different impressions given by different sources of one place-ascribed, or publicly disseminated narratives encapsulated in the brochure versus the personal testimonies of those who have experienced each side.

Finally, participants gathered around an empty billboard frame, now just an iron structure, where a collection of found objects from Vana-Narva maantee was installed. Here, the exercise and the concepts behind it were shared with the participants. The empty billboard symbolises the role of monuments in places and aims to put forward an alternative relationship between place, monument, and objectivity.

¹ Jean-Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, trans. Hazel Barnes (Philosophical Library, 1956)

² Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny*, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992.) 181

³ Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny*, 182

⁴ Denise Scott Brown, Robert Venturi and Steven Izenour, (*Learning from Las Vegas*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1972)

⁵ Venturi, Scott-Brown, and Izenour, *Learning*, 114

The Last Outpost

Ahmad Tahir
Multan, Pakistan



1. A backyard in Kärnu industrial zone

During the last few decades, Maardu was at its peak of industrial activity for mining and producing phosphorous chemicals. Such industry triggered *urban development* in the locality. The 1990s marked the end of Soviet occupation and a new era started with Estonia's re-independence and reorientation towards the European Union, resulting in the loss of Soviet-run industry. The chemical factory and mining also stopped because of rising environmental concerns as well as economic reasons (i.e. the lack of markets).

In this new regime, the initial reason for the town's existence was eliminated; however, Maardu did not stop developing. With

the construction of the Muuga port in the late 1980s, the mono-functional industrial town transformed into a transport node for international economic flows, triggering development that would serve activities linked to other cities like Tallinn. The Last Outpost questions this transition and speculates future development in Maardu.

Because of its demographic make-up and geographical location, Maardu seems to create a distinct milieu. To evaluate this, two national borders of Estonia—Russia to the east and Latvia to the west—were considered for how they exist within Maardu. The Estonia-Russia border is very physically regula-



2. Left: Estonian-Russian border, Right: Estonian-Latvian border

ted while the Estonia-Latvia border is mostly symbolic; Maardu possess both types. The port of Muuga, a part of which belongs to Maardu, marks the international and strictly-regulated border of the region with global connections. In this economic evolution away from the factories and towards the port, the industrial zone of Maardu is no longer used for industrial production but rather for logistics of goods, thus it is serving as a warehouse or the *hinterland* of Muuga.

This also raises the question: is Maardu a *hinterland* or *warehouse* for Tallinn and other regions? The closest hint of this is gathered from Muuga aedlinn, one of the two residen-

tial zones of Maardu which is more connected to Tallinn than Maardu in terms of public transport. Similarly, many enterprises have their corporate offices in Tallinn, while locating their back-end warehouses in Maardu. Many of the people of Maardu have jobs in Tallinn because of the proximity of the city to the capital.

The present neoliberal order also raises the question of Maardu's future. While the local government has been projecting a very green and liveable image of Maardu through their acts of landscaping, the reality of industrialization and economic pressures are forming another portrait of the city. Even in the spe-

culated future Talsinki project, the tunnel between Helsinki and Tallinn has its junction station in Maardu which will connect Rail Baltica to St. Petersburg and Riga. The future development is again using the city as a warehouse which plays a supportive role in the development of neoliberal economy.

The Last Output aimed to portray this research through a curated walk in one of the backyards of the industrial lots which look over to the port of Muuga, speculating the future of Maardu while questioning the process. Is urbanisation for the people or just to attract investments to further densify the warehouse effect of the city working for the international trade?



3. Eesti Fosforiit abandoned factory

Walking Along A Life Vein

Sarah Gerdiken
Stuttgart, Germany



1. Perspective towards industrial area of Maardu

Maardu, which was always seen as an industrial backyard of Tallinn during the Soviet times, exhibits both past and present industrial uses until today. The case of the Miiduranna railroad, which crosses the west of Maardu through different morphologies like Muuga aedlinn or the industrial area around the Vana-Narva maantee, highlights the processes of urbanisation on a global and local scale. The railroad acts as a frame for evaluating not only macro-scaled uses, such as industry, but also for looking at a micro scale of directly human use, which is shown, for example by the annexation of residents and pedestrians. *Walking Along a Life Vein* investigated the disused railroad through a process of archiving

the results of urbanisation and speculating about expected future scenarios.

Past

Starting in the village of Miiduranna in the west of the municipality of Viimsi, the railroad enters Maardu on its northern border. By acting like a sword in crossing the residential Muuga summerhouse area, it goes on along the industrial area of the Vana-Narva maantee. Twelve kilometres in total, the Miiduranna railroad terminates in the connection of railways between Tallinn and the port of Muuga. Opened in 1982, it was initially used to transport fossil fuels from Viimsi towards the chemical factory in the south of Maardu



2. Overview of Miiduranna railroad

and further on to Tallinn. Today it is used only once a week.

Future

The importance of the whole railroad system in Maardu will certainly increase with the realisation of the Rail Baltica project. The parallel railroad of the Miiduranna railroad will be part of the international connection between the Baltic capital cities. Additionally, the Rail Baltica is related to another century project: the planned tunnel between Tallinn and Helsinki, Talsinki. This tunnel will end near the Muuga harbour in Maardu. With the physical expansion of infrastructure on a national and international layer, Maardu will be set as a global player in international exchanges. But what will change for the ways of living of the residents of Maardu itself, especially around the location of Miiduranna railroad?

Excurses

The importance of Miiduranna railroad will probably decrease, since it is not planned to be part of the Rail Baltica line. Maardu will become an alternative place to live in the proximity of Tallinn and therefore, urban structures with all its layers of residential built space and

infrastructure will be established. A new urban structure which is often seen on a global scale nowadays is urban greening. The most known example of urban greening is the High Line in New York City. The redevelopment of an old industrial-used railroad as an elevated park for pedestrians provoke its mono-function of being a tourist attraction. Because of the global awareness and connected popularity, real estate prices of the surrounding neighborhood increased rapidly (by 102%)¹ in the last ten years. The establishment of green structures in an urban context is a simple reaction to the approaching climate change and pretense to make our cities more ecological.

Case Miiduranna railroad

Is it possible to project the case of the High Line and its impacts on the surroundings in New York to the soon-to-be abandoned railroad of Miiduranna? Because of the expected international masterplans around Estonia, it is probable that there will be a redevelopment swing of old industrial infrastructures, which are dominant in the morphology of Maardu itself. It is questionable whether Miiduranna will face the same fate as the High Line but there will no doubt be an increase in



3. Annexation macro scale: industrial use



4. Annexation micro scale: human use



5. Natural grown elements



6. Materials



7. Layers of use

real estate prices with the arrival of these aforementioned projects which will have a negative impact on the ways of living of present and future residents.

Miiduranna railroad as a life vein

The railroad of Miiduranna is understood as an archive of human uses from a local to a global scale. By categorising indirectly and directly visible traces of the past and the present, this archive makes the viewer aware of probable expected scenarios for the future. In the form of an accompanied audio podcast, a walk along a specific part of the railroad played on the one hand with the railroad as a tourist attraction by provoking sensual expe-

riences and memories for every participant, and on the other hand with the critical dispute of its future existence. The railroad works now already as a life vein, which pulses with different uses. The audio podcast 'Walking Along a Life Vein,' which was published in the form of the urban festival 'Beyond Borders: Moving through Maardu' on December 14, underlines the pulse of the railroad itself and its impacts on the surroundings.

¹ Christoph Lindner and Brian Rosa, *Deconstructing The High Line*, (New Brunswick:Rutgers University Press, 2017)

The whole transcript of the podcast is published in the appendix.



