

UNIVERSITY OF TARTU
Faculty of Social Sciences and Education
Centre for Baltic Studies

ANNA BALÁZS
HOTEL VIRU AS A MONUMENT: SOCIAL SPACE AND MEMORY

Master's Thesis

Supervisor: Dr. Marina Grishakova

Tartu, Estonia

May 2014

The thesis conforms to the requirements for a Master's thesis

.....(signature of the supervisor and date)

Admitted for the defence(date)

Head of Chair:(name, signature and date)

Chairman of the Defence Committee.....(signature)

The thesis is 23,892 words in length.

I have written the Master's thesis independently.

All works and major viewpoints of the other authors, data from other sources of literature and elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

I give the permission to publish my work on Dspace and the Centre for Baltic Studies webpage.

.....(signature of the author and date)

ANNA BALÁZS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to say thank you to the people who contributed to the birth of the present work:

Marina Grishakova for the inspiring and thoughtful supervision,

Heiko Pääbo and Siiri Maimets for their academic support through the whole MA programme,

Ana Koncul and Irina Sadovina for being and being-with,

Karen and Kristi Jagodin for their incomparable help with the different aspects of Hotel Viru,

Ferenc Dávid Markó, Frederick Schulze and Wiktor Marzec for academic inspiration,

Lemmit Kaplinski and Tobias Koch for placemaking in Tartu,

my family and colleagues for their endless tolerance,

Bence, for being there,

and of course, Mati Unt

To my grandparents

"your labor which gives form to desire takes from desire its form"

Italo Calvino

(Invisible Cities)

ABSTRACT

Hotel Viru has been a significant site of the Tallinn urban landscape since its construction: it represented the essence of Estonia for the Finnish and other tourists arriving to the country, and it served as an enclave of Western lifestyle in the middle of Soviet-time Tallinn, subsisting in the Cold War political isolation since the end of the Second World War. The post-Soviet transition brought profound changes in the functioning of the hotel, but did not lower its significance: Hotel Viru occupies an important position in the collective memory of more than one community, and the establishment of KGB museum in the building reinforced this status on a new level.

The present research investigates interconnections of memory and history in the space of Hotel Viru by applying the theory of Henri Lefebvre on social space. The term social space refers to the sum of social relations projected into physical space, providing a tool for the analysis of social phenomena by investigating particular spatial settings. As the concept of social space implies a heterogeneous and multilayered character of space, the research explores Hotel Viru on the three levels as spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces. Investigation of spatial practices reveals how the physical space of Hotel Viru is transformed by human activity, and how social relations and spatial practices are being mutually shaped by each other. Representations of space help to understand how abstract conceptualizations of Hotel Viru reflect ideological positions within the society, and how do they influence the formulation of physical space. The study of representational spaces identifies the symbolic contents attached to the space of Hotel Viru, discovering the process in which they constitute the building as an object of memory.

The findings conclude that Hotel Viru is a monument that transforms subjective memories of the individual into collective memory, and mediates between abstract historical processes and particular memories arising from individual experience.

Contents

Introduction

Chapter 1: Theoretical framework

Social space and Hotel Viru

The Lefebvrian triad: conceptualization and analytical framework

The role of space in the study of memory

Chapter 2: Spatial practices in Hotel Viru

Chapter 3: Representations of Hotel Viru's space

Chapter 4: Hotel Viru as a representational space

Chapter 5: Conclusions

References

List of articles

INTRODUCTION

On a gloomy Saturday afternoon in 2012 November, the lobby of Hotel Viru in Tallinn is moderately crowded by well-dressed visitors. Some of them are waiting for their taxi to the harbour, and some came to the 6 PM guided tour in the KGB Museum of the hotel. As time approaches, we find ourselves in one of the shiny elevators with a strikingly friendly lady who will be our guide. She invites us to a time-travel in Soviet Estonia on the 23rd floor of the building. She pushes the uppermost button in the elevator. It says 22nd. There is no 23rd floor. Entering the former KGB rooms is an accordingly surreal experience: only a modest white door marks the way from the elegant corridor to the iron staircase which leads to the 23rd floor. The guide turns away the keys, and we transcend to a different time. „Do you feel the smell of socialism?“ – she asks in the room full of guestbooks, serial produced catering cups and fading Lenin portraits. We do feel it. The yellow PVC floor under our feet reminds everyone who owns even the smallest memory about the period that preceded the transition around 1991 in the whole Eastern European region.

One feels it everywhere around the town: Tallinn, while being an object of a very visible and large-scale urban development in the last 20 years, is still full of mental and spatial remnants of the Soviet period. The socialist legacy exists in a peculiar and exciting symbiosis with the contemporary urban environment: people are purchasing tickets by their mobile phones on trolley buses left behind from the 1970s, going through Soviet housing estates. The facade of the former Political Education building of the Central Committee of Estonian Communist Party today houses Solaris, a genuinely capitalist shopping centre. Walking on the streets of Tallinn gives a strong impression about the historically loaded nature of urban space: architectural objects contain multiple layers of meanings, resulting in a complex urban text that provides the unique character for a city. The present work aims to discover the exact character of these meanings, being reflected in the urban space as subtle and subjective impressions,

exploring how are they generated, and which framework should be applied in their investigation.

The object of analysis is Hotel Viru, a significant site in the urban space of Tallinn. Hotel Viru was built in the beginning of the 1970s as a result of the renewed diplomatic relations between Finland and the Soviet Union. The 1964 visit of Urho Kekkonen Finnish prime minister to Soviet Estonia led to the re-opening of ferry traffic between Helsinki and Tallinn in 1965, resulting in 15,000 Finnish visitors coming to Estonia in the next two years. The increased number of tourists raised the demand for a new hotel, which was built in international co-operation between Finland and the Soviet Union. The construction started in 1969, led by a Finnish firm, Repo OY, employing Finnish and Estonian workers and using high quality Finnish materials, an event without precedent in the period. The construction of the hotel was completed in fourteen months, and the opening ceremony was held on 14 June 1972. Hotel Viru was an outstanding object of its age in the architectural sense and also in the local public discourse: the interior design, created by the best architects of the period, was a great professional achievement, measured by international standards too. The hotel provided a high-quality service to its guests, implying services which were unavailable for the local public in the period: Western newspapers and liquors, tropical fruits and a colourful variety programme guaranteed the comfort of the visitors, creating an atmosphere radically different from that of the surrounding city. As a strategic hotel of Inturist, the Soviet institution for foreign tourism in the country, Hotel Viru was strictly controlled on each level of its functioning: employees were directed by strict regulations, and foreign guests were observed by the secret police. The hotel was an important venue of KGB, the Soviet military intelligence, in another way: the top floor hosted a radio translator system that transmitted the information through radio waves between Helsinki, Tallinn and Moscow. This detail became publicly known only after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, when the hotel was left by the KGB agents. Hotel Viru was privatized in 1994 by a Finnish company and turned into an enterprise functioning according to the logic of free market capitalism. The former KGB rooms in 2011 were reconstructed as a museum, presenting the history of the hotel and the working of the secret police in the building¹.

¹ For the historical summary about Hotel Viru, I used the data from Sakari Nupponen's (2007) book.

Hotel Viru serves as a relevant object of research for several reasons. First, it is part of the Soviet urban legacy of Tallinn, representing a defining period in the city's history. Second, it offers a dual perspective to analyse the period, since typical Soviet characteristics were present in it in a peculiar combination with the "Western" characteristics of the parallel ideological system of the age. Third, Hotel Viru stands out from the Soviet legacy in the sense that it consciously builds on this character in its present function. By investigating it, we learn about the process of meaning-creation in the urban space, and the relation of memory and space in general.

The research addresses the following questions:

What kind of dynamics between history and memory can be observed in the space of Hotel Viru?

What kind of transformations between individual and collective memory are facilitated by a space like Hotel Viru?

What are the analytical potentials of the Lefebvrian theory of social space in the study of memory?

The relevance of the research lies in the fact that it addresses questions of memory studies by applying the theoretical framework of social space in an innovative way. The frequently discussed problems of memory studies are addressed from a different angle when space is employed as an analytical tool in their investigation. The exploration of Hotel Viru in the theoretical framework of social space allows for a new understanding of the relation of history and memory, as well as of individual and collective memories. Similarly, the case study serves with new insights about memorial spaces and monuments, a special object of research within the field of memory studies. Furthermore, using Henri Lefebvre's theory of social space as the analytical framework of the research, the thesis extends the horizon of the theory by offering a new way for its practical application. The study uses data from Estonian journal articles, published around the time of the construction of Hotel Viru, and present articles from the last 10 years².

² The list of the contemporary sources is the following: Eesti Ekspress, Eesti Päevaleht, Maja, Postimees, SIRP, Õhtuleht. This selection of the journals is motivated by the goal to cover the most popular and well-known pieces of Estonian written media, both daily newspapers and cultural-political journals which dealt with the topic of Viru. I used the keyword „hotell viru” on every website, then sorted out

The present thesis is structured in the following way: Chapter 1 builds the theoretical framework by discussing the relevance of social space regarding the case of Hotel Viru, and introduces the analytical framework, based on Lefebvre's theory of social space. The analytical chapters follow the structure of the Lefebvrian triad of spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces. Chapter 2 investigates spatial practices of Hotel Viru, exploring how physical space is transformed by human activity, and how social relations and spatial practices are being mutually formulated by each other. Chapter 3 focuses on the representations of Hotel Viru in media and art criticism, revealing how space has been conceived and conceptualized throughout the different ideological systems and historical periods in Estonia. Chapter 4 provides the answers to the research questions: it explores Hotel Viru as a representational space, identifying the ways symbolic meanings are associated with it and constitute it as an object of memory. Chapter 5 draws the conclusions by summarizing the findings of the analysis and evaluating them in the framework of the research questions.

the articles that were connected to the topic in a superficial or irrelevant way. The timescale of the articles encompasses a relatively broad time period: the earliest article is from 1999 while the latest ones are from 2013 – however, most of them are written in the last couple of years, in connection with significant events in the history of Viru: the opening of the KGB Museum or the release of the movie *Vabaduse Saatkond*.

Soviet time articles are cited from the study of Karen Jagodin (2006) and listed separately in the article bibliography.

CHAPTER 1 - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Social space and Hotel Viru

The concept of social space in the work of Lefebvre is not restricted to a clear and concise definition: the complexity of the concept leaves room for different interpretations and various directions of investigation. The present research draws on the concept's potential to bring together rather different qualities as physical space, time and social relations, and provide an analysis of them in a common theoretical framework. Therefore, the theoretical foundation of the study explores the insights of Lefebvrian theory relevant for the case of Hotel Viru as a space of memorial and historical significance.

The first characteristic important for our case is the transitional status of social space: the concept intends to transcend the mental/physical dualism which traditionally characterized the discourse on space (Soja, 1989:120). It introduces a third quality that synthesizes the "ideal space" of logico-mathematical categories with the "natural space" described by geographers (Lefebvre, 1991:14, 190). This third quality allows the conceptualization of space outside of material dimensions, as a heterogeneous entity with cognitive elements in it. The synthesis of material and cognitive aspects in the concept of social space generates the potential to analyse Hotel Viru as a significant sight of the Tallinn urban space and the Estonian collective memory at the same time.

The second important feature of the Lefebvrian theory is that it conceptualizes space as materialized social relations. Lefebvre argues that the formulation of space is affected by the social activity that is producing it, and the deeper social structures behind those activities (1991:33). Social space concerns physical space as being transformed by human activity, and inversely, social action as being determined by and reflected in spatial settings. Spaces of nature and cognition are incorporated in this space and

transformed by the everyday practices of spatial reality (Soja, 1989:120). When Lefebvre argues that “social space works as a tool for the analysis of society” (1991:34), his starting point is the idea that spatial relations are material traces of the process in which social relations had produced the space under consideration. A space already produced is an object of decoding and reading:

“[...] it is helpful to think of architectures as 'archi-textures', to treat each monument or building, viewed in its surroundings and context, in the populated area and associated networks in which it is set down, as part of a particular production of space” (Lefebvre, 1991:118)

The above approach appears to be very fruitful in case of Hotel Viru, a building whose construction and afterlife has been equally influenced by the relations of the ruling social systems on a scale higher than the usual.

The next feature of social space relevant for Hotel Viru is the inevitable temporal dimension: as Lefebvre states, “any reality presenting itself in space can be expounded and explained in terms of its genesis in time” (1991:115). Social space presupposes temporality, because the social action which formulates it takes place in the course of time. Hotel Viru is a significant object due to its history, a result of the specific social relations which affected the formulation of that space from the beginning. The special history of the building makes it an outstanding object of collective memories, and this way of the public discourse in and about Tallinn. By reflecting on the temporal dimension of space, the concept of social space enables us to explore the position of memory and history within a building.