1. Family working to clean their plot from underwood. (Penjan family album)

AED was born while strolling around Muuga garden city. As an Estonian citizen, I remember Muuga as a place full of nature! Full of children's laughter, while they were playing on the streets. Now? Now I hear silence. I hear cars. I see clean and artificial landscape. Trees? If you are lucky. Yes, we see some of the original summer cottages, but we can count them on our two hands. I started to question: How come? Why? What has been happening? Why have they all destroyed their trees?

AED concentrates on one particular family: their history, their stories, and how they are connected to Muuga. They were so kind to not only let me enter into their home, but also

their hearts, by opening up to me and telling their story. The family and the individuals within it are not just residents of Muuga; they are part of a process called *urbanisation*.

My first meeting with the family was very emotional. They invited me to go through their personal archive of photos. In these photos I could see the process by which Muuga has turned into a suburb. I was immediately sure that I wanted to use this archive material in my project in the hope of offering the same emotional insight into the urbanisation process of Muuga to my fellow students and viewers.



2. The very first well, where all the plot owners got their water back at 60s. (Penjan family album)



3. Family working to clean their plot from underwood. (Penjan family album)

This family had come to Muuga at the beginning of the 1960s and had never left. They grew their own vegetables, so Muuga was not just a place to relax but a provider of a resource. They told me they could never have believed then that one day the same plot would be the place they would raise their children on, or a place that looks like a city.

I asked them what they were afraid of when they thought about the future of Muuga. "That it will become as Tallinn," they said. Hearing this made me sad and made me wonder: Is there something we can do to avoid this? I do not know if we have answers to this question but maybe someday we will. And who knows, maybe the students of urban studies can help to find the "fix", and the fear of those original Muuga residents will never become reality!



4. Their summer cottage was ready in 1965. (Penjan family album)

Muuga Muutub

Deniz Taskin
İzmir, Turkey



1. Greenhouses for cultivating foods

(Muuga Is Changing!)

This research focuses on the summerhouse area in Maardu, Muuga aedlinn (Muuga garden city). In the 1960s, the land was developed as a location for dacha houses, but since the 1990s it has gradually changed into a permanent residential area. Muuga, which is located between the harbour and Maardu's industrial zone, is a dense area of around 3000 detached houses with an average size of 1000m² and a maximum height of two storeys.

The main aim of the research is to understand the urbanisation process that Muuga aedlinn has been experiencing in its urban fabric and

daily practices by evaluating its transition from dacha to permanent living and the changing notion of the "home" from the Soviet era to the present.¹ The outcome of this research was the creation of an interactive platform that allowed locals and visitors to participate and archive this changing process.

From Dacha to Permanent House

The initial plan of Muuga aedlinn was a "dacha" seasonal house area, often located in exurbs of Russian-speaking or post-Soviet countries and intended for recreational getaways by city dwellers and for growing small gardens for food. Dachniki (people who live in dachas) uses their dachas for fishing, hun-



2. Instagram page showing the archive

ting, and other leisure activities. In the period from the 1960s to 1985, legal limitations were especially strict: only one-storey houses without permanent heating and with living areas less than 60m² were allowed. The policies allowed for large attics or glazed verandas that were extremely widespread and oversized. In the 1980s, planners loosened these restrictions, and, since 1990, all such limitations have been eliminated.

After the post-Soviet reforms, many people began to establish lasting lives here for various reasons. Many people, for example, had pleasant memories of spending their summers here during socialist times that they wanted to extend year-round. There were many young families remodeling their grandparents' former summer huts into permanent houses. Also, this type of house gives enough space, freedom, and safety—fac-



3. QR code for interactive platform hanging on the fences

tors that are attractive to young families. But daily life practices have changed completely, with most of these Muuga aedlinn residents working in Tallinn, and pendulum migration characterizes their daily reality.

This transition from the seasonal to permanent residential use brings with it many problems: Muuga aedlinn has limited education, work, and health facilities so they need to register in nearby municipalities, usually Tallinn or Viimsi. because their taxes do not go to the Maardu municipality, the municipality does not concern itself with inhabitants' problems of Muuga aedlinn. Therefore, inhabitants have established a non-political organization to convey their common wishes to the Maardu city government.

In the future, projects such as Talsinki and Rail



4. Muuga aedlinn master plan (Hendrikson.ee Maardu Linna Üldplaneering)

Baltica are going to affect the urbanisation process here, but how, and how much are the Muuga aedlinn residents aware of these changes?

The Notion of the Summer House in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Period

The notion of the house has changed over time. First, they were presented as a right for Soviet citizens and a reward for work. Because most people lived in communal (shared) apartments and workers' dormitories, a self-contained, non-communal apartment was seen as the ultimate benchmark of family independence and self-fulfillment, and gave people the ability to create homes and a homely feel. Living a good life in the Soviet era meant having access to the full set of state-provided goods: an apartment, a car, and a dacha.

Through the post-socialist housing reforms, the reintroduction of private ownership and property markets affected many people. Owning a summerhouse and being able to cultivate food also helped people who had lost their jobs and incomes to retain their pride and dignity. Also, summerhouses offered a detached housing option outside market transactions because many people considered mortgages unsafe, even regarding them as a form of slavery.

Moving between the summerhouse and permanent house, working in Tallinn and culti-

vating a garden, hanging pictures of former homes on the walls of the new house, building your own house, maintaining the cars in the garage, decorating the yard with wooden sculptures—these life practices were a part of the meaningful cycle of creating a connection to the house, intertwining city and nature, and such a process has developed into its own rhythm.²

¹ Mari Nuga, Kadri Leetmaa, and Tiit Tammaru, "Durable Domestic Dreams: Exploring Homes in Estonian Socialist-era Summerhouse Settlements," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. Vol. 40(4) (2016): 866–883

² Tarmo Pikner, Marilyn Metsar, and Hannes Palang, "Diffused Urban Landscape: Gardening Practices in Narva: in *Border and river—the border river. Studies on the history of the Narva region* (Narva: Narva Museum, 2014): 219–254



The Once And Only Unicorn

Egemen Mercanlioglu
Istanbul, Turkey

The title is blurred, as blurred as the harbour itself. Owned by Port of Tallinn, a state company, and accounting for 80 percent of transit cargo volume of Estonia, Muuga Harbour is a deep and ice-free seaway, located at a geopolitically critical location, just 17 kilometres northeast of the capital Tallinn. Fragmented between three municipalities, Viimsi, Jõelähtme, and Maardu, the port has all the romance of a roundabout.

In March 2018, the biggest container terminal company in Germany, Hamburger Hafen und Logistik AG (HHLA), invested €50 million to buy Transiidikeskuse AS (TK), the biggest container terminal company in Estonia.¹ The much-anticipated arrival of Rail Baltica set the preconditions for the investment. Rail Baltica is an international railway corridor that connects the Baltic states with the rest of Western Europe. Its arrival to Muuga Harbour, where the final destination for freight trains is located, will engender a new paradigm in which Muuga will be connected by rail to the North-South axis, which is currently absent but projected, and its existing connections on the East-West axis will be enhanced. This creates a great opportunity to synergize Muuga with the Belt and Road Initiative, an ambitious Chinese global development strategy which the Estonian government signed off on in 2017.

As Muuga Harbour is expected to become a major “intermediary stop” both for European and Chinese containers, this research asserts that the urban landscape in Muuga will be dominated by these highly standardized colourful metal boxes.² One might rightly reject this reading as speculative—after all, the neoliberal economy is flashy and volatile, so much so that anticipations rarely occur. Although these prospective containers might never arrive, the research argues that containerisation has already arrived in Estonia, and it is, in fact, the biggest asset of the Baltic country of 1.3 million people.

How come? The digital society! Estonia is the land of e-everything, a pioneer in converting public services into flexible e-solutions through a state-initiated startup called Government Cloud. Otherwise known as e-Government, the Government Cloud is a cloud application which enables on-demand availability of system resources and especially data storage. This on-demand access is managed by containers. The so-called “software containerisation” shares the exact same benefits with their shipping counterparts: intermodality, portability, and scalability.