The last aspect of the Lefebvrian theory relevant regarding the case of Hotel Viru is the heterogeneous character of social space. We have seen that social space includes various levels of time periods, actions and objects, making it impossible to describe its essence in a compact definition. As Lefebvre writes,

“(Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity — their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder. It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of a simple object.” (1991:73)

The large variety in its contents constitutes social space as a heterogeneous entity: the different qualities present in it form various kinds of connections and interact in a number of ways, making the task of mapping and deciphering this space a difficult and multi-staged process. The heterogeneity of social space implies that we have to understand the concept as multilayered in itself; as Lefebvre describes it, “an unlimited multiplicity or uncountable set of social spaces which we refer to generically as ‘social space’” (1991:86). Characteristics of these spaces that they do not present themselves in clear separation but constitute a complex system of assemblage and simultaneity (Lefebvre, 1991:101). Such heterogeneity is a distinctive characteristic of Hotel Viru itself: the social space of Viru implies several actors and communities, multiple time periods and functions, private and public levels of experience. These different qualities together constitute the space of Viru, and the Lefebvrian concept of social space proves to be a fitting analytical tool in their exploration.

The aim of the researcher drawing on the Lefebvrian theory as an analytical tool is to examine the ways how social relations affect the formation of space, and how spatial conditions determine the possible directions of social action. As the relation of society and space proved to be dialectic, also their analysis could be approached from two ways: by addressing social space, we can draw consequences about the society which produced that space, or we can observe the ways in which spatial structure contributed to the reproduction of social relations in the given locale. The present work aims to proceed in the former way: by the close scrutiny of Hotel Viru, it expects to discover and reconstruct the multi-level process through which social relations produce space. The analysis employs the conceptual triad developed by Lefebvre to capture the above described heterogeneity of social space. Lefebvre introduces the triad of spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces as concepts shedding light on different aspects of space. He argues that this kind of conceptualization does not mean a clear classification of space into separate categories: parts of the triad cannot be treated as an abstract model because they exist in complex structures overlapping and intertwining each other (Lefebvre, 1991:40). The relevance of the triad lies in its practical application: instead of a mere theoretical categorization of space, they offer an analytical approach which discovers the elements of social space in their immediate forms and interconnections. For a fruitful application of the triad, we have to gain a

profound understanding about each of the three concepts before we utilize them in our analysis.

The Lefebvrian triad: conceptualization and analytical framework

The conceptual triad of Lefebvre is an acknowledgment of the fact that social space is a system too complex for a single-level description. Each concept of the triad reveals a different quality of space, best described by the alternative, “phenomenological” understanding of the categories (Schmid, 2008:29): besides the three concepts introduced above, Lefebvre also talks about perceived, conceived and lived space (Lefebvre, 1991:39). In the following section I provide a possible interpretation of these concepts and the interconnections between them, in order to find the best way for their application to discover the space of Hotel Viru and its relationship with the society which had contributed to its production.

Spatial practices

According to Lefebvre, spatial practice consists in “a projection of all aspects, elements and moments of social practice onto a (spatial) field” (1991:8). Social practice has to be understood here in its broadest sense, including all the individual, collective and institutional levels of social activity. However, spatial practices always refer to a direct interaction between users and space, assigning primacy to individual action. The term *perceived space* also facilitates this understanding: it implies the immediate presence of the individual whose movements and experiences are determined by the environment and shape it at the same time. This does not deprive the institutional level of its role in shaping spatial practices: institutions of power affect the organization of physical space as well as the social codes inscribed in the minds of individuals directing their movements in space. The latter is called “spatial consensus” by Lefebvre, referring to the denotative and connotative discourses on space which determine what kind of social activity is accepted in the particular space (1991:56). This way, spatial practices cannot

be conceived outside the domain of social space: “itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others” (Lefebvre, 1991:73). Social action obtains its meaning from the space where it takes place and ascribes meaning to that space at the same time. The dialectical character of spatial practice is confirmed by Lefebvre:

“The spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it.” (1991:38)

Considering this statement, the question evidently arises: how does it affect spatial practices when the social organization changes, sometimes radically? Lefebvre argues: „spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion” (1991:33). Physical space usually cannot follow the changes taking place in society with the same flexibility as spatial practices. In case of social changes, some practices disappear, some subsist in a modified form, and some remain the same, providing a “velvet transition” between the different periods, in contrast to the sharp changes in the physical space. The investigation of Hotel Viru should explore these questions of transition and continuity in space: how is space, produced by a particular social system, being used and reshaped by the practices of a new period?

As social space itself, spatial practice is neither coherent nor homogeneous: it is performed by a number of different groups and individuals with various intentions. This way a particular space can be regarded as the sum of the spatial practices related to it, resulting in a “dramatized space”:

„Spatial practice is neither determined by an existing system, be it urban or ecological, nor adapted to a system, be it economic or political. On the contrary, thanks to the potential energies of a variety of groups capable of diverting homogenized space to their own purposes, a theatricalized or dramatized space is liable to arise.” (Lefebvre, 1991:391)

This quality has to be considered when investigating the spatial practices constituting Hotel Viru. The analysis has to identify the actors whose practices contributed to the production of Hotel Viru’s space, and reveal the particular actors connected to each practice. By paying attention to this aspect of the production of space, we can find out

more about the position of Viru as a place of heterogeneous practices in the surrounding Soviet society, ideologically based on the homogeneous practices of its citizens.

To provide a better understanding of the questions raised above, chapter 2 analyses the spatial practices which produced the space of Hotel Viru. The analysis investigates how social relations are reflected, reproduced and challenged by spatial practices, exploring the complex relationship between power, spatial organization and everyday practices of the users. Based on the principle of Lefebvre that every spatial practice can be derived from the social relations of the society in question, I will identify the practices taking place in the hotel since its construction, explaining the emergence of each practice with the socio-political factors dominant in the Soviet and the independent Estonian society. The chapter concludes the discussion by revealing the dual character of spatial practices as they reinforce and subvert the dominant power structures of a society.

Representations of space

The second element of the triad approaches space from the perspective of ratio, concerning “conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent – all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived” (Lefebvre, 1991:38). Representations of space include maps, architectural building plans, scientific works on space, but also more complex entities like perspective or the metaphor of a tower. In general, they include all kinds of conceptualized information on space “conveyed by images and signs” (Lefebvre, 1991:233). It is a central argument in the Lefebvrian theory that conceived space dominates over the perceived and the lived (1991:34): representations are powerful means in the control of knowledge and ideology, shaping the ways how individuals conceive and experience their space. In the words of Lefebvre, representations concern the space of power:

“Political space is not established solely by actions (with material violence generating a place, a legal order, a legislation): the genesis of a space of this kind

also presupposes a practice, images, symbols, and the construction of buildings, of towns, and of localized social relationships.” (1991:245)

This is the territory of planning, where holders of power decide about the structures which will be realized in the physical space and influence the practices of the users.

„We may be sure that representations of space have a practical impact, that they intervene in and modify spatial textures which are informed by effective knowledge and ideology. Representations of space must therefore have a substantial role and a specific influence in the production of space. Their intervention occurs by way of construction - in other words, by way of architecture, conceived of not as the building of a particular structure, palace or monument, but rather as a project embedded in a spatial context and a texture which call for 'representations' that will not vanish into the symbolic or imaginary realms.” (Lefebvre, 1991:42)

Exploring representations of space, *project* is a keyword: architecture and planning gains a universal and abstract character in it, becoming the theoretical guideline for the planning of the whole society instead of a tool for engineering. To clarify the character of representations, we have to recall Lefebvre's distinction of dominated and appropriated space: the former is the site of knowledge, ideology and rational planning, while the latter is the space of subjectivity, symbols and emotions. This dichotomy describes the relation of representations to representational spaces more or less accurately, as we will see it in the following section. According to Lefebvre:

„[...] dominant space is invariably the realization of a master's project [...] In order to dominate space, technology introduces a new form into a pre-existing space - generally a rectilinear or rectangular form such as a meshwork or chequerwork. [...] Dominated space is usually closed, sterilized, emptied out.” (1991:165)

The geometric quality of dominant space is remarkable: nothing describes better the strict rationality of the planners than the regular lines of the grid. They suggest a structure forced from the outside, realizing rational considerations, in contrast to the organic forms produced by human activity. The contrast does not always imply a positive-negative judgment of any sides, only reveals the completely different logic behind the two aspects.

While representational spaces incorporate history in themselves, representations talk about the history of space: “they are part of the history of ideologies, provided that the concept of ideology is not restricted, as it too often is, to the ideologies of the philosophers and of the ruling classes” (Lefebvre, 1991:116). By studying them, we learn about the ideology of the period in question: what kinds of conceptualizations were present about the world and space in particular? Which aspects of it were emphasized, and how is it being explained by the power interests and ideological constructions of the age?

Chapter 3 addresses these questions when analysing the representations of Hotel Viru’s space. It investigates the Soviet and present time representations of the hotel, in order to identify the main aspects which determined the conceptualization of space in the different periods. The analysis of representations reveals the ways social and ideological changes altered the conceived space of Hotel Viru, interpreting the changes in the broader ideological frameworks of modernism and postmodernism. The final question of the chapter addresses the relation between representations and spatial practices, drawing conclusions about the nature of power in the different periods.

Representational spaces

If representations of space depict the public realm of ideology and planning, representational spaces talk about the private world of the individual. Lefebvre confirms this when he describes lived space:

“The user's space is lived - not represented (or conceived). When compared with the abstract space of the experts (architects, urbanists, planners), the space of the everyday activities of users is a concrete one, which is to say, subjective. [...] It is in this space that the 'private' realm asserts itself, albeit more or less vigorously, and always in a conflictual way, against the public one.” (1991:362)

Representational spaces correspond to the idea of appropriated space, which is, in general, “a natural space modified in order to serve the needs and possibilities of a group that it has been appropriated by that group” (Lefebvre, 1991:165). On the

symbolic level, this means the transformation of rational space into a field intelligible for human subjectivity through symbols and emotions:

“This is the dominated — and hence passively experienced — space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate.” (Lefebvre, 1991:39)

The contrast between the conceived and lived space reappears here: they represent completely different qualities, each functioning according its own logic. Conceived space is not necessarily oppressive and it has an important role in the production of space, but the different logic of human subjectivity requires a symbolic interpretation of the world; this is why conceived space is inevitably being transcended by the lived space at a certain point. As Lefebvre concludes:

“it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power; yet that, as such, it escapes in part from those who would make use of it. The social and political (state) forces which engendered this space now seek, but fail, to master it completely” (Lefebvre, 1991:26)

The aim of analysis here is to explore the exact ways how the appropriation takes place. Representational spaces have a central role in the process, functioning as a host of associations and meanings. Lefebvre talks about the “marking of space” by physical and symbolic traces: the former belongs to the field of spatial practices, while the latter concerns representational spaces. Spaces obtain symbolic meaning through signs and discourse that attach subjective, emotional contents to them.

“Space [...] acquires symbolic value. Symbols, on this view, always imply an emotional investment, an affective charge (fear, attraction, etc.), which is so to speak deposited at a particular place and thereafter 'represented' for the benefit of everyone elsewhere.” (Lefebvre, 1991:141)

Representational space has to be conceptualized in close interaction with physical space, as a transparent cover which overlays it, “making symbolic use of its objects” (Lefebvre, 1991:39). While representations always refer to the space itself, representational spaces have an external reference. The task of the analysis is to discover these symbolic contents of space, and examine how they modify the dominated space of representations in a subversive way against the domination of the conceived space. Chapter 4 investigates the nature of symbolic meanings attached to Hotel Viru, explaining their role in the appropriation of space. The KGB museum of the hotel is

addressed as a specific site where symbolic meanings are accumulated in the form of mediated memories, constituting the hotel as an object of collective memory. The final sections explore Hotel Viru compared to the Lefebvrian concept of monument, revealing its mediating qualities.

The role of space in the study of memory

The Lefebvrian theory of social space has a potential to discover various sides of the social phenomena. The present work addresses a specific territory of this wide spectrum, investigating questions of collective memory and the ways of experiencing the past. Memory studies take their objects of analysis from a number of different areas, but space is a relatively less common object of study within the field. The study of monuments and public places of commemoration is the only exception where questions of memory are investigated within spatial objects. My thesis aims to extend this field by exploring the questions of memory in a space without original commemorative functions. The study of Hotel Viru in the framework of social space offers a possible model for the investigation of contemporary urban space in the discovery of the past. The research questions introduced above concern crucial problems of memory studies, and the innovative approach that the present work applies in their analysis, raises an opportunity for new insights to emerge in their evaluation.

The first question investigates the relation of individual and collective memories, asking what kind of transformations take place between these two different entities. The main theoretical stances regarding the question either see collective memory as an aggravation of individual memories (Olick, 1999), or presume a certain kind of social mediation which transforms subjective individual experiences into a knowledge available for a wider group of individuals (Assmann, 1995). The second group of opinions is based on the theory of Maurice Halbwachs (1928), who introduced the concept of social frames in the discourse on collective memory. Halbwachs argued that individual remembering is a socially mediated process, since human subjects acquire their memories through narrative and dialogue besides direct bodily experience (1992:38). Individual memories obtain meaning only within the social context in which

they arise; social frames are results of an ongoing dialogue about what should be remembered and how. Therefore, no memory can be comprehended as genuinely private, since the frameworks of socialization affect the interpretation of every subjective experience. This is the reason Aleida Assmann builds on when she argues against the “neurological” theory of isolated individual memories.

“In stressing the experiential solipsism of individual memory, [...] we disregard two important dimensions of memory: interaction with other individuals and interaction with external signs and symbols. [...] Once they are verbalized in the form of a narrative or represented by a visual image, the individual's memories become part of an intersubjective symbolic system and are, strictly speaking, no longer a purely exclusive and unalienable property.” (Assmann, 2008:50)

Following this line of argumentation, collective memory can be best understood as mediated memory. The primary medium is communication itself, and every other source of mediation, like symbols, practices or material objects gain their memorial significance from the dialogue between various individuals: “any shared symbols and deep structures are only real insofar as individuals treat them as such or instantiate them in practice” (Olick, 1999:338). Investigating the process in which memories are mediated and become collective entities, the role of space appears to be of special significance. Similarly to legends or practices of commemoration, elements of space can also serve as a basis in which subjective experiences find a way of expression and sharing. David Harvey writes about the role of space in experiencing time and memory:

“Is this the foundation for collective memory, for all those manifestations of place-bound nostalgias that infect our images of the country and the city, of region, milieu, and locality, of neighbourhood and community? And if it is true that time is always memorialized not as flow, but as memories of experienced places and spaces, then history must indeed give way to poetry, time to space, as the fundamental material of social expression.” (Harvey, 1989:218)

The present work aims to exploit the analytical potential inherent in space, when investigating it as a tool for the social mediation of individual memories.

The other problem introduced among the research questions is the difference between memory and history. The two concepts are usually formulated as oppositional qualities: according to Pierre Nora, history and memory constitute the two opposite approaches to

the past: memory is the living past of a society, and history is a reconstruction of this past. “Memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past” (Nora, 1992:8). While memory is connected to particular individuals and groups which it links together, history is universal, belonging to no-one and everyone at the same time (Nora, 1992:9). The universal and abstract character of history is a crucial part of the difference. History is led by the aim of objectivity, facilitating critical analysis and abstraction of the events: employing a scientific approach, it investigates patterns of progress and relations between different events and processes. On the other hand, memory obtains its foundation in the concrete experience, based on specific locations, gestures, images and objects. Regarding their genuinely different qualities, the question arises: what is the connection between the two phenomena? How is it possible to position them in a common framework?

Application of the Lefebvrian theory contributes to the resolution of this problem: as it was discussed above, different parts of the triad address different layers of social space, enabling the researcher to examine the private and the public level of social process within the same building. Investigation of spatial practices, representations and representational spaces in Hotel Viru clarifies the ways in which public and private spheres of life are interconnected, and a clear picture of these interconnections will bring us closer to a better understanding of the relationship between memory and history. Representational spaces are especially important in the investigation of memories, as they serve as a host for individual experiences. Addressing memories as part of the private experience, the comparison with the distinct qualities of representations will serve with further explanations about their difference from history. Therefore, the following chapters will provide an analysis of Hotel Viru within the frameworks of Lefebvrian social space, with the intention to utilize the analytical potential described above, and present a new interpretation of the questions concerning collective memory.

CHAPTER 2 - SPATIAL PRACTICES IN HOTEL VIRU

Our starting point for this chapter is that “all aspects, elements and moments of social practice” are being projected into physical space, and become inscribed in it through spatial practice (Lefebvre, 1991:8). To clarify how this process is being implemented, the chapter investigates spatial practices taking place in Hotel Viru in connection to the social relations that affected their emergence. The analysis aims to reveal the ways how social practice determines the formulation and use of space, making any spatial unit a laboratory of social relations to study. Before proceeding to the case, I have to clarify the concepts I am using in the analysis. Social relations cover a relatively broad range of phenomena, including the political and economic factors which determine structures and organization of a particular society. Spatial practice refers to any level of human interactions with the elements of physical space from the abstract to the concrete, where space and practice constitute each other in a dynamic process. In Harvey’s interpretation:

“Material spatial practices refer to the physical and material flows, transfers, and interactions that occur in and across space in such a way as to assure production and social reproduction.” (Harvey, 1989:218)

The material dimension of spatial practices suggests an understanding of them as mediators between physical space, abstract social relations and private intentions of the individual: as they are implemented by several particular actors, their instant physical presence is combined with the individual intention and the surrounding social relations which determine movement in space and personal motivation as well. Investigation of spatial practices in Hotel Viru aims to explore the dialectics between space, society and the individual on the level of material action, preparing the way for the next chapters which analyse the public and the individual aspects of the question in detail.

The following section investigates the spatial practices of Hotel Viru identified in the journal articles and the material of the KGB museum exhibition. Each practice is explained in the broader social context that gave rise to its existence, regarded as a part of the complex system constituting the social space of Hotel Viru. The material under scrutiny portray the following spatial practices connected to Viru: its construction in co-production with Finnish workers and companies (Mandel, 2011); operation of the KGB radio translator system on the 23rd floor of the hotel (Jõesaar, 2011); wire-tapping in the hotel spaces (Säde, 2009; Suurkask, 2009; Veintsel, 2013); KGB agents and hotel workers reporting on the guests (Jõesaar, 2011); centrally controlled catering from Moscow (material of the KGB exhibition); existence of a separate position for food-portioning in the restaurant (material of the KGB exhibition); queueing in front of the Viru confectionary (Huimerind, 2008b); using Viru cakes and variety tickets as local hard currency (Huimerind, 2008b); party officials and VIPs enjoying privileges in the hotel (Huimerind, 2008a and 2008b); consuming Western products in the hotel (Tõnson, 2013); attending the programme of Viru variety show (Ehasalu, 2012b); doormen controlling the entrance to the hotel (Jõesaar, 2011; Kivi, 2009); prostitution, begging and smuggling around the hotel (Keskrand, 2012; Vahter, 2008); operation of Viru vendors (Veintsel, 2013); working competitions and seminars for the workers (material of the KGB exhibition); departure of the KGB from the building (Jõesaar, 2011); privatization of the building (Kaio, 2012; Ranne, 2013); closing functions (Luik, 2013); downsizing of the hotel workers (material of the KGB exhibition); removal of the original interior design (Vahe, 2012); opening of the KGB museum in the hotel (Lamp, 2011).

The first practice that we should discuss in connection to Hotel Viru is the process of its construction. The hotel was built by a Finnish company, with the contribution of Finnish construction workers, symbolizing the friendship of the Finnish and Soviet peoples (Mandel, 2011). The participation of Finnish workers in the construction was a practice exclusively restricted to Hotel Viru, resulted by the altered social relations of the period. The visit of Finnish tourists, a spatial practice determinant in the space of Viru until the present day, was also a result of the changes in the social practice, being reinforced in the following time periods by the constant level of Finnish tourism in Hotel Viru and in Tallinn. The construction of Hotel Viru in itself, similarly to the

Finnish-Soviet coproduction of the building, is a direct consequence of the change in the diplomatic relations and the beginning of Finnish tourism in Estonia. The two countries maintained a special relationship after the Second World War, referred to as “Finlandization policy”: Finland remained independent and preserved the democratic order in the country, but with an obligation to support the Soviet Union in case of military conflict. Regardless of the balanced diplomatic relations, the connection between Finland and Soviet Estonia was practically nonexistent since the end of the war, and the first visit of a Finnish (and in general, a Western) president in the person of Urho Kekkonen was an event of great significance in 1964. The result of his visit was the opening of the ferry transport between Tallinn and Helsinki next year, generating a large wave of tourism from Finland to Estonia. This development constituted a practical reason to build a hotel in the centre of Tallinn, but the deeper motivations lie in the political processes described above.

The next practice defining the space of Hotel Viru was the operation of the KGB radio translator system on the 23rd floor of the building. Two rooms on the floor hosted the mechanical apparatus necessary for the translation of radio signs coming from Finland and being forwarded to Moscow through a cable system (Jõesaar, 2011). The radio translator operated independent from other activities in the hotel; its location in Viru can be explained by two factors. The first is of plainly practical nature: Hotel Viru was the tallest building of its age, and radio signs can be transmitted more effectively from a greater height. The second factor concerns the complete isolation of the translation centre: the hotel was protected from the unauthorized visitors by several physical and mental borders, this way the secrecy of the radio translator was secured. The 23rd floor was closed and hidden from the public, supported by the fact that there was only 22 buttons in the elevator. This symbolic lack of the mere possibility to reach the 23rd floor reflected the wish of the builders to eliminate any spatial practice of the public connected to the KGB areas, reinforcing total isolation in the spatial structure as well.

This case shows how spatial practice is determined by a number of factors: the operation of the KGB radio translator system on the 23rd floor of Hotel Viru is genuinely a result of the broader social processes taking place in the society of the age, but the particular realization of a spatial practice is affected by a range of other, practical and geographical conditions as well. Operation of KGB forces in the hotel

becomes reasonable in light of the general environment of international surveillance characterizing the societies of the Cold War. The term “Cold War” covers the period between 1947 and 1991, from the end of World War II until the collapse of the Soviet Union. It refers to the political opposition and power struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union, the two superpowers that dominated the victorious alliances in the Second World War and participated in the political division of Europe after the war. The main factors which engendered hostile relations between the great powers were their completely different socio-economic systems, and the common interest in the European countries as fields of ideological, or, in the Soviet case, territorial expansion. The ideological opposition had determined world politics until the collapse of the Soviet Union, resulting in a permanent arms race between the two superpowers. The military system was genuinely altered by the technological innovation of the age: the atomic bomb developed in the Second World War and deployed in the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki the first time in the history of wars, causing unprecedented destruction. The bomb had a paradoxical balancing effect, since the mere possibility of using it was enough to control the opponents’ strategy. A new world war would have certainly meant an atomic war, with the possibility of destroying the whole civilization, prompting political leaders to act with extra consideration. The special political situation increased the significance of military intelligence organizations: as the two sides were acting in complete isolation, practically unaware of the other’s exact intentions, overcoming the lack of information proved to be of crucial importance. The KGB and the CIA, military intelligence services of the Soviet Union and the United States had their main task to collect information about the strategic goals of the other side and the particular steps towards their realization. Political espionage required a state-of-the-art technological apparatus beside the human capital, and the two of them together formulated the spatial practices of the period in the regions affected by the Cold War. The 23rd floor of Hotel Viru is a product of these social practices: espionage, international exchange of information and the activity of the KGB led to a spatial structure in which the upper floor of the hotel contained a radio translation centre.

Practices of surveillance had been present in Hotel Viru on different levels: besides the radio translator, which contributed to the work of KGB on a more general level by transmitting information between the countries, surveillance concerned the guests and

workers of the hotel in particular as well. The situation is best depicted by a metaphor which Enn Säde (2009) uses in one of the articles, claiming that the building material of Viru was “mikrobetoon”, one part of microphone and one part of concrete. The hotel was built with an extensive wire-tapping system: microphones were placed in the hotel rooms, in the bottom of the ashtrays, flowerpots and bread-baskets;³ telephones were listened in by KGB agents, and some rooms had been inspected through cameras as well (Suurkask, 2009; Veintsel, 2013). Such formulation of space influenced the spatial practices of every user: secret agents implemented their task in the surveillance room on the second floor of the hotel listening to the conversations of the guests (Jõesaar, 2011). Some of the visitors were aware of wire-tapping, and this awareness formulated their individual spatial practice: they started to look for microphones when they entered the hotel room, and they remained careful about what information they include in their conversations inside the hotel (Säde, 2009). Those not aware of this condition were participating in the activity of the KGB by unintentionally providing information for the secret agents during their stay. Surveillance was not performed only by technological equipment but also by the hotel workers: the positions most important in this regard were those of the doormen, the floor managers and the tour guides. These workers were responsible for reporting on the guests, keeping track of their movement and learning about their opinion (Jõesaar, 2011). Some of them were supposedly employed by the KGB, but none of them escaped becoming part of the system while reproducing its defining practices.

Practices of internal surveillance and control of movement inside Hotel Viru are the result of Soviet state organization: the system turned towards its own citizens with the same distrust as it treated its enemies, a phenomenon explained by the genesis of Soviet state. The Soviet Union was born from an attempt to realize the utopian vision of a communist society, implemented by radical top-down interventions in the existing social structures. An important characteristic of these utopian systems that they are based on full control: social development is determined by the vision and planned accurately, trying to eliminate the spontaneity from the process. This usually contradicts to the individual intentions, producing a situation in which the leaders turn to means of coercion and an oppressive regime emerges. State surveillance and strict control of the

³ Based on the verbal information from the guided tour of Kristi Jagodin in the KGB museum.

citizens can be interpreted meaningfully within these conditions: the state aims to learn about the intentions of the people in order to avoid any unexpected action from their part that could undermine the implementation of the visionary plan. The second way KGB had functioned in Hotel Viru concerned the internal processes of the country: the surveillance of the visitors and the hotel workers was intended to minimize the chance of disorder and maintain the isolation of locals and foreigners. The latter was important for many reasons: foreign visitors constituted a multiple threat by the possibility of being spies, transmitting information to locals contradicting to the Soviet propaganda, or the opposite, spreading information to their compatriots which would depict the Soviet Union in a negative light. We can conclude that a state where monitoring of other countries and local citizens is a fundamental element of social practice, produces spaces whose physical formation and the social rules in the minds of its users reinforce each other through the spatial practices of surveillance.