The link between software containers and shipping containers is particularly visible in e-Residency and e-Commerce. E-Residency is a government start-up launched in 2015 to attract foreigners to open Estonian businesses. The particular target group is entrepreneurs running “location-free” online businesses, otherwise known as e-Commerce, a market increasingly becoming a crucial animator for the global output. According to the data from a study conducted by McKinsey, the internet alone generates 21 percent of global growth, making it bigger than agriculture and energy industries.

“Estonia is running its country as a tech company,” wrote Kersti Kaljulaid almost a year ago.³ Start-ups such as e-Residency are the ultimate declaration of interest for the state to operate as a business enterprise. In so doing, Estonia “achieves” three things. Firstly, it creates more businesses, more services, more consumption, and more capital while optimizing itself as a start-up heaven. Secondly, Estonia subsequently becomes more and more attractive for foreigners, enabling businesses to hire from abroad (which is crucial bearing in mind that Estonia’s population is shrinking). Today, almost every fourth or fifth person is a foreigner according to e-Estonia’s website; the weekly e-Residency application rate exceeds the birth rate, hinting at a new type of urbanisation. Thirdly, Estonia finds a vast market to export its e-Estonia know-how, which is advertised by slogans such as “we

**“...we have built a digital society
and we can show you how.”⁴**

have built a digital society and we can show you how.”⁴

The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Communication revealed that an agreement on cooperation in e-Commerce and ICT development with China was signed in November 2017, when two countries finalized the deal on the BRI. This agreement was the part of the Digital Silk Road, a portion of the BRI focused on enhancing digital connectivity abroad and at home. Digitization is China's best opportunity to transform itself from being the world's workshop into being a globally high-tech leader. Bearing in mind the fact that there will be an additional two billion people living in cities in 20 years time, China, as the main driver of this global economy, has to be financially successful to maintain its legitimacy. Estonia contributes to this ambitious project by exporting its expertise and know-how to China. For China it is much cheaper and time-efficient to import this know-how rather than to educate its own population. What Estonia gets in exchange is a vast exportation market. Accordingly, Estonia has signed four protocols with China over the past four years to export its foodstuff: mostly fish, meat, and dairy products. These products are being transferred to China in containers. Goods purchased from Alibaba or Aliexpress are being transferred to Estonia in containers. They are stacked in Muuga Harbour, and that will only increase, especially with the arrival of Rail Baltica.

Digitalization has changed and is changing societies as much as industrialization did, leaving urban traces as industrialization left. This new urbanisation is not only developmental but also re-developmental. One trace of this new re-developmental urbanisation is the Telliskivi Creative City, a former industrial park full of containers and now a hub of

bars, restaurants, and offices, where containers are gathered to form street food outlets and shops. Another example is Kultuurikatel, the Tallinn Creative Hub. Tallinn's former power station is a trace left by the “Estonian Mafia”, which has turned into a multimodal cultural event centre. One could propose Ülemiste Smart City as a developmental urban trace as well. Interwoven with start-up-ism, my reading of the case claims that Muuga Harbour and its vicinity will also become an urban trace, and its aesthetic will be shaped by containers. The big investment by the German container terminal company, the HHLA, constitutes one of the building stones of the process.

The strategic location of Muuga was crucial in drawing in the HHLA, according to pundits, but it was not as important as other opportunities that the Baltic country could provide, such as its IT power, digitized logistics, free trade zones, and so forth. Estonia is a flexible, hassle-free state. “Ease of doing business” is its main attraction.⁵

These reasons do not feel unfamiliar. Coming from the most diverse backgrounds, the 12 fresh students from the Estonian Academy of Arts urban studies master's programme come from all over the globe. Most of them have chosen to study in Estonia as it is a relatively cheap EU country with soft-governance. Most of them are not here to stay but to go. To most of them, Estonia is an intermediary stop, just as it also is for Chinese containers. In a sense, they also are containers.

¹“German logistics company HHLA buying Estonian Transiidikeskuse AS”, www.err.ee

²“Analysis of technological and spatial needs of multimodal freight terminal Rail Baltic at Muuga Harbour” (DB Engineering & Consulting GmbH and Civitta Estonia, Berlin, 2018)

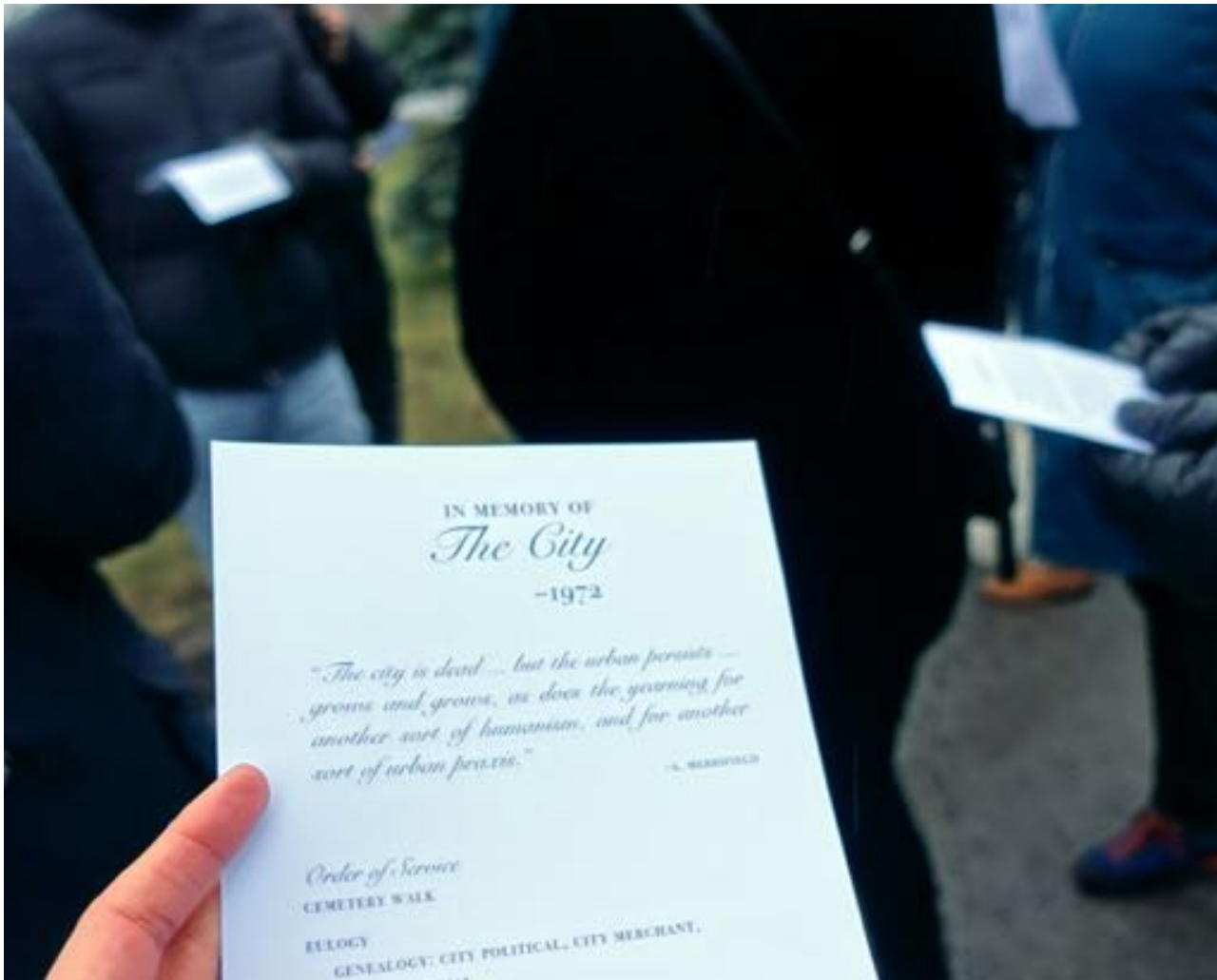
³Kersti Kaljulaid, “Estonia is running its country like a tech company”, www.qz.com, Accessed on: 30.11.2019.