The next spatial practice taking place in Hotel Viru was the allocation of ingredients for the restaurant: the food supply was ordered directly from Moscow, this way the workers responsible for catering had been restricted in their actions by the central allocation system. The dishes always had to contain the same amount of a certain ingredient, so there was a separate job for measuring ingredient portions, and guaranteeing that a Chicken Kiev would always contain exactly 82 grams of chicken.⁴ These practices reflect the strong centralization of the Soviet economy, which David Graeber characterized as a system „putting government bureaucracies in charge of coordinating every aspect of the production and distribution of goods and services within a given national territory” (2011:404). This kind of economic system, referred to as *command economy* or *plan economy*, did not consider real consumer demand as a relevant factor while deciding about target numbers of production. Centralization of the economy had affected the employment structure of the country as well. As the ideological base of the Soviet system lied in the rule of the working class, jobs were not distributed according to real production needs, but on the principle that each member of the Soviet Union would have the opportunity and obligation to work. This is reflected in positions like that of portioning ingredients, or the floor managers on each floor with the practically only function to keep track of the events.

⁴ Based on the informations displayed in the KGB museum.

Queuing was also a constitutive spatial practice in the hotel: it was connected to the popular confectionary of Viru, in front of which locals had been standing in lines for long hours from 5 AM, in order to obtain some of the cakes and other products (Huimerind, 2008b). Viru cakes were famous for their high quality relatively uncommon in the period, and there was a limited amount of them delivered per a day, that resulted in a constant over-demand and elicited the practice of queuing in the hotel space. Queues in front of Hotel Viru were one from the many queues which constituted an important part of Soviet life, especially of women, responsible for the household acquisitions in most of the cases. Queues are the result of economic scarcity, in which supplies never meet consumer demands. The unrealistic organization of Soviet economy led to a constant shortage of supply, resulting in an economy of shortage as a defining characteristic of Soviet society. Conditions of scarcity initiated several different responses from the society members, producing specific practices related to the survival in case of economic hardship. Janos Kornai (1980) identifies a tripartite scheme for the allocation of resources in economies of shortage: auction, rationing and queue. Queue refers to the phenomenon when consumers are put on a sort of waiting list for a product or service. This way, queues exist in abstract form on different lists of the bureaucratic apparatus, and also in material form in front of the shops. The practices of queuing, ordering food from the Soviet capital and measuring ingredients with meticulous care incorporated the social relations of command economy into the space of Viru.

Informal practices had been another defining element in the space of Hotel Viru. A specific case of informal practices in Viru was the use of popular products of the hotel as local hard currency. The most famous objects were Viru coffee cakes and variety tickets: their special status among the locals and their scarcity provided them with high exchange value (Huimerind, 2008b). This case demonstrates the strong connection between informal practices and the effects of command economy: when the latter fails to satisfy the demands of a society, commodities obtain special significance and become instruments in the practices of second economy. Terms like “second economy” or “economy of favours” refer to a system of informal practices in which personal exchange serves as a tool for overcoming the obstacles of Soviet, or any other type of bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is characterized by the merge of state and civil society, leading to the eventual disappearance of the latter: by the means of bureaucratic

institutions, the state and the party become involved in practically every aspects of private life (Ledeneva, 1998:77). A certain level of bureaucracy is present in every institution, but the totalitarian character of the Soviet bureaucratic organization prevented the system from proper functioning. A dysfunctional system of rules gives rise to a new set of rules, based on subjective personal features rather abstract principles of a supposed equality. Alena Ledeneva argues that informal practices will emerge in a system where formal human rights and objective criteria of evaluation are insufficient: in an environment like this, people have a sense that they can rely only on their personal networks (Ledeneva, 1998:78). We can conceive of informal activities as a product of the over-regulated bureaucratic system, a situation which Ledeneva describes as “all-embracing restrictions and the labyrinth of possibilities around them” (1998:1). She identifies the phenomenon of *blat*, a Russian word for favour, as a key concept of Soviet society functioning on the basis of informal practices. *Blat* is “an activity aimed at redistributing socially organized access to resources, rewards and privileges through individual or family channels” (Ledeneva, 1998:48).

Arranging issues on the ground of personal privileges instead of the official ways was also a characteristic practice in Hotel Viru. As local people were not allowed to enter the hotel, the usual practice was visiting Viru by the help of an acquaintance working there. Privileges had been assigned to various clients: while an average citizen had to stand in the queue to obtain a product of Viru confectionary, the first portions of the dishes were provided to the Estonian Communist Party leadership as their daily catering (Huimerind, 2008b). Local celebrities of the period enjoyed similar privileges; Ivo Linna, a popular Estonian singer recalls a New Year’s Eve when they performed in Hotel Viru: “...we left the rabbit meat that we bought at Nõmme market in the daytime for the hotel chef to prepare it” (Huimerind, 2008a). Personal factors could modify the official rules in the space of Hotel Viru as well as in the surrounding society. It can be concluded, that informal practices had a dialectic relation to the Soviet system: they subverted it while contradicting to their official morals, but at the same time they also reinforced it by maintaining the otherwise dysfunctional subsystems which constitute the state.

While economy of shortage had manifested itself in the spatial practices of Hotel Viru, we can find practices contradictory to this tendency. For example, consumption of

certain goods not in supply in the Soviet market, like passion fruit, high quality liquors, cigarettes and Western newspapers had been usual inside the hotel (Tõnson, 2013). Western goods also included cultural products like the famous variety show, alien to the Soviet lifestyle and not presented for the local audience in other venues (Ehasalu, 2012b). These practices constituted Viru as a “Western space”, in sharp contrast with the surrounding spaces, creating a contradictory mixture of Western and Soviet practices inside the hotel. Western practices refer to activities unattainable for the local citizens of Tallinn in the period, attributed to the lifestyle of Western European or other non-Soviet societies. Their presence in the hotel served propagandistic goals: Hotel Viru had a significant role in the propaganda towards the international community, as it was one of the few places in which foreign visitors could gain an insight about life in the Soviet Union. It was essential to show a positive image of the country, and this demand influenced a number of spatial practices in the hotel. The presence of the above described “Western” practices is a result of this endeavour: to draw the image of a prospering country, the hotel had to offer services suiting the Western standards. By this practice, the Soviet Union admitted its own failure in the efforts to provide a viable alternative for the capitalist organization of the Western society.

The separation of East and West was reproduced in Hotel Viru by spatial practices of exclusion and control of movement: the entrance was guarded by doormen who prevented the unauthorized people from entering the hotel (Jõesaar, 2011; Kivi, 2009). Foreign visitors had to leave their passports in the reception for the duration of their stay, reinforcing the act of entering a separated territory⁵. The use of hard currency within Hotel Viru presented another border for the local people, as it was the main tool providing access to the products and services offered by the hotel.

The isolation reproduced within the space of Hotel Viru was present in the society of the period from the end of the Second World War. As it was explicated above, the Cold War period is characterized by the opposition of two ideological systems, marked by the United States and the Soviet Union as the two leading powers. The political conflict created an almost physical barrier between the two regions, primarily due to the Soviet Union and its satellite states where free movement of the citizens was restricted because of the threat of mass emigration to the Western countries with higher living standards.

⁵ Based on the informations of the KGB museum.

The intensity of political separation is best expressed by the metaphor of “iron curtain” used by Winston Churchill for the first time after the Second World War, and become a general expression describing the situation in the Cold War period. As an Inturist institution intended to serve foreign clientele in a Soviet environment isolated from international movement, Hotel Viru was severely touched upon by the existence of the Iron Curtain. The East-West cleavage formulated spatial practices in a way that they constituted the space of Viru as an enclave in the middle of the Soviet system.

Many of the practices taking place around Hotel Viru were declared to be against the law: prostitution, smuggling, illegal currency exchange, and the operation of thieves, beggars and vendors (Keskrand, 2012; Vahter, 2008; Veintsel, 2013). Prostitution was flourishing around the hotel, due to the expectations about wealthy foreigner clients. Currency exchange was also located near the hotel, as the possession of foreign currency was an act subjected to penalty in the Soviet criminal codes. Foreign visitors presented a source of Western products which locals could not obtain from any other channels; although communication between locals and foreigners was prohibited, the exchange between the two functioned in an effective way. Smuggling of Western commodities was an everyday practice, performed by the tourists and local vendors who carried the role of the mediator in the exchange process, in return for a personal profit. The unavailability of Western goods gave rise to a new practice of illegal sale, creating the new profession of “Viru vendors” (Veintsel, 2013). The practicing of Viru vendors simultaneously reflects the effects of plan economy that did not produce commodities optimal neither in number nor in quality, and the influence of regional isolation, which provided Western products with a symbolic surplus next to their generally higher quality.

The next spatial practice in Hotel Viru was working competition. The exhibition text in the KGB museum describes this practice as it follows:

“Competitions, seminars and the providing of samples were part of the day to day life of Hotel Viru. Good results were achieved in all-Soviet competitions, and skills were also tested in-house. In such competitions, employees – chefs, waiters etc. – were able to increase their professional qualifications.”

Working competition is a keyword of Soviet society: it was an official slogan of state propaganda, referring to the continuous effort to reach and surpass the unrealistic goals

being set in the production plans. The competitions held in Viru served a dual goal: from a practical aspect, it was important to provide the best quality for the above mentioned representational purposes to achieve international recognition. On the other hand, working competitions in Hotel Viru served the indoctrination of the workers as part of the totalitarian social project. Being trained to the Soviet working culture through the practice of competitions, the workers could appropriate the constitutive elements of propaganda about the rule of the working class and the aim of fulfilling the production plans. As we have seen from the case of Western practices too, state propaganda was one of the main foundations of the Soviet Union. This is explained by two factors: the utopian roots of the Soviet system, and the fact that this system did not function in a way appropriate to the utopia. When a social system is introduced based on revolutionary theories instead of being a result of the organic development of previous periods, it demands a constant demonstration of its goals and principles to become inscribed in the mind of the people. Spatial practices are useful means of propaganda, because ideology becomes inscribed through bodily routine and it is being questioned less frequently than in the purely mental processes. Propaganda becomes even more important during the times of crisis: this is perceptible in any case of economic depression, but it is more significant when a given regime acts against the will and logical thinking of its citizens – “the need for legitimation increases as power becomes totalizing” (Dowey, 1999:14). As the Soviet system was unable to reach its own standards neither in the field of economy nor in social progress, it had to justify a range of harmful actions to the locals and to the outside world as well.

The beginning of post-Soviet period in Hotel Viru is characterized by practices of evacuation: functions, people and material elements of the interior had disappeared from the hotel space with unexpected velocity. The most significant of them was the exodus of the KGB from the building: according to an article, they left the hotel overnight in 1991, leaving behind the whole infrastructure of the radio translation room on the 23rd floor (Jõesaar, 2011). These developments signify the – much slower – changes taking place in the Estonian society: that fact that operation of the KGB offices ended is an indirect consequence of the end of a political system.

After the transition in 1991, Hotel Viru continued to function as a hotel, but in an altered form, causing the modification and disappearance of old practices, and the

emergence of new ones. As a result of privatization and foreign direct investment, another characteristic of post-socialist market liberalization, the former state-owned building was purchased by a Finnish investor (Kaio, 2012; Ranne, 2013). Practices that were not profitable had disappeared, like the variety show, or outsourced, like the cleaning of bed linen (Luik, 2013). New practices emerged from the principle of making large profit and from the further changes in social relations: as currency exchange became legal, an official space was assigned to this practice in the hotel. Conference tourism appeared as a new social practice, leading to the creation of conference rooms in Viru. New souvenir shops and restaurants were opened to serve the demand of the public, and practices like food portioning decreased. These changes have to be interpreted in the frames of post-Soviet economic transition, which meant a shift from command economy to a system based on the principles of free market. This presented a sharp turn in the logic which had directed the economic processes: production targets were substituted with profit as the main driving force. The changes in the objectives of economic production affected the position of workers and the way of operation in every economic unit.

The new system modified the working patterns of Hotel Viru: while the Soviet system was constructed in a way to force every individual to work, however economically unproductively, capitalist employment system discarded those jobs which did not have any productive value, causing a significant increase in unemployment. This led to a large wave of downsizing in Hotel Viru as well, reducing the number of workers to the lowest amount necessary to operate the restructured organization. The average of 1000 workers of the Soviet period was cut down to 250.⁶

In 1993, Hotel Viru went through a general renovation where all the interior design elements created by Vello Asi were removed (Vahe, 2012). The radical renovation of interior spaces shows an attempt to erase every traces of the previous system. These transitional renovations in the post-Soviet region are titled with a specific term: *euroremont*, literally euro-renovation is “a neologism that has cropped up in post-Soviet countries describing the redecoration of apartments according to ‘European’ norms [...] in order to become a part of the Western master narrative” (Warsza, 2013:10). The phenomenon has its origins in Russia, but it is observable in every part of the post-

⁶ Based on the information of the KGB museum.

Soviet region, with differences in the realization according to the local cultural environment.

„[I]n Russia, remont never stops. In the 1990s it spawned the mutant euroremont: The new advertising class began tacking on the prefix to lend bourgeois glamour to synthetic furnishings made in Turkey or China. Euroremont equals remont in magnitude, but it also implies a vulgarly exaggerated eagerness to efface the past.” (Droitcour, 2009)

Political and economic changes affected the attitudes present in society: people had to adopt a narrative to interpret the previous period and the transformations, and employ different strategies to process the events. Particular renovation works reflect a complete shift in the ideological orientation, characterized by westernization, pro-euroatlanticism and procapitalism (Warsza, 2009). The modernization of Viru interiors fits into this broader tendency of post-Soviet social practice.