⁴www.e-estonia.com, Home page

⁵“Anatoli Kanajevi kullaauk kuulub nüüd sakslastele”, www.aripaev.ee, 2018, Accessed on: 03.11.2019

In Memory Of The City

Lisa Rohrer
Virginia, USA



1. Funeral programs with the order of service, provided at the exhibition

Overview

The Maardu cemetery functions as a hybrid space—it is a site for life and for death, for grief and for celebration of a memory, for spirituality and for pragmatism, for expressing emotion and for economic exchange. As Foucault has proclaimed, cemeteries often function as heterotopic spaces; they are *other* and yet they mirror our own lived realities. While urbanisation often conjures up images of architecture, infrastructure, and the people living life in between, the Maardu cemetery grants us a unique perspective for evaluating urbanisation.

Theory

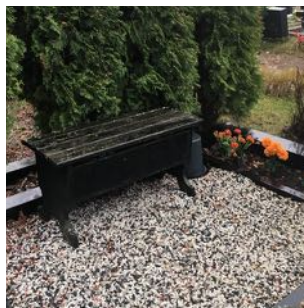
Within a cemetery, one undergoes a unique transformation: the nature of the site provokes a dialectic where visitors are physically in one space while psychologically existing “elsewhere.”¹ This collapse of identity and space was evident during the first tour through the collage of sites and signifiers that make up Maardu. Henri Lefebvre’s 1970s explanation of “the City” and “the Urban” provides a particular framework through which the process of urbanisation within Maardu, and particularly within the Maardu cemetery, can be evaluated.²



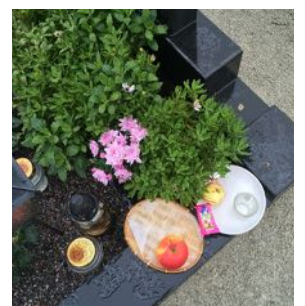
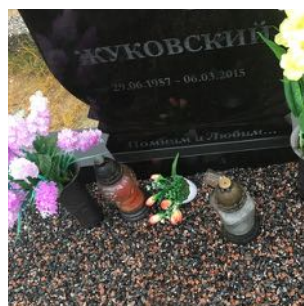
2. PLOTS



3. MARKERS



4. BENCHES



5. TRINKETS

"The City" is a "clearly defined, definitive object"; and it can be traced in its various kinds throughout history—political, merchant, and industrial.³ "The Urban", short for "the Urban Society" is the ushering in of the "critical phase", according to Lefebvre, which entails a new way of seeing and the "culmination of [the city's] journey" where "society [is] completely urbanised".⁴ Contemporary authors have attempted to develop old and new lexicons for these conceptions of urbanisation. Brenner, for example, refers to "methodological cityism" (which is "bounded", "binary", and "population-centric") in contrast to "urban theory without an outside" (an "open", "dialectical" way of seeing that is "mediated by capitalism").⁵ These theories, alongside Foucault's "heterotopia" and Soja's "third-space"⁶ structured the foundations of this exhibition: a funeral for the city that illustrates the dialectics of the urbanisation process through the death of "the City" and the rise of its ghost—"the Urban".⁷

Fieldwork

To understand the Maardu cemetery as a unique site shaping and shaped by urbanisation, the site was evaluated in three ways. First, a psychogeographic walk was made through the space by temporarily discarding any preconceived notions of the role of a cemetery and inviting this particular site to speak through its collection of material culture. When walking up and down the rows of the cemetery, four material artifacts stand out: the plots, which are structured with various types of fencing and act as distinct containers; the markers, ranging in shape, inscription, and decoration; the benches, which are almost as frequent as the grave markers; and trinkets, including lanterns, artificial flowers, and stuffed animals. These material elements of the Maardu cemetery act as containers, symbolic representations, pluralistic fragments, and objects of nostalgia.

Secondly, an interview was conducted with someone who has worked at the cemetery for the past decade. He explained the history of the Maardu cemetery (it sits on the land of



a former landfill), and the pluralistic elements of the site containing Russian Orthodox, Protestant, Muslim, and atheist grave sites. He also explained the oscillation between private and public space within the cemetery.

Finally, the threads of urbanisation through the Maardu cemetery were traced on a grander scale. The research involved mapping the services throughout and beyond Maardu that intersect with the cemetery, the systems (economic, cultural, and environmental) that are at work in and through the site, and the expanse of death itself (the sites throughout the city where death is grieved, contemplated, discussed, and observed).

Exhibition

In light of neomarxist scholarship from the late 20th century, the exhibition *In Memory of the City* considered the passing away of the old lexicon of "the City" and evaluated the emergence of the city's ghost—"the Urban"—in its passing. After leading guests through the Maardu cemetery, they were



6. The metaphorical ghost of the city floats through the landscape

gathered at a reproduction of a funeral site where a eulogy of “the City” was performed by burying a variety of layers that represent its presence. The ceremony ended with the reading of a short elegy, the extinguishment of several candles, and the release of a white balloon which represented the conjuring of “the Urban”—the City’s ghost. Within the ceremonial performance, the genealogy of the city as described in Lefebvre’s *The Urban Revolution* was woven into the eulogy.⁸ Two significant materials in the exhibition included the grave marker—a mirror—to invoke Foucault’s heterotopic concept of the cemetery, and the burying of the layers of the City—three ceremonial actions accompanied by descriptions in connection with the material artifacts in the Maardu cemetery.

The funeral service ended with a final question: has “the City” truly passed from one life to the next, or have such conversations of planetary urbanisation and the urban fabric forced it to be buried alive?

¹Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces” in *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* no. 5 (1984): 46-49. <https://foucault.info/documents/heterotopia/foucault.heterotopia.en>

²Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003)

³ Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, 16

⁴Ibid., 17. 1.

⁵ Neil Brenner, “UrbanTheoryWithout an Outside” in *Implosions/Explosions: Towards a Study of Planetary Urbanization* ed. Neil Brenner. (Berlin: Jovis, 2013), 22

⁶ Edward Soja, *Thirdspace*, (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996)

⁷ Foucault, “Of Other Spaces”

⁸ Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*

A Lonesome Hill

Oleksandr Nenenko
Dnipro, Ukraine

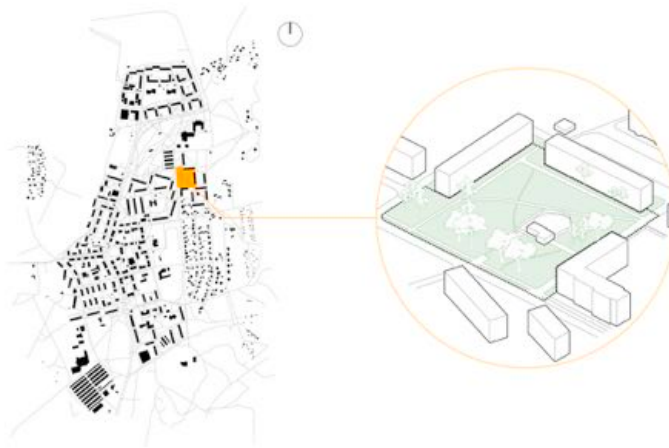


1. What is this hill? nothing happens, because nothing happens, because nothing happens...

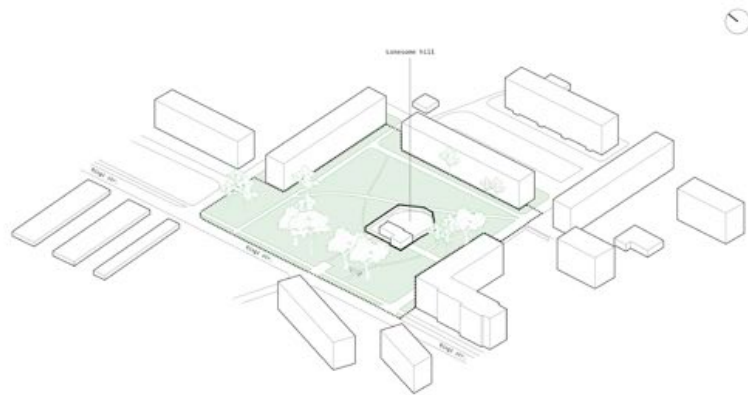
Overview

Courtyards—private open spaces surrounded by walls or buildings—have been in use in residential architecture for almost as long as people have lived in constructed dwellings. Before courtyards, open fires were kept burning in a central place within a home, with only a small hole in the ceiling overhead to allow smoke to escape. Over time, and as a result of urbanisation, these small openings were enlarged and eventually led to the development of the centralized open courtyard common today. Maardu as the city and municipal area was founded in the Soviet period which has led to the interesting phenomena as Soviet courtyard.

The classic Soviet courtyard is a peculiar phenomenon. If American children played in their own courtyard, inviting children from neighbouring houses, if European children talked more at home or walked in parks, then the development of the “Stalin” yard (houses with the Russian letter “Г” or “П”, arches creating a fenced-off space from the city, but at the same time, the common inter-apartment space) dictated a special style of relationships and, more broadly, the style of childhood. The similarity of the western municipal regions with their multi-storey buildings in the USSR appeared only in the 1970s and was called the micro-district. This was already a radically different development of the



2. Researched courtyard



3. “The heat and power station (“Lonesome hill”)) with a unique structural characteristic—one part of the structure consists of a typical brick structure, the second in the form of a hill.

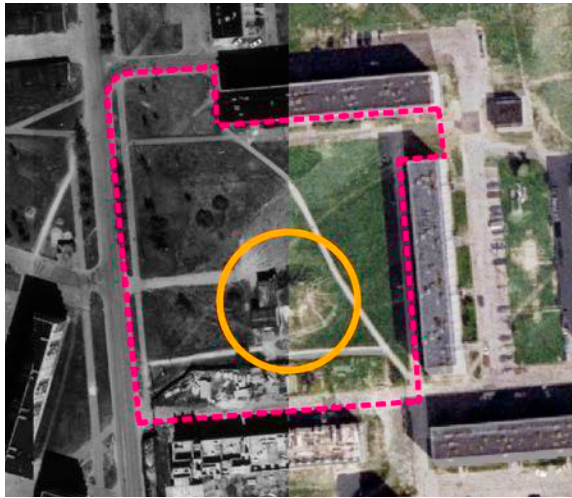
urban landscape: the open spaces between the houses appealed more to the creation of a team than a courtyard community.

The phrase “into the yard” itself differs sharply from the phrase “onto the street”: the street was something external, where they went; the courtyard was internal, where they returned.

If the Stalinist yard gravitated toward the house, then the through space between the multi-storey buildings was towards the street. It was open, insecure, uncomfortable, and uninteresting. This is what happens in the researched courtyard in Maardu.

Fieldwork

The object of this research is a courtyard located in Maardu on 54D Ringi Street. An interesting and unusual feature of this courtyard is the heat and power station with a unique structural characteristic—one part of the structure consists of a typical brick structure, the second in the form of a hill. This design is unique not only for Maardu but also for Estonia as a whole. At the moment, the structure is surrounded by a fence; there is no free access to it. In general, the structure of the yard consists of this technical building, the large area of the lawn around it with pedestrian paths, one bench and some trees. And here



3. Origin. The heat and power station with a hill was built in 1970s.

the questions arise: Why is such a unique structure with artificial natural landscaping blocked for public access? Why is such a large territory in a residential area undeveloped? Why are there no playgrounds or elements of public space? What causes this effect? Is there a need for improvement of public space and a playground in this yard?

The idea of the name of the project Lonesome Hill arose on the grounds that the hill is located in the middle of the courtyard surrounded by an empty green field. This project looks at the visible and non-visible changes of one courtyard in Kallavere by trying to answer a seemingly simple question: Why is the hill so lonely?

Researching

To answer the above questions, research was conducted. The research method was visual analysis—monitoring the territory for what is happening inside the yard, how people use it, and their behaviour; interviews—a survey of local residents and pedestrians; and analysis of available, historical maps.

Step one. Origin

During the research of old schemes, map analysis, and the survey of local residents, it was found that this heat and power station with a hill was built during the construction of this living area. The object originally had this construction but was open; the barrier that



4. Way of communication. Social networks have radically changed the way of communication in modern society, the younger generation prefers to spend time indoors

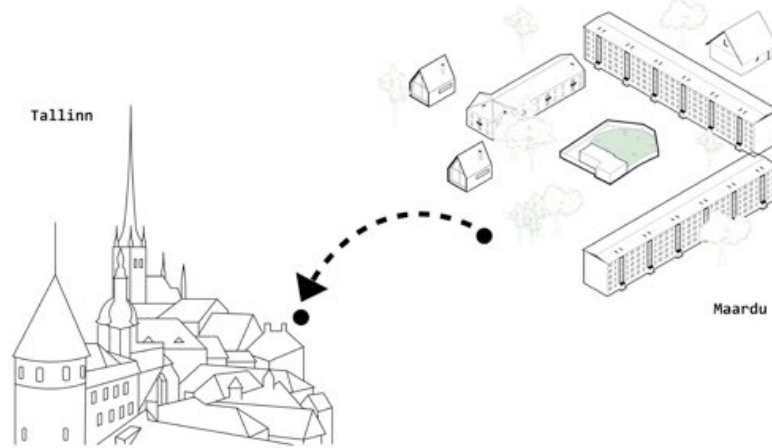
exists today did not exist at the beginning. The same can be said about the structure of the courtyard, that it always consisted only of a lawn and the centre.

Step two. Why is the hill closed?

In modern courtyard design, especially in the Baltic states and Scandinavia, artificial hills for playgrounds are very often created to create an imitation of the natural landscape and diversify activity during the playing on the playground. There are also some architectural examples, such as the Bjarke Ingels Group CopenHill power plant project where public space and a technical structure in one object were shared. Why, then, having an already existing similar object, is it not used by local residents, namely children, and why is it closed?

There are several reasons: first, this building is a private facility, although the courtyard itself (not counting the station) is the property of the city, and the houses themselves and the territory adjacent to them belong to residents here is a possibility that in order to make a decision, a general agreement is needed between the three stakeholders of this yard, and the residents of the adjacent residential buildings may also be involved in making decisions about development near and maybe on the hill.

Secondly, interviewing local residents, it was



Maardu-Tallinn. Maardu becomes a city where people go for the night, but they spend the day in Tallinn.

found that about five years ago, playing on a hill and on the roof of the station, a child fell from the roof and was seriously injured. After this incident, it was decided to close the facility with a fence. Although the locals claim that children sometimes climb through the fence and play on top of the hill and roof.