While the practice of renovation reflects an attitude of denial regarding the Soviet period, the opening of KGB museum almost 20 years later represents the need of a society to display and process their own past. Contemporary Estonian society shows the will to face Soviet past, and it is added by the crowd of foreigner visitors who express an interest in the Soviet period, sometimes distant and exotic for them. The rediscovery of recent past and the recycling of spaces and objects left behind by the previous periods generates the spatial practice of museum visitors wandering around the former KGB rooms and experiencing a distant time in a functioning environment of the present.

Conclusion: heterogeneity and mediation

The analysis of spatial practices in Hotel Viru serves with a number of conclusions. The first group of problems rises from the heterogeneous character of the practices: we have seen in the previous sections that spatial practices, similarly to social practices, have no clear boundaries. They are inseparable from each other and intertwined at many points, producing space in a system of interrelations. Spatiality of the practices makes it impossible to set any hierarchy or order between them, allowing us to examine them in their interconnections. In this framework, everyday practices of sleeping, eating or daily

conversation are interpreted as parts of the larger system, each of them affected by the social relations on a level depending on the particular situation. These practices also belong to the “physical and material flows, transfers, and interactions” listed by Harvey (1989:218), and Hotel Viru is produced by the sum of all the practices taking place in it. Heterogeneity of spatial practices concerns also the large variety of actors who perform them in space: social space is produced by the members of different groups which constitute society. The above discussed practices can be related to a number of different groups: members of the secret police, hotel workers, foreign visitors with a special subgroup of Finnish tourists, Viru vendors and the local citizens of Tallinn. Michel de Certeau points out a quality of such space especially important for our case, namely, the collective character emerging from the various individual practices:

“the networks of these moving, intersecting writings compose a manifold story that has neither author nor spectator, shaped out of fragments of trajectories and alterations of spaces: in relation to representations, it remains daily and indefinitely other” (de Certeau, 1984:93)

The way particular spatial practices produce a collective social space which carries the traces of each intervention in it, projects the way how individual meanings are accumulated in representational spaces, producing objects of collective memory.

The other issue connected to the question of memory is the continuity of spatial practices. As one of the specialties of Hotel Viru is that its space has been formulated by the practices of more than one social system, it provides a perfect case to observe how changes in the social relations affect spatial practices in the building. We have discussed the heterogeneity of practices in a single space: the same quality has an effect on continuity as well. The simultaneous practices are affected by the social change in a different scale: some of them remain intact, some of them are modified and some disappears completely. Spatial practices in Hotel Viru show the same pattern: the KGB radio translator and the surveillance tools stopped working, the catering of the visitors and the pricing of the rooms continued according to a modified logic of capitalism instead of plan economy, and practices like those of Finnish tourists arriving on the ferry essentially remained the same. The different scale of changes in the spatial practices results in a certain level of continuity in the space of Viru; this tendency is general in a sense that physical space follows social changes in a lower speed due to its

static character. However, the rapid change of functions can result in more radical cases, as the complete evacuation of buildings used by the Soviet army after the transition.

The last question about spatial practices addresses their mediating character: as it was raised in the beginning of the chapter, spatial practice serves as a bridge between physical world, social relations and individual intention, connecting rather different qualities. While performing spatial practices, individuals follow the spatial guidelines of power, and realize their own agenda at the same time. Constrained by physical space in their movement, they inevitably act according to the intentions of the power structure which produced that space. However, the spatial constraint of movement can never be complete: we have seen in Viru that a number of practices was defined by its subversion of the dominant spatial order. Guests looking for the microphones in the rooms presented a need to avoid the general practice of surveillance. Locals using coffee cakes and variety tickets as currency subverted the official practices of economic exchange in the period, similarly to Viru vendors smuggling Western commodities. De Certeau describes the dialectics of spatial practices as it follows:

„[...] the walker transforms each spatial signifier into something else. And if on the one hand he actualizes only a few possibilities fixed by the constructed order, [...] on the other he increases the number of possibilities and prohibitions. He thus makes a selection.” (1984:98)

Regarding these findings, we can conclude that spatial practices reproduce the existing power structures and subvert them at the same time, unifying the abstract power interests and the realm of the individual in an immediate material action. The following two chapters discover these two sides of social space, based on the two other notions of the Lefebvrian triad. Investigating the representations of space in Hotel Viru, chapter 3 reveals the relation of space towards ideology, power and knowledge. By the exploration of Viru as a representational space, chapter 4 describes the relation of space and the private world of the individual, reaching the answers to the questions raised in the introduction.

CHAPTER 3 - REPRESENTATIONS OF HOTEL VIRU'S SPACE

The current chapter investigates how the space of Hotel Viru was represented in the media throughout the changing ideologies. By the analysis of representations, it aims to identify the main topics which directed the conceptualization of space in the different periods, and explain them in relation to the ideological principles of the society under scrutiny. Lefebvre argues that history of space is a history of ideologies (1991:116). By exploring the conceptualizations of space of Hotel Viru throughout the different political systems, I aim to discover how ideologies influence the ways people approach and comprehend space, and how these rational and abstract conceptualizations affect the production of space. As the second part of the Lefebvrian triad addresses the conceived space of knowledge and ideology, this chapter is based on that group of sources which concern the abstract spatial aspects of Hotel Viru instead of practices or images connected to it. By abstract aspects, I refer to articles which regard the topic of the hotel from a professional architectural point of view, including the principles of urban planning and art criticism. The analysis of Soviet time representations draws on the work of Karen Jagodin (2006) and the media sources from the discussed period dealing with the topic of Hotel Viru's space. For the analysis of present day representations I used the articles from the same sources as in the other chapters, focusing on the articles containing opinions of professionals and theoretical considerations about the space of Viru.

Representations in the Soviet period

The articles written in the late 1960s and 1970s, around the time of Hotel Viru's construction, constitute the public discourse about the hotel in connection to three

topics: the recreation of Tallinn city centre, the problem of old and new urban forms, and as an exemplar of contemporary Soviet architecture. From the aspect of urban development, the construction of Hotel Viru is an element in the creation of the new city centre of Tallinn on Viru Square. As Jagodin argues, the square was an important urban node since the 20th century, and its restructuration at the end of the 1960s reflects a change in the Soviet ideology (2006:2). In the years following the Second World War, the square carried the name of Stalin and functioned as a marching ground until 1960, when it regained the name Viru. The new concept assigned cultural, administrative and commercial functions to the square: the main post office, the House of Services, the planning institute and a shopping mall were located around it, and the plan of Hotel Viru was considered as a part of this environment (Port, 1965). We can draw conclusions about the ideological foundations of a society by exploring which functions it attributes to one of its central urban squares. The turn from a marching area to a public centre shows the political changes: while in the Stalinist period the main public spaces were appointed for goals of propaganda and celebration of the cult of personality, the Khrushchev Thaw brought a modernist wave and placed less representative and more social functions to the centre.

The second topic concerns the conflict between the old and new urban forms: Hotel Viru was one of the first high-rise buildings in Tallinn (Jagodin, 2006:4), and as that, it presented a new situation in urban planning, evoking different reactions. Many of the professionals participating in the debate conceived of it as a dangerous intervention in the city space which threatens the unity of the urban form, and ruins the view of the Old Town. The counter-arguments included that a new high-rise building would cover the view between the Old Town and the sea (Port, 1965), the flat roof does not fit to the traditional roof patterns of Tallinn, and the size of the building would destroy the traditional scales of the city (Bruns, 1970). Others suggested that high-rise buildings should be built on the outskirts to save the original character of the centre (Kuusik, 1971). The supporters of the high-rise buildings argued that architecture should express its age, and it has to be contemporary in its form as well as in building materials (Toms, 1971). Other opinions conceive of urban space as a result of a continuous development, stating that the new sizes and geometric forms add a new layer to the existing structure and enrich it instead of its destruction (Ivask, 1971). These arguments

outline a broader discussion which addresses the questions raised by the evolution of modernist city planning. How to create a contemporary city while preserving the valuable old structures? How to adjust the modern and traditional forms? Which elements of the old structure to preserve, and which of them to destroy by a radical intervention in space? Because of its significant status in the 1960s-1970s architecture of Tallinn, Hotel Viru could serve as a starting point of a general debate about the main questions of modernist urban planning.

The third type of representations emphasizes the architectural innovation regarding Hotel Viru. Due to the Finnish construction company, the high quality foreign materials and the best Estonian architects and designers of the age participating in its construction, Hotel Viru represented the highest level of architectural development of its age in Estonia. As a consequence, the hotel became a means to demonstrate the success of modern Soviet architecture in the state propaganda, and an example for the professionals in the field of architecture and design. Study excursions were organized for architects and other professionals after the opening of Viru, and the hotel was the most reproduced building in the Estonian and Soviet architectural journals of the 1960s and 1970s (Jagodin, 2006:8).

Soviet time representations of Hotel Viru are affected by the principles of modernism, added by modifications specific of Soviet ideology. Modernism as an aesthetic movement started in the end of the 19th century, with the aim of a radical break with the established forms and values of the previous periods. Its emergence is determined by two factors: the technological developments brought by the Industrial Revolution and its later achievements, and the social movements rising in the turn of the century. These two factors are combined in the idea of mass production, which was made possible by the new technology, and promised to provide access to the works of art and design for a wider public, facilitating the creation of an egalitarian society. The socially conscious character of modernism connects it to the revolutionary ideologies of leftist political movements: both set the goal to create a more advanced society by the means of rational planning. One of the important features of modernist aesthetics is functionalism, concentrating on the practical use of a building or an object instead of its formal aesthetics. Functionalism rejects superficial decoration and promotes simplicity, expediency and practicality. The use of new technologies and materials like glass,

concrete and steel provides the conditions of serial production, and enables the architect to design spaces more suitable for human needs. Soviet ideology adopted several principles of modernism, altering them according to its own logic: ideas of simplicity and technocratic functionality fitted the image of an industrial society, as well as the requirement of economic rationality (Jagodina, 2006:9). Serial production was an essential feature of Soviet architecture, regarded as a solution for the problem of providing affordable housing for the largest group of citizens. Modernist principles of urban planning were also adopted in the Soviet system as part of the social revolution: modernist planning separates the different needs and functions of human life, and assigns different spaces to each of them. This way modern architecture becomes a form of social engineering: by planning their spatial routine, the architect reformulates the social practice of a given society. The separation of functions applies to a single apartment as well as to a whole city: the latter is divided into zones for different activities like sleeping, recreation, working and leisure. The re-organization of Tallinn city centre was implemented according to these principles: the accumulation of public institutions in the centre reflects the intention of assigning a clear function to this part of the city. The debates on the location of Viru should be interpreted along these lines. Aesthetic features of modern architecture also had a strong influence on the way Hotel Viru was represented at the time of its construction: the conflict between the Old Town and the modern giant of Viru has to be read as an expression of a society's first reaction to functionalist aesthetics. The intervention which modernist planning realized in space was so radical that society needed time to accept the new developments. The social debate which surrounded the construction of Hotel Viru is part of this process of adjustment to the new conditions.

Present time representations

Recent articles from the last ten years concern the space of Hotel Viru with regard to three topics: the returning question of old and new urban forms; the relation of urban planning to politics; and the historical connotations of the hotel. The question of urban forms does not concern Hotel Viru directly, but the new developments taking place on

the surrounding site: in particular, the projects of Viru Centre and Viru Poeg. Viru Centre is a building complex constructed in the side of Hotel Viru in 2004; it contains a shopping mall, private apartments and offices, and an underground bus station for the Tallinn public transport. Viru Poeg (meaning “Son of Viru” in Estonian) refers to the unrealized plans of an extension to Hotel Viru: the construction was banned by the local authorities because it would not have fit into the environment (Pihl, 2013). The new developments of Viru Square raised the same question like the construction of Hotel Viru 30 years ago: how to build a contemporary city while preserving valuable parts of the existing structure? Viru Centre triggered critiques and appraisal at the time of its construction. The complaint about the new spatial object covering the sea view and the Old Town appeared again, added by the argument that “good old buildings” like Hotel Viru and Kaubamaja would be also oppressed by the great volume of the new building (Soolep, 2006). This ironic contrast between the different periods’ evaluation of Viru reflects the changing attitudes within society about modernism and its spatial achievements. Ants Juske art critic argues that architectural heritage of the Soviet period should be placed under protection, as processes of market economy threaten with the destruction of valuable modernist structures (Juske, 2005). Jüri Soolep, dean of the Faculty of Architecture in Estonian Academy of Arts at the time, explicates the perspectives of this statement, suggesting that Viru Centre would not have been built in its present form if laws of heritage protection had regulated the new constructions in the vicinity of Hotel Viru and Kaubamaja. He concludes that protection of architectural legacy from the recent past is more relevant than it seems at first sight, since the protection status of the buildings strongly affects the formulation of present cityscape (Soolep, 2006). Advocates of the new construction praised Viru Centre for its 21st century character: Toivo Tammik architect stated that the centre contributes to the recreation of Tallinn as a metropolis similar to London and New York (2004). This opinion reflects an attitude typical of the post-transition years in Estonia and other post-socialist countries, based on the assumption that adopting the values and practices of Western market capitalism means a direct way to European integration.