Step three. Way of communication

The technological development and the emergence of a large number of devices have radically changed the principles of behaviour and interaction in modern society. With the advent of smartphones, laptops, and tablets, people's daily lives have changed dramatically over the past 20 years. Both adults and children, according to statistics from the American Heart Association, spend an average of seven to nine hours a day in front of the screen. Social networks have radically changed the way of communication in modern society, and in fact, the need for a physical presence for communication has almost disappeared. Because of this, in particular, the younger generation prefers to spend time indoors (at home, in a shopping centre, cafes) than on the street. It follows that the need for a well-maintained yard, relatively, disappears. Also, the interests and priorities in choosing a venue have changed. Now, most people prefer to spend time in crowded places of trade, entertainment, and catering establishments.

Step four. Maardu-Tallinn

Most of Maardu residents work in Tallinn and, because of this, they spend more time outside of town; local students and the younger generation prefer to spend time in Tallinn because there are more activities, institutions, and general conditions for recreation and leisure. In this case, Maardu becomes a city where people go for the night, but they spend the day in Tallinn.

Step five. What is this hill?

From an interview with local residents living in the area where the hill is located, it was revealed that the majority are neutral towards this object—nothing happens, because nothing happens...—and some of the people surveyed have no idea what it is.

The process of urbanisation and the technological progress that comes with it changes the behaviour of society, its values, priorities, ways of interacting with the local space, and ways of communication.

Walking Around The Image

Zahaan Khan
Kashmir, India



1. The Orthodox Church of the Archangel Michael has become an image of Maardu online.

In a heavily visual culture, where social media has gained popularity, images can act as representative symbols for a city. They can be a way of staking claim to a space and portraying its development, as well as a tool for understanding the economic and political structure around it. These images surely demand a much closer or thorough look than the passing glance we generally impart. What is their rhetoric? What do these images say? How are they circulated? Are they influencing something that is actually present or is it a marketing gimmick? And, most importantly, which places and people in particular are affected by these images? The word “image” in the context of a city can mean various things.

An image can be a physical likeness, a mental representation, or even a symbolic or metaphorical embodiment. Can these images actually shape cities? Iconic buildings, picturesque images, street art, and sign boards drive physical changes and are central to the perceptions of place and claims to territory. How different is the narrative of this image of a city when comparing a local’s perspective and a visitor’s impression? Do these narratives complement one another or remain in their own parallel worlds.

Through an investigative walk, this project narrated the origin, importance, and impact of the Orthodox Church of the Archangel



2. The image of the church through the flea market across the road.

Michael in Maardu's urban context. A closer look helps one to understand how it became the centerpiece of the new image created for the city's socio-cultural life in the past two decades.

When the word "Maardu" is searched online, one cannot ignore the fact that seven out of ten images in Google show the beautiful Orthodox Church of the Archangel Michael. The same thing continues on YouTube: every video search related to the city of Maardu prominently includes the visual of the church. Even the official website of the Maardu municipality has the church as its cover image. Based on what the locals share, and what the

local authorities want to promote, the visual image of the orthodox church has somehow become an image of Maardu for the visitors and outsiders to see.

Built around the year 1998, and based on the design of a Russian architect P. Vlassov, this church is one of the first orthodox churches built in Estonia after the country regained its independence. Funded by the locals and thanks to a heavy donation from the mayor of Moscow, this church was built on a picturesque hill next to a small lake located in the Kallavere area of Maardu. The mayor of that time, Georgi Böstrov, was an integral part of fundraising and project-planning for the

church. Even today a memorial dedicated to him stands near the hill. Since its completion the whole site around the church has transformed into an open cultural center for the city.

“Our church is built with great dedication and love, which is why the church plays a major role in shaping the city’s architectural appearance. As a golden chain, the church has united the old and new districts into one whole and has made our city surprisingly harmonious. Not only the church, but also the park surrounding the church, has become a popular venue for events in the city during the last ten years: the Sorochinsky Fair, Janka Kupala Celebration in Belarus, New Year’s Eve, sports events, among which the most popular children run around the church.”¹

In his book *The Image of the City*, Kevin Lynch analyses the image of a city in its environment through three components—identity, structure, and meaning.² While exploring these three components, identity (the recognition of urban elements as separate entities), structure (the relation of urban elements to other objects and to the observer), and meaning (its practical and emotional value to the observer), we understand that it is important that these urban components are not hermetically designed into precise and final detail but present an open-ended order. Urban inhabitants should be able to actively form their own stories and create new activities. Lynch’s components can be easily seen around the site: the church, the signpost, the lake, the hill, the memorial, the installations, and the playground are all separate urban elements, and the relation these entities share with each other and the observer is what brings the whole image together. Each of these elements hold different emotional and practical values to the user or observer, be it religious,