The second topic highlighted by the contemporary representations of Viru’s space is the polemic role of politics in urban planning. The case of Viru Poeg project reveals some of the complex power relations which determine the formation of urban space. The fight

between the owners of Viru and the Tallinn city council over the permission for the new construction depicts urban planning as a struggle of actors with different interests (Pihl, 2013). Jüri Soolep goes further, stating that inconsistencies of urban planning are the most apparent signs of the crisis of participatory democracy in Estonia (2006). He disagrees with Krista Kodres art historian who blames architects for the harmful developments in the urban landscape of Tallinn, arguing that urban planning mistakes are not primarily the fault of architects, but of the political and economical elite that disdains their own citizens and deprives them of the right to participate in the decisions strongly influencing their lives and their city. He emphasizes that these processes are not results of a vague entity of political elites, they have particular facilitators with their clear interests which usually remain hidden from the wider public.

“Urban planning results like Viru Keskus and the so called Viru Poeg can be connected to particular persons in the urban planning profession and their supporters in the city council. There is a decision-maker behind each signature. The names of the architects are publicly known and it is easy to accuse them, but the real persons in charge stay in the background. These persons are directly or indirectly affected by the money of very particular owners.” (Soolep, 2006)

The above section reveals a very important aspect about the relation of space and power in the contemporary Estonia. As Lefebvre stated, space has always been subjected to different power interests: in the Soviet period, Hotel Viru was conceptualized in the framework of modernism and the socialist progress of the country, defined by the ideological considerations of the Soviet power. In the capitalist society of 21st century Estonia, profit becomes the determinant factor instead of ideology, leading to a new conceptualization of space as a field of conflicting and interweaving political and economic interests. The space of professionals, architects, designers and art critics does not disappear, but it becomes subjected to the political and economic processes, illustrated by the argument of Soolep, a member of the community of architecture professionals.

The third theme directing the representations of Hotel Viru's space is nostalgia and reflection on the Soviet past. While the hotel as a particular building was represented in the Soviet period as a space of modernism and progress, contemporary representations concern the space of the hotel in connection to its past. As a spatial object part of the

Tallinn urban space, Hotel Viru is relevant in the conceptualization of the contemporary urban processes discussed above, but as a separate place, it is usually represented as a space of the past. The following chapter discusses the specific contents related to the hotel's past in individual experience and memories, investigating the way they constitute the lived space of Hotel Viru. The current analysis focuses on the past of Viru as a factor that influences abstract conceptualizations of the hotel's space, comparing it to the previous aspects discussed in the chapter.

Most of the articles from the last ten years mention Hotel Viru in relation to an event or development referring to the Soviet past of the hotel. One of them reports the publication of Sakari Nupponen's book about the history of Viru, telling how Yrjö Vanhanen, Finnish director of the hotel at the period, asked the author to collect the stories about Soviet time Viru (Kaljuvee, 2007). Another article tells about the restoration of the original Viru sign on top of the hotel's facade: the sign was removed during the renovation works in 2005 but the Tallinn city planning committee ordered the hotel management to put it back to the building. The committee prohibited any modification in the visual form, size and location of the sign, because it stands there since the construction of the hotel and became part of the urban landscape of Tallinn (Kaldoja, 2007). Hotel Viru is also represented as an inspiration for artistic practices: in 2012, for the 40 years anniversary of the hotel, an exhibition was organized in Viru in co-operation with the Estonian Art Museum. The exhibition titled "Made in 1972" presented paintings created in the same year as the hotel, with the intention of creating a context of the age when Viru was built (Ehasalu, 2012a). The most important object of historical self-reflection is the KGB museum in the hotel, opened at the beginning of 2011 (Lamp, 2011). All of these articles represent Hotel Viru as a space obtaining its significance from the past and providing a field for activities that recycle this past. There is another type of articles that concerns a meta-level of representation in case of the hotel: those describing Hotel Viru as an object of representation. Peep Ehasalu, director of communication in Hotel Viru tells about the strong waves that the opening of KGB museum had generated in the foreign media: in the two months after the opening, over a hundred journalists and television channels contacted the hotel for information about the museum. News about Viru and the museum appeared in the press in a number of countries like the US, Canada, Brasilia, Cuba, Russia and Germany, generating a

worldwide publicity for the hotel (Pors, 2011). Two years later Ehasalu speaks about a longstanding media attention towards the hotel, mentioning well-known international media sources as Lonely Planet or the BBC which had been dealing with the topic of the museum (Kossar, 2013). Another article reports on an event that National Geographic, a famous journal of popular science, posted a photo on its Instagram page about the KGB museum, and the photo got 30500 likes (Vasli, 2013).

The third thematic bloc of the contemporary representations of Hotel Viru reveals substantial characteristics of the so-called postmodern space. Postmodernism as an aesthetic movement is often explained as a reaction to modernism: emerging in the 1960s in form of separate counter-movements, it became a defining discourse of the late 20th century. Postmodern movement is characterized by the aim of deconstructing the great narratives and utopian revolutionarism of the modernist movement. Nan Ellin describes it as “anti-utopian apoliticism” that does not set grandiose goals of solving social problems by the means of planning (Ellin, 1999). Instead, it reintroduces human scale and human fallibility to the process, creating a narrative that is easier to appropriate for the human subjects. This narrative includes the pluralism of meanings, reflexivity, self-referentiality and irony, recognizing the complexity of the world and the role of human agency in its formulation. Brian Elliot highlights singularity of place as another aspect of postmodern urbanism, “best understood as an attempt to draw out the social and historical layerings that attach to any urban site” (Elliot, 2010:147). Singularity here refers to the unique and incomparable character of the urban artifact, an organic result of its own historical development. Representation of Hotel Viru as a space of the past is guided by these principles of postmodern. Historical self-reflection and the questioning of dominant narratives became important tendencies in the contemporary Estonian society, influencing the way they approach objects of the Soviet urban legacy similar to Hotel Viru.

Historicism and the search for authenticity produce nostalgia as a constitutive element of postmodern: the past becomes a source of inspiration and the origin of the objects in the present. Svetlana Boym distinguishes between restorative and reflective nostalgia: while the former has the aim to reconstruct the past and set it as a norm to follow in the present, the latter regards the historical events with a critical distance, remaining on the level of quotations and longing (Boym, 2002:126). In the post-socialist countries,

nostalgia emerged in a peculiar form less than a decade after the collapse of socialism. The phenomenon often referred to as *Ostalgie*, coming from the German word Ostdeutschland for Eastern Germany, represents an ambiguous attitude of the former Eastern bloc citizens longing for the egalitarian society and the clear rules of the socialism, reflecting the disillusionment by the confusing reality of the post-transitional world. However, *Ostalgie* belongs to the category of reflective nostalgia, as it approaches the socialist period with a mix of longing, critique and irony. This controversial nostalgia strongly affects the contemporary representation of Hotel Viru: as an emblematic space of the Soviet period, it becomes an important object of the socialist nostalgia, reinforcing and being reproduced by it at the same time.

The articles discussing Hotel Viru as an object of media representation refer to another characteristic of the postmodern age: the supremacy of signs over the signified. Jean Baudrillard calls it the “precession of simulacra”, a state when representations precede and determine the reality they are supposed to depict (1994). Within this framework, objects and events become relevant only to the extent that they are represented by the media. In the age of global information flow, news and images lose their reality and become self-referential signs, reporting on a world detached from its real life references and being complete in itself. This way the traditional order becomes reversed and reality is constituted by media: only the things depicted in some way obtain a verified state of existence. The representation of Hotel Viru as an object of international media attention reflects this tendency: the listing of foreign media sources which mention the hotel and the museum is a tool to confirm the success of the project, and in the end, its mere existence. Nostalgia and the seeking for authenticity obtains new significance regarding these facts: the theory of Baudrillard explains their emergence with the disappearance of the real. In this sense, the representation of Hotel Viru as a place of historical authenticity and self-reflection is a result of the endeavours of society to reconstruct a lost world of references by creating a signifier from an architectural object.

We have seen that the contemporary representations about the space of Hotel Viru show a heterogeneous picture. They are influenced by different tendencies present in the Estonian society, as the idea of European integration, the preservation of cultural heritage, the intertwining interests of political and economic circles, the narrative pluralism of the postmodern and the nostalgia for the past. However, these conflicting

principles coincide at some point of the practice, for example, when postmodern motives of rediscovering the past become means of the economic activities intended to produce profit for the owners of the hotel. Each mode of representation influences the real (physical) space of Hotel Viru, and reveals something about the ideological principles of the society which produced this space. For example, considering Viru as part of the architectural legacy of the 1960s modernism affects heritage protection policies regarding the building, this way influencing the changes in its physical structure. Similarly, representations of Hotel Viru as a space important on the right of its past affects the decisions of hotel owners about changes in the interior, renovation works, and eventually, the preservation of certain parts of the building in a previous state.

Conclusions

The goal of the above analysis was to reveal the relation of space to the public realm of ideology and knowledge. Regarding the findings, the first observation that appears is that the sources investigated above do not imply the same topics that we have identified as the power relations determinant in the formation of spatial practices. The articles concerning the space of Viru cover professional topics as the creation of a modern metropolis or the contrast of old and new urban forms, and do not talk openly about the cold war, the plan economy or the diplomatic relations between Finland and the Soviet Union. This observation appears to be important if we compare it to David Harvey's interpretation of representations of space:

“Representations of space encompass all of the signs and significations, codes and knowledge, that allow such material practices to be talked about and understood, no matter whether in terms of everyday common-sense or through the sometimes arcane jargon of the academic disciplines that deal with spatial practices” (Harvey, 1989:218)

Regarding the above statement, the sharp contrast between the topics identified in the previous chapter and those connected to the representations of Hotel Viru's space reveals an important insight about the existing power relations of a society. It worth to

explore how spatial practices of the Soviet and post-Soviet period are connected to the representations of space in the relevant period. We have stated that Soviet time representations concern abstract professional aspects of Hotel Viru and its space, addressing questions of architecture and urban planning. Therefore, the real power structures which produce the space of Viru remain hidden: they are displayed only as an abstract background of Soviet modernity which affected the principles of planning. On the contrary, contemporary representations of space are more closely connected to the present practices: they address urban planning in connection to politics and not as an abstract professional phenomenon. The topics of KGB museum and the past of Viru are also connected to the spatial practices of the present. Articles discussing the complicated interrelations between political interests, real estate development and architectural quality, reflect the intertwined nature of space and power. We have seen in the last chapter that the two has been always strongly connected; the fact that this connection is displayed only in the present period, suggests that the contemporary system of power relations allows for more transparency on the level of public discourse. However, the general ideological principles of the age, termed as modernism and postmodernism, are reflected in the articles from both periods. After the investigation of power and knowledge, the following chapter turns to the private side of social space, offering a new interpretation of the relation between the two.

CHAPTER 4 - HOTEL VIRU AS A REPRESENTATIONAL SPACE

The present chapter consists of three sections: the first analyzes Hotel Viru as a representational space by identifying the symbolic contents connected to the hotel and describing their main characteristics. The second part investigates the way symbolic meanings are accumulated in space, constituting an object of collective memory, exploring the role of KGB museum in the process. The last section analyzes Hotel Viru as a monument according to the Lefebvrian understanding of the concept, and draws the first conclusions of the research.

Representational spaces present an opposition to the abstract and rational representations of space: they are connected to the individual subjects who experience space through memories, images and other mental representations. These representations have to be sharply distinguished from those of planning and ideology discussed in the previous chapter, as they are abstract, geometrical and generated by a scientific knowledge based on principles of (supposed) objectivity. Mental representations of the individual, although influenced by collective frameworks of sociality, are always private and unique for each subject. They address an aspect of social space utterly different from abstract representations: while conceived space concerns the public domain of ideology, power and knowledge, lived space incorporates aspects of the private realm of individual subjects. The opposition of conceived and lived space refers to the gap between the different realities which the two aspects of space depict – “a contradiction between the collective mode of administration and an individual mode of reappropriation” (de Certeau, 1984:96). From the subject’s point of view, social space is dominated by the abstract representations of ideology in a way we have seen in the previous chapter. Representational spaces provide the possibility of appropriation of space by the subjects, being a host of symbolic meanings which belong to the private world of the individual. The investigation of Viru as a representational

space seeks to identify what kind of symbolic contents are attached to a spatial object and which role they play in the appropriation of space.

Symbolic contents of space: proper names and narratives

According to Lefebvre, representational space makes “symbolic use” from the objects of physical space, turning them into signifiers (Lefebvre, 1991:39). The following section identifies the symbolic meanings attached to Hotel Viru, exploring their main characteristics and their relation to the dominated space which they occupy. The analysis of media sources reveals a list of topics connected to Hotel Viru in the public discourse. The most frequently cited things are that the building symbolizes for the public are Western commodities, the Finnish-Estonian relations, the KGB, products of the Viru confectionary and the Viru vendors. Each of the topics is connected to the broader social phenomena, described above in connection with the spatial practices which they had formulated in the hotel. However, we can observe a significant characteristic of these symbolic meanings, that is, they are always expressed in their particularity, without the larger socio-political context. While conceived space is a result of abstractions, representational space emerges as a sum of concrete references. The symbolic meanings of Hotel Viru are expressed by the individuals who have been involved in the hotel in some ways: former workers, visitors, vendors, or locals who purchased confectionary products from Viru are the primary subjects of Viru as a representational space; the hotel building gains meaning from their memories and stories. These meanings become part of the public knowledge when they are shared and spread by the media, as we see in case of the articles discussing Hotel Viru. The particularity of meanings attached to Viru lies in the personal account of the people talking about it: when former workers of Viru talk about the hotel, they recall concrete events and memories. Ene Poll, tour guide in Viru in the summer of 1972, tells about the reports they had to write on each foreign group they guided, and the prescribed answers they were supposed to say to the questions from visitors. “When they asked why we don’t have tights for example, we had to answer immediately that we have cheap books and housing instead” (Jõesaar, 2011). Particular personal memories of the

guide describe surveillance and shortage economy without mentioning anything of the broader social context. Andres Anvelt, former member of the special services talks about the separation of Eastern and Western world in a similar way: “That time Finnish tourists arrived on the ferry at a definite hour [...]. We had to form a human corridor to secure their safe arrival to the hotel” (Jõesaar, 2011). Prostitution and Viru vendors are also discussed among his personal memories: “In the evenings we also had to pay attention that prostitutes should not be circulating around the hotel, and there were plenty of them. In addition, there were the Viru vendors whom we should have scared away from the place” (Jõesaar, 2011).

Beyond the personal account of the memories, symbolic meanings of Hotel Viru have a generally private character: they all grasp an aspect of private life, regardless of the ideological constructions which affected their emergence. This is reflected most clearly in the topic of Viru coffee cakes and the Western commodities exchanged around the hotel. Old ladies remember the products of Viru confectionary like this: “Viru cakes were way beyond any other cake”; “You could feel on the bus if someone had a Viru stritzel (plaited bun) in her bag”; “Butter cakes had light butter taste” etc. Ülle Ulla, soloist of Viru variety show says: “We always had Viru food products on our table at home, since you couldn’t find any better than them. The plaited bun was really good, and also the Olympia cakes, I always had a box full of them” (Huimerind, 2008b). Western goods are the other returning objects of memories. There is a list of items which were changing hands around the hotel: jeans (Vainküla, 2011; Valme, 1999; Veintsel, 2013), leather pants, training shoes (*tossud*) (Roomets, 2013), handbags (Keskrand, 2012; Oja, 2013), chewing gum (Roomets, 2013; Vainküla, 2011), and household technology products (Keskrand, 2012; Oja, 2013). The number of sources suggests that the association is widespread; indeed, Hotel Viru symbolizes the first opportunity to obtain a product from the Western world in Soviet Estonia. These examples show the everyday, sometimes mundane character of private memories in comparison to abstract representations: cakes, jeans and chewing gum are significant elements in one’s life story, but utterly irrelevant in themselves for the great power structures.

Another characteristic of the symbolic contents of Viru is that their object is frequently a particular person. Representations concern the average: dealing with people, they are

interested in larger groups and reduce the individual to a statistical unit. Subjective experience seeks for the single and unique in case of persons as well as other objects. Famous people are a specific type of the persons to whom one can connect meanings: they are objects of a public reference, carrying signifying power for a larger group of people. Many of the memories about Hotel Viru are connected to these widely known figures: politicians, celebrities and famous visitors of the hotel. A number of first class VIPs of the period was among the visitors of Viru, as it is listed in the book of Sakari Nupponen (2007): Neil Armstrong and Valentina Tereskova astronauts, Leonid Brezhnev first man of the Soviet Union or the Iranian shah. A report on the Japanese tsunamis mentions that Katsunobu Sakurai, mayor of the Japanese town Minami Soma, visited Tallinn in 1988 and still remembers Hotel Viru (Kivi, 2012). In another report on the Moldavian elections a local minister says that he stayed in Hotel Viru when he visited Tallinn as a schoolboy, saw the variety show and was enchanted by it (Buracinschi, 2009). The article titled “15 Little-Known Facts about the Life of President Ilves”, tells a story from 1988 November when Toomas Hendrik Ilves, current president of Estonia shared a room with Juhan Talve in Hotel Viru; there were no more free rooms in the hotel, and this was the only chance for Talve to gain entry permit to the country (Jõgeda, 2012). As public personalities occupy an important place in the mind of people in the present age, any object which is frequently associated with them acquires symbolic importance for the public.

De Certeau describes these particular objects of memories as “proper names” which serve as signposts for the individual in the deserted neutrality of abstract space:

“In the spaces brutally lit by an alien reason, proper names carve out pockets of hidden and familiar meanings. They ‘make sense’; in other words, they are the impetus of movements, like vocations and calls that turn or divert an itinerary by giving it a meaning (or a direction) that was previously unforeseen.” (de Certeau, 1984:104)

The symbolic contents of Hotel Viru can be comprehended as proper names: Olympia cake, Viru ärikad (vendors), Valentina Tereskova, Juicy Fruit or Toomas Hendrik Ilves are all examples of these particular objects that imagination can recall and appropriate. They correspond to the “symbols and images” which Lefebvre attributes to

representational spaces as constitutive elements, as individual experience is constructed by verbal and visual perceptions of the world.

Besides particular objects contained in images or proper names, personal memories are generated by another form of individual perception: stories and narrated events. Narrative is a constitutive element in human perception and interpretation of the outside world:

„Narrative is a means of understanding and describing the world in relation to agency. It is a means of linking locales, landscapes, actions, events and experiences together providing a synthesis of heterogeneous phenomena. In its simplest form it involves a story and a story-teller. [...] Events are given meaning through their configuration into a whole requiring the employment of action.”
(Tilley, 1994:32)

The basic form of narrative is a story, told by one or various different subjects. Many of the symbolic meanings of Viru are configured into such stories, as we can observe it for instance in the topic of Finnish-Estonian relations. In this case, abstract power relations of international politics are distilled on the level of individual perception as love stories of Finnish-Estonian couples: Margus Sulengo, one of the infamous Viru vendors tells the story of his marriage with a Finnish woman who he met in the Stereo Bar in the hotel. After their marriage they had to wait three years to live in the same country, because Soviet authorities didn't accept the application of Sulengo to leave Estonia and move to Finland (Erelt, 2009). Another story about the same topic involves a celebrity: Sofi Oksanen Finnish-Estonian writer, whose parents have met due to the construction of Hotel Viru. Her mother, Elvi moved to Tallinn from Haapsalu to study engineering, and met Raimo Oksanen, a Finnish electrician who came to Tallinn to work in the construction of Viru (Erelt, 2012). They got married in 1973 and moved to Finland in 1976; Sofi was born in 1977 in Jyväskylä. The moral of the story according to an article: “if Hotel Viru had not been built, there would be no Sofi either” (Jürgen, 2012). Due to the similar stories and the Finnish majority of the hotel guests, Viru is a symbol of Finnish tourism in Estonia until the present day.

There are a number of other stories that reveal different aspects of the hotel. Jüri Makarov remembers of an artist who came to Tallinn to perform at a concert and stayed in Hotel Viru: “...he made a long distance call from the reception. And when the people

from home answered the call, we hear: ‘You know, they are completely normal here. Absolutely not savage people. They even got tramlines here!’ So we understood that they really came here only to look behind the iron curtain” (Nestor, 2013). This story highlights the preconceptions of Western visitors about the other side of the Iron Curtain, describing Hotel Viru as the place where East and West meet each other. Another story from 1994 tells how Lennart Meri, president at the period, visited Hotel Viru after the song festival and got stopped by the newly installed electric traverses which refused to work at the moment. Yrjö Vanhanen, director of the hotel at the time was very ashamed of this intermezzo, but Meri just jumped out of his car and lifted the traverse by hand, saying, “It doesn’t pay to think that in our society everything starts to work all at once” (Kaljuvee, 2007). The anecdote reveals the ambiguous conditions of Viru in the transition years by referring to an important personality of the Estonian public discourse.

Investigation of the topics connected to Hotel Viru in the contemporary public discourse serves with a number of observations. The content of representational space is always private in character, exposing aspects of life relevant for the individual biography. While representations of space concern topics of abstract and public knowledge as architecture and urban planning in our case, representational spaces collect images and stories of private life. Particular meanings are attached to a space in the mind of the subjects as proper names, making it “habitable” and “believable” for human thinking (de Certeau, 1984:105). These proper names serve as a medium between the human mind and the real world from which they gain their reference. The isolated images or proper names are organized into narratives and interpreted within a meaningful sequence of events. The following section discovers the way these narratives are accumulated in a space, making it an object of collective memory, and provides an analysis of representational spaces according to the Lefebvrian concept of monuments.

Memory and space

We have seen how Hotel Viru as a representational space obtains its symbolic meanings from the images and stories attached to it. These symbolic contents classified as proper

names and narratives, have a common feature: that is, they all acquire a spatial dimension. The concept of narrative includes a temporal sequence of the events; however, as events take place within the settings of physical space, the spatial dimension of narratives is similarly inevitable. As Tilley argues, space itself has a temporal dimension too, as landscape unfolds through the movement which reveals the relations between its different parts (Tilley, 1994:31). Respectively, temporal sequences are enacted in space: fictional or real, a narrative cannot be conceived outside of its spatial settings. As de Certeau points out: “every story is a travel story – a spatial practice” (1984:115). By “travel story”, he refers to the particular act which serves as the origin of a given narrative. According to Tilley, every story is “a discursive articulation of a spatializing practice, a bodily itinerary and routine” (1994:32).

The spatial dimension of narratives can be further clarified by the distinction of space and place, introduced by Michel de Certeau (1984). He employs the term space in a meaning slightly different than Lefebvre, comparing it to place as a static and merely physical entity. According to de Certeau, place refers to the order “in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence” (1984:117). It is determined by physical objects, and exclusive in a way that each of its elements is situated in a separate location that it defines. Space, on the contrary, refers to an actualized place where different mobile elements intersect each other. Space is defined by dynamic qualities instead of static physical objects, acquiring a temporal dimension. Narratives are part of the dynamic elements which constitute a space in a static place: “[s]tories [...] carry out a labour that constantly transforms places into spaces or spaces into places” (de Certeau, 1984:118). This conceptualization of space by de Certeau relates to the idea of appropriated space by Lefebvre: a place filled with narratives becomes part of the human cognitive landscape, and as such, an object of remembering.

Spatial practices obtain real significance in relation to representational spaces: they are the basis of the process in which individual meanings are inscribed in space; “a sequence of acts which embody a signifying practice even if they cannot be reduced to such a practice” (Lefebvre, 1991:57). The dialectical nature of spatial practice becomes clear at this point: according to the Lefebvrian thesis, spatial practices are determined by the social practice of a given society, reproducing and modifying it simultaneously. Spatial settings, results of ideologically grounded planning, restrain movement and

determine individual practices which this way become the means of inscription of power in the bodily routines of the individual user. At the same time, individuals inscribe their own symbolic meanings in the space through spatial practices, creating a form of dialectic interaction between ideology and the private realm. This is the momentum that Lefebvre talks about when he says that political forces seek but fail to completely master social space (1991:26). Power structures strongly determine the formulation and use of space, but symbolic meanings of the individual realm always find a way to fill the gaps of the grid and modify the prescribed structures of conceived space. “A [...] metaphorical city thus slips into the clear text of the planned and readable city” (de Certeau, 1984:93). Regarding this, we can conclude that appropriation of space refers to the process in which symbolic meanings are inscribed in the dominated space of ideology through cognitive and spatial practices. The dual character of spatial practices which reinforce and modify the dominant power relations has been discussed in detail in chapter 2.

Appropriation of space is not restricted to specific points of the urban text: human activity is present everywhere in space, only in different density. Those points of space where traces of human action occur in a higher density, obtain significance as representational spaces. An investigation of representational space as a host of multi-layered meanings reveals important insights about the relation between memory and space and the nature of collective memory. We have seen in case of Hotel Viru that a building can become an object of several different meanings: they are attached to the building by individual users whose memories contain the images and narratives constituting the meanings. As we stated above, personal narratives never lack a spatial dimension; this way spaces that serve as a host for many different narratives, become a common ground of the diverse memories. Hotel Viru is this kind of space: it is a junction of memories from various individuals. These memories are accumulated in the hotel space, constituting it as an object of memory. Memorial spaces similar to Hotel Viru provide an opportunity to observe the relation of private and collective memory. We have seen how individuals attribute meanings to a space through spatial practice; in cases like Hotel Viru, these meanings become available for the public by the mediation of space, constituting the collective memory of the given community. This finding confirms the theory of Aleida Assmann about the mediated nature of collective

memory, suggesting a conceptualization of collective memory as an accumulation of individual memories through a public medium, in our case, space.

Memorial spaces serve as objects of individual memory characterized by particularity: they become proper names themselves, referring to the stories inscribed in their space.

“[S]tories acquire part of their mythic value and historical relevance if they are rooted in the concrete details of locales in the landscape, acquiring material reference points that can be visited, seen and touched” (Tilley, 1994:33).