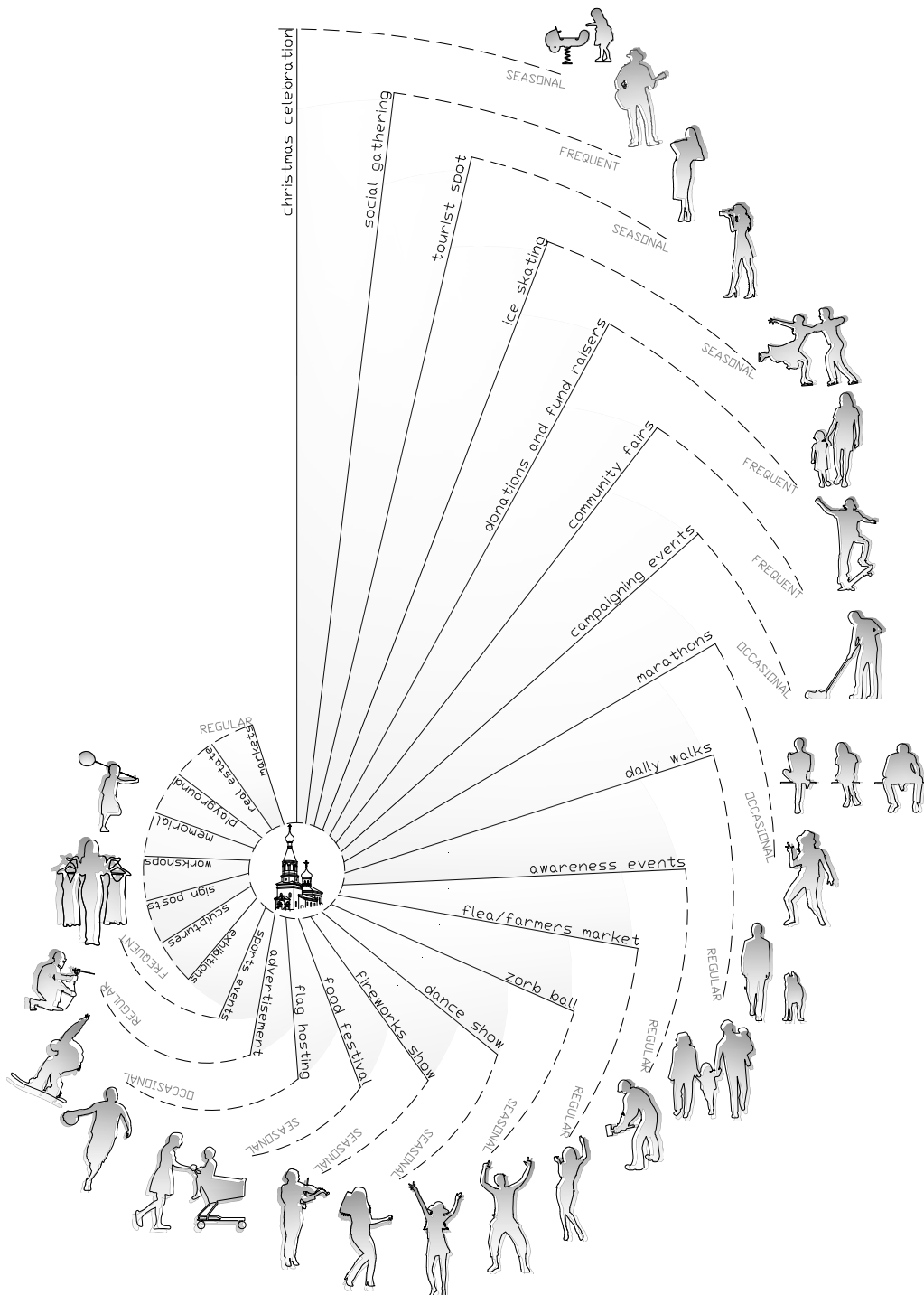


3. The image of the church through the swing in the playground

patriotic, cultural, or recreational. The physical presence of an iconic building in the city and the beautiful landscape on which it sits has become a canvas where small additions from locals and their culture can be clearly seen through temporary as well as permanent events, from hosting events like exhibitions, seasonal fairs, and street performances to awareness events and sports programs. From morning walks to evening social gatherings, from memorials in honor of people who brought about a change, to the signpost that shows its proximity to the rest of the world, this place is where the life of the city can be felt. This is the place which has evolved actively from the stories and activities of the locals and has become the image of their life and culture to the outside world. These stories, framed within this site with the church standing tall, can be seen through the images uploaded on the internet by the locals, and each and every image tells us a story, if we care to look beyond what we see in the first glance.

¹Georgi Böstrov, “Õigeusu kirik- Maardu vaimu- ja kultuuri keskus”, *Linnaleht Maardu Teataja*, http://vana.maardu.ee/public/files/Nr1-09/Nr1_1E.pdf, 2009

² Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1960)



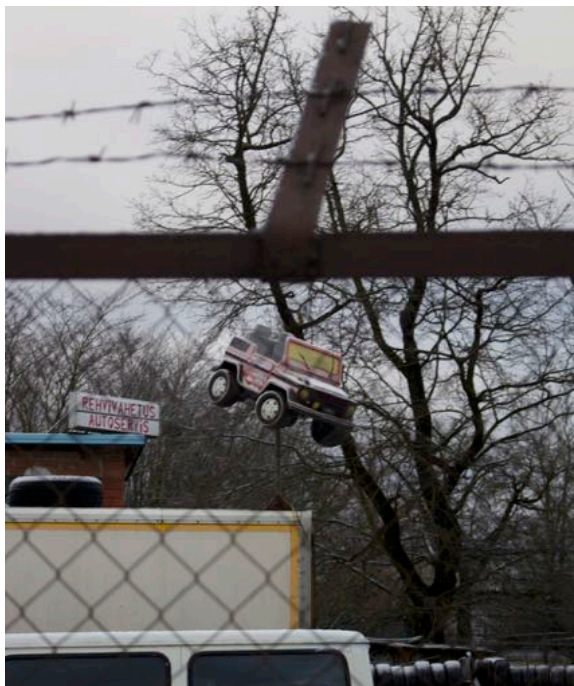
4. The site around the church has become a city centre catering to various events around the year

New Archives As Karaoke

Wimke Dekker
Amsterdam, The Netherlands

A spiderweb of scales and structures, houses and containers, roads and electricity networks. Maardu, a place just as many others, is built up by different structures and exists of different architecture. There, where the first housing in Maardu started in the 13th century in Rootsi-Kallavere, now a fragmentation of different housing can be found, and in this different homes. During the 19th century, the time of industrialization, the Khrushchyovka made their appearance and, since 1960, Muuga aedlinn started to develop. A mix of self-made summerhouses and other frames that are created to be a home are now shaping the landscape of Maardu.

Roads, grocery stores, and electricity networks can be seen as the connection for each of these elements. Functions for living, industry, and leisure as a way of living, developing, and using space. The frames are given—a planned structure where the bodies of humans are organized—but the people who are living in Maardu and how they make use of the place can be seen as a process, a development, or perhaps a movement.



1. "Autoservis"



2. A chair and some tires

According to Kevin Lynch, a city can be seen as a construction in space and is a thing that can only be perceived in a long course of long spans of time.¹ It is an object which is perceived, but also a product of builders, of humans. People are constantly modifying the structure for reasons of their own and, in this way, an integrated system of places with value and memory will appear.

The given structures, like the frames of houses, roads, electricity networks, and parks, can be seen as useful tools which show how humans, and even non-humans, are tied up with one another and their environments.² It is important to keep in mind that a space is not an isolated entity, but one that exists in relation to various other things and in relation to other humans.³

During our first bike trip, I was attracted to places that, in a way, had an interesting connection to value—what kind of value is granted to them and by whom. Rootsi-Kallavere, for example, a small village in Maardu that also can be described as a museum, feels like a fairytale. The inherent value that it has is based on the connection with the past and

the nature surrounding it, which makes the village important. The question would be, for whom—for Maardu? Or the people who live in the village? Or perhaps even the Swedes whose cultural history is connected to this place? And would this still be relevant since the connection built in a museum space such as this is more tied to the past than with the present?

The other spot which caught my eye was the abandoned factory and the empty tubes, objects that didn't seem to have life in them anymore. Those objects and buildings seemed to tell us stories of the past and remind us that nothing really lasts, but they also trigger our imaginations and remind us of the fact that the place is always transforming.⁴

These initial thoughts acted as the starting point for my individual project. Both the Rootsi-Kallavere museum and these abandoned materials could be seen as history in a way, and both were described on the City of Maardu website as huge influences for the development of the town.⁵ One could be described as a museum, and the other as a life-line for the development of Maardu. Questions started to arise: why are certain buildings more valuable than others? Could the factory, fallen into disuse, be a sign of non-development? Why are things from the past used to describe Maardu? What about what is happening now?

By conducting research about ruins and archiving processes, it seems that certain memories and values disappear over time. The archive is on the border of forgetting and remembering and there seems to be a fragile dialect between heritage and waste.^{6,7} The past is simply made out of paper, and not everything can be included. Besides that, the given past is one which is described as a general one, but actually is made by choices, mostly by a small group.⁸



3. The observer on the bench

So what are the places that people value now? Where are the people of Maardu attached to? Everywhere in Maardu there are small details that give away details about elements and signs of life: the graffiti on the wall by the abandoned factory, the laundry in the wind in the community garden, the self-made house of the man in the wood workshop hidden behind the empty warehouses, small kohviks for the truck drivers, and parking spots for truck drivers to sleep and rest. Each of these show traces of interactions with the environment.

So how might one tell a story about what is happening in Maardu right now? How does one tell a story of how the space is used by different humans and which places they value? How do you capture the stories of people who live somewhere? The project started with research on the internet, the platform where the thin line between forgetting and remembering seems to disappear and where everybody has access to, and the ability to share their stories, the things they value. Instagram and Facebook were analyzed first, where photos of pretty skies and the church



4. The laundry in the wind

popped up frequently. Besides that, photos from the industrial period were a huge hit, but new archive would need to show material from the present, perhaps in a medium reflective of our present culture. YouTube started to become an interesting tool—moving images, and ones which were not only showing one moment, but also already had a movement in it themselves, a continuity. Footage of motocross, the harbour, performances, and races started to become my base. I combined those with fragments that I filmed while spending some days in Maardu: stones painted with graffiti, gardens filled with porcelain creatures, and posters of small dogs and disco lights—“signs of life” I could call them.

I set up the movie at Fortuna, a local bar in Kallavere, a good place that could be seen as a storage place for this new archive of the present where everybody can have access and the disco lights would give an ambiance. For the future there would maybe be even the possibility to add more material if necessary. The end project became a short film where new archives from the internet combined with fragments from shots of elements of daily life became a story. In this way, details

of the city of Maardu were able to be shown and a new archive of the present was created.

¹ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1960)

² Mark Minkjan and Sanne Kanters, “Spaces of Otherness: Ruins Through a Feminist Lens”, *Failed Architecture: Ruin and Dystopia*, 2016, <https://failedarchitecture.com/spaces-of-otherness-ruins-through-a-feminist-lens/>

³ Minkjan, “Spaces of Otherness”, 2016

⁴ Mark Minkjan, “Maybe Modern Ruins Are Just the Kind of Failure We Need”, *Failed Architecture: Ruin and Dystopia*, 2019, <https://failedarchitecture.com/maybe-modern-ruins-are-just-the-kind-of-failure-we-need/>

⁵ “About Maardu”, *Maardu Linnavalitsus*, <http://maardu.kovtp.ee/en/web/eng/anbout-maardu> (Accessed 17.12.19)

⁶ Póra Pétursdóttir, “Concrete matters: Ruins of modernity and the things called heritage”, *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 13 no. 1 (2013): 31–53

⁷ Aleida Assmann, “Canon & Archive” in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 97–108

⁸ Helena Mattsson, “The Politics of the Archive: Aesthetics, spatial practices and the 1980s neoliberalization”, Lecture, Estonian Academy of Arts, Tallinn, Estonia, 07.11.19

Additional photos in the appendix.

NEW ARCHIVES AS KARAOKE WIMKE DEKKER



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“Maardu! This sleepy suburban province with a frustrated reputation bonded to the depths of my heart. It has everything an artist could hope for: interesting characters, cheap rent, a monolithic orthodox church, and, like Hotel Viru, is a reminder to whom is always watching. Open spaces, open fences, wilderness, trees (it wouldn’t be Estonia without trees), and angry workmen who run you off abandoned properties, for whatever treasure be hidden in these lands are not for foreigners to take. We may be permitted to view through the looking glass of a Bronica 120 Medium Format film camera. Click-Clack.” - Jessie Keddie

“This studio enabled me to learn so much from my peers to whom I am so thankful. Everybody was inspiring! I am very grateful to Keiti and Andra for organising such a wild time! It was definitely challenging at times, but ultimately it allowed me to learn some very important lessons about myself and how I interact with subjects. I had never made this kind of work to a brief before and I feel like the things I have learned in this studio are long overdue and that I will carry them through to future projects. Thank you to all involved.”
- Alice Ashton

“The diversity of the projects and means of expression was just amazing! The final festival portrayed Maardu as never seen before, human and intimate, wild, industrial and futuristic and the matters of urbanisation were approached in very different ways. Definitely, an unforgettable experience!” - Marina Pushkar

“As I am actually studying architecture, this studio let me really rethink the architectural practise itself and which impacts it has. By dealing with different methods I come to the conclusion that I have a better understanding what the ‘urban’ could be. I really enjoyed the freedom and the openness we could develop our individual projects, getting out of my comfort zone and that it’s not all about giving solutions.”

- Sarah Gerdiken

“Urbanisation studio is a strange combination of research and arts with varied ways of exploration and learning, from cycling to long discussions to crazy walks. The studio constantly challenges your perceptions of urbanisation, makes you unlearn everything that you have learned previously, and, as a result, one becomes more fluid and adaptive to learn through a fresh gaze. The very open approach of the studio to research and present findings initially makes everything very confusing but at the end of the day, when you look backwards and connect the dots, then you realise how gradually this process of learning has actually transformed your way of thinking.”

- Ahmad Tahir

“The urbanisation studio was very different from the architectural studios I have experienced, it was a free and supportive environment that allowed you to question, investigate on your own, and get lost in your own chaos. Sometimes it was very challenging to narrow down all your research into practice, returning to your starting point over and over, but it was really nice to witness that others have the same unstable processes and challenges, and knowing everyone’s progress created more connections between us and Maardu. In the final, I was really impressed how 12 different minds, media, and projects came together in a very collective and harmonious way to create an unforgettable urbanisation experience.” - Deniz Taskin

“All together our final event was amazing! Positive vibes and everyone did so good!” - Annika Ülejõe

“The studio 1 has been such a class! A weird combination of too much sitting and standing at times, this lecture was the one that pushed me the most during the first semester. From reading and reading all the planning texts, written in lovely Estonian language, to try to connect widely spread pieces of this puzzle that I put myself into that I knew I’d never be able to solve... The challenge for me was not only the lecture itself but to integrate with others as well and act together as a group. But the trip we made to the east (Estonia Diagonal) changed it completely. It gave me the chance to sympathize with everyone. Now that I know where we all came from with our individual projects, I am proud of every single one of us; including myself. Thank you, guys! It was a blast.” - Egemen Mercanlioglu

“It was quite unusual and interesting to research how the process of urbanisation is happening in Maardu. Personally, I have explored new ways and approaches in urban research and how it could be presented. I think I have received valuable experience and knowledge which is quite a broad idea of what urbanisation is during this studio.”

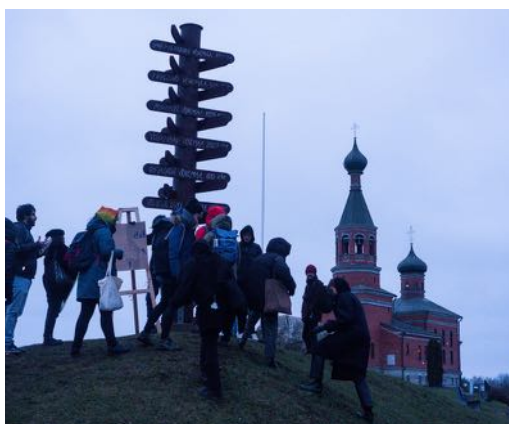
- Oleksandr Nenenko

“It took me 15 baby steps through 15 head scratching studio sessions and over eight trips to Maardu to be able to stand up there on that hill in front of that beautiful church and narrate what I perceived and experienced in Maardu in the last four months. It was really exciting to see 12 different minds with 12 extremely different topics presenting their urban experiences about the same city in 12 different ways. Maardu has definitely left a mark on all of us. And I think that’s the image of Maardu I will take with me from this urbanisation studio.” - Zahaan Khan

“After a long semester attempting to grasp hold of the elusive Maardu, I ended my final project not with answers but with more questions about the process of urbanisation. The whole study experience was a roller coaster oscillating between theory and fieldwork, panic and hope, trial and error. Fortunately, we were able to walk (and bike) through this semester alongside one another to inspire, challenge, and encourage our efforts, and remind each other to grab a cup of tea and take a rest. In the end, my exploration of the cemetery as a site of urbanisation, and the attempts to package such research into a performative installation, was a challenging project that transformed the way I understand how to engage with, research, and present urban questions.” - Lisa Rohrer

“I really enjoyed this studio and the good combination of theory and how to translate this into a practical outcome. Andra and Keiti were pushing us not to only learn things from books, but showed us how to observe and analyse a certain area. This in combination with the topic urbanisation lead to very interesting outcomes and findings. It was interesting to see how we all made a strong process and how the end projects where challenging our thoughts, but also all the questions we had about Maardu. It was a hell of a ride, but definitely worth it! I would like to thank everybody, my classmates, Keiti and Andra, and the people from Maardu, for this wonderful experience and all the great talks. You were all amazing!” - Wimke Dekker





A Word Of Appreciation

This course was a roller coaster, with a lot of amazing and challenging moments; therefore, we would like to thank some people in particular.

A special thanks to our tutors Keiti Kljavin and Andra Aaloe!

We would also like to thank everyone we met along this journey: the people of Maardu who engaged us in conversation and allowed us to interview them, the man from the wood workshop who invited us into his home, the bus drivers who took us through Maardu and all across Estonia, Ross Exo Adams for providing us with feedback on our work, the Orthodox Church of the Archangel Michael for allowing us to see the interior of the image of Maardu, the Penjan family for their hospitality, and Fortuna bar for serving as the first and last location of our time in Maardu.

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