These public reference points are open to various interpretations and further narratives, being facilitators of a broader social discourse. De Certeau also emphasizes the open character of proper names:

“[they] make themselves available to the diverse meanings given them by passers-by; they detach themselves from the places they were supposed to define and serve as imaginary meeting points on itineraries which, as metaphors, they determine for reasons that are foreign to their original value but may be recognized or not by passers-by.” (1984:104)

Representational spaces like Hotel Viru are also memorial spaces in which multiple individual memories are concentrated and exposed to the public discourse, becoming a source of collective memory. The case of Hotel Viru is specific in a sense: the memories which usually remain on the level of unofficial discourse become institutionalized here by being displayed in a museum. The following section investigates the ways the KGB museum utilizes and modifies the perceived, the conceived and the lived space of Hotel Viru.

Hotel Viru: the museum

The KGB museum is located in the former rooms of the KGB radio station on the 23rd floor of the hotel. The exhibition introduces the operation of the KGB services and the history of the hotel through pictures and materials collected from the building. The objects are completed by large displays offering explanations about the exhibition material. At the time of my research there were 9 displays in the exhibition, with the following themes: the origins and the construction of Viru; the Soviet Inturist agency

and the inner working of Viru; the specific status of Viru among the hotels and its famous guests; the socialist workers collective of Viru; the working competition and the high quality service of the hotel; Viru coffeecakes as local hard currency; technical equipment of Viru; the variety show; and finally, one display about the KGB services. The texts are based on the book of Sakari Nupponen, the Finnish journalist who has been asked by the manager of Viru to collect the legends concerning the hotel's history. The book has various sources of information, as former workers, managers and designers of Viru, contemporary newspaper articles, memories of Finnish guests and urban legends. The information contained in the displays broadly covers the topics which have been discussed above as the symbolic meanings connected to the hotel. Personal narratives constituting Viru as a representational space reappear in the exhibition rooms in a concretized and official form: the lived space of Hotel Viru becomes institutionalized by the museum. Lefebvre says: "like all social practice, spatial practice is lived directly before it is conceptualized; but the speculative primacy of the conceived over the lived causes practice to disappear along with life" (1991:34). In Hotel Viru, the lived space of memories and images does not disappear completely, but it is being preserved within the present settings. Lefebvre's argument about the domination of the lived by the conceived space takes a new turn at this point: as museums are important institutions of knowledge production and preservation, this way the incorporation of lived space by a museum leads to the modification of conceived space. When personal narratives about Hotel Viru are displayed in the KGB museum, they become part of the scientific discourse concerning the space of the hotel, influencing the way how space is represented in abstract conceptualizations. This development presents another examples for the highly interconnected nature of the different layers of social space: the KGB museum constructs a simulation of the lived space of Soviet-time hotel by institutionalizing the representational space of Viru. At the same time, it constitutes a new representation of Viru's space by adding new emphasis to the KGB as a defining element of the hotel. This way we arrive back to the findings of the previous chapter, stating that the past of the building, including the topic of KGB became one of the main aspects which direct the representations of Viru's space in the present period.

Besides collecting and exhibiting personal narratives about the place, the museum has another distinctive feature: that is, it builds on the authenticity of space, using the original location to introduce its topic. Authenticity of the object is traditionally an important quality in museal practice: original exhibition objects are “stable points of reference which enabled a culture to fix its position and orientation within the coordinates of space and time” (Witcomb, 2003:108). This feature is realized in the KGB museum as well. Rooms are furnished with original objects from Soviet time Viru: postcards, a plastic dial telephone, guest books and brochures about the hotel, taxi vouchers and plates from Viru restaurant. The installation of an “authentic space” becomes total together with the original location: the exhibition is on the former KGB area of the hotel, occupying a corridor and the two rooms which housed the radio translation system in the Soviet period. These settings are intended to simulate the lived space of Soviet-time Viru in the only part of the hotel that has been more or less preserved in its 20-years-ago state. The former KGB rooms are intended to represent not only their original function, but the life of Soviet-time Viru in general. According to the official records, radio translator rooms have been left practically intact since the KGB forces departed from the building; this way the museum shows a space produced by the Soviet ideology, opening it up for contemporary practices of looking, analysis and reinterpretation.

The installation of the KGB museum in Hotel Viru provides a new status for the building, constituting it as an official object of commemoration. Hotel Viru as a representational space is interwoven by multiple layers of symbolic meanings which are exposed and solidified in the gesture of creating a museum that displays them. The simultaneous presence of the official and unofficial level of commemoration in the building makes Hotel Viru a specific object of spatial memory. In the following section I analyze Hotel Viru according to the Lefebvrian concept of monument with the aim to answer my initial questions about the relation of individual and collective memory, the difference between memory and history, and the role of space in the analysis of these concepts.

Hotel Viru, the monument

The present section is based on the claim that monuments can be comprehended as mediators: they connect distant or genuinely different entities as, most importantly, the past and the present. As one of the definitions formulates, a monument “aims to create a lapse in time that renders the past present and establishes a transparent connection to the event or the person that the monument commemorates” (Arrhenius, 2004:75). According to Lefebvre, “this transcendence embeds itself in the monument as its irreducible foundation” (1991:221), reinforcing the mediating role of monuments. Monuments mediate between individual and collective memory as well: in the previous sections we discussed the process in which symbolic meanings connected to Hotel Viru are solidified in space and become part of the public discourse. Therefore, monuments also mediate between the mental and the physical sphere: they transmit meanings intelligible for the human mind in a spatial form.

Lefebvre distinguishes between buildings and monuments, arguing that the latter belong to the symbolic realm of meanings, while the former are results of rational planning with clear functions attributed to them (1991:223). Monuments introduce an archaic and instinctive quality into the clear and impoverished text of the planned city (Stanek, 2011:118); they constitute junction points in the urban text dominated by abstract principles of ideology where individuals can appropriate space for themselves. “The untimeliness of the monuments makes them inconceivable within the representations of abstract space expressed, in Lefebvre’s view, by the structuralist interpretations of the city” (Stanek 196). Regarding this, monuments can be comprehended as objects mediating between the conceived and the lived space: they are part of the built environment formulated by ideology and power, but being a host of symbolic meanings, they provide a ground for individual users to create and interpret city space in a way intelligible for them. Hotel Viru functions in a similar way when it allows citizens and visitors to face each other’s experiences and memories about the building and share their own. By opening a space for remembering the Soviet period in a place that is produced by the social relations of that period, Hotel Viru provides a concrete example in which the ideological and political principles of a given historical era become visible for the observer.

The concept of monument in Lefebvre needs further scrutiny, regarding the question of intentionality. Alois Riegl in his classical account on cultural heritage distinguishes between intentional and unintentional monuments, arguing that the latter was not born with the aim of remembering something, but acquired a commemorative significance through the time (1982). The commemorative value of the intentional monument is conditioned by those who erect it, reflecting a top-down approach to influence collective memory; the unintentional monument has a relative commemorative value, invented and constantly reinterpreted by the community that the monument belongs to. Lefebvre describes intentional monuments as it follows:

“Monumentally [...] always embodies and imposes a clearly intelligible message. It says what it wishes to say – yet it hides a good deal more: being political, military, and ultimately fascist in character, monumental buildings mask the will to power and the arbitrariness of power beneath signs and surfaces which claim to express collective will and collective thought.” (1991:143)

Meanings are attributed in a bottom-up way also to intentional monuments, but the other type is specific to the effect that it is constructed as a monument exclusively from these bottom-up meanings, created by the viewers. The difference between the two types of monuments can be understood along Lefebvre’s distinction of spaces produced to be lived and those produced to be read (1991:143): intentional monuments are created for reading on the primary level, while unintentional monuments are originally produced to be lived, and they become “readable” by the time. Hotel Viru represents a specific middle ground between the two types: although it was originally produced as a functional part of the city, a hotel which hosts foreign visitors in Tallinn, the primary motivation behind its construction was clearly symbolic. The hotel built in the co-production of Finnish and Soviet/Estonian people to accommodate Finnish tourists arriving to the country on the re-opened ferry line, constitutes much more than a place to sleep. By its construction, it was intended to represent the friendly diplomatic relations between the two neighbouring countries, and during its operation, it aimed to express the prospering life of the Soviet Union for the foreign public. This way, Hotel Viru can be listed within the group of Soviet monuments, however different than a classic sculpture or war memorial: it was transmitting its ideological message through its practical functions instead of its form. The memorial significance attached to it in the

present time is partly the result of this original symbolic quality, and it is partly coming from the everyday practices constituting the hotel space in the Soviet period. Contemporary Hotel Viru as a monument combines features of the intentional and unintentional monuments by expressing the original ideological purposes of the building, and reflecting on the spatial practices as indirect means of transmitting ideology into everyday life. The KGB museum is a key element in this reflection, as it displays these practices by presenting them as part of the symbolic contents constituting the representational space of Hotel Viru.

As Stanek emphasizes, in the Lefebvrian perception neither kind of monument has a signified meaning, but rather “a multiplicity of meanings that refer to the body and to power” (2011:197). This notion is especially important when we investigate the relation between individual memories and history. The observation of social space in Hotel Viru reveals the connections between the different levels: representations of space show the abstract side of ideological activity producing the space; representational space reflects the characteristics of individual human perception of the same space; spatial practices show the interaction of the two sides. The genuinely different nature of the public and private realm is demonstrated in the best way by a space that can be conceived as a synthesis of the two: we can observe that the distant spheres of power and everyday life actually constitute two sides of the same phenomenon. Abstract processes of history, like changes in the Finnish-Soviet diplomatic relations, are distilled in the individual experience as very particular events, like a marriage with a Finnish construction worker. Conversely, each act of the everyday life modifies and reinforces social relations, influencing the broader processes of history. For that reason, we can conclude that collective memory represents a subjective and private reading of the social and political processes that history describes from an objective and abstract point of view. The analysis of space in the framework of the Lefebvrian triad provides a tool for looking at both sides of the process simultaneously. This way, monuments can be conceived of as mediators between the body and power:

“Monumental space permits a continual back-and-forth between the private speech of ordinary conversations and the public speech of discourses, lectures, sermons, rallying-cries, and all theatrical forms of utterance.” (Lefebvre, 1991:224)

The investigation of Hotel Viru in the Lefebvrian framework reveals particular insights about the individual experience of the Soviet period in the post-Soviet Estonia, and general lessons about memory, society and urban space. These lessons will be discussed in detail in the following, concluding chapter.

CHAPTER 5 - CONCLUSIONS

The case of Hotel Viru presents an excellent case, the study of which illuminates the relation of memory and space. The present thesis investigated the relation of collective and individual memories and the difference between memory and history by applying Henri Lefebvre's theory of social space as its analytical framework. Besides exploring the potential of the Lefebvrian theory to utilize it in empirical analysis, the study aimed to direct the attention to space as a possible object of analysis in the field of memory studies. The following pages present the findings in relation to the research questions, and conclude the discussion.

Analysis of Hotel Viru: findings

The previous chapters observed the space of Hotel Viru on three different levels defined by parts of the Lefebvrian triad, aiming to reveal the dynamics of social activity and the formulation of space. Chapter 2 analyzed spatial practices in the hotel, explaining them in the broader social context which affected their emergence. The resulting analysis reveals how social phenomena as surveillance, shortage economy, informal relations, East-West cleavage, Soviet propaganda and the 1990's political transition played a role in the formulation of spatial practices and hotel space. Investigation of spatial practices has shown the heterogeneity of practices in terms of the social relations which influence their evolution, and the number of different actors who perform them in space. This perspective allows us to see social space as a product of several heterogeneous practices, offering a model for the spatialized interpretation of collective memory in the following chapters. The next finding concerns the continuity of spatial practices, arguing that each practice changes at a different speed, therefore physical space is

adjusted gradually to the changes in social relations. Due to this gradual adjustment, space acquires special significance in the preservation of the past. The last conclusion of the chapter reveals how spatial practices reproduce and subvert the ruling social relations, as individual actors are constrained by the existing spatial order and modify it with their actions at the same time. The dialectic nature of this process constitutes spatial practices as mediators between the broad power structures and individual action. Chapter 3 examined the representations of Hotel Viru in media and art criticism, in order to find out how space has been conceptualized in different historical periods. The analysis identified the main topics associated with the space of Viru in the time of its construction and in the contemporary period, drawing on sources from the 1960s and 70s, and the last ten years. The main topics connected to Hotel Viru at the time of its construction included the recreation of Tallinn city centre, the conflict of old and new urban forms, and the achievements of contemporary Soviet architecture. The question of old and new urban forms returns among the present topics, together with the relation of urban planning and politics, and the historical significance of Hotel Viru. The chapter identified the influence of modern and postmodern ideological principles in the above representations, inquiring about the relations between them and the social practice of the different periods. The findings show that Soviet-era representations of space do not concern the topics of social practice identified in the previous chapter, reflecting a large distance between official discourse and everyday practices. Contemporary representations are more closely connected to the social phenomena which affect spatial practices, including the topic of political interests and the defining role of the past in the evaluation of Hotel Viru. These findings suggest a more transparent relation between the private and public realm in the present period.

Chapter 4 investigated Hotel Viru as a representational space, identifying the symbolic contents connected to the building and the way individuals appropriate space through these contents. According to the findings, individual experience of space is constructed by images and narratives which are subjective and particular, in contrast with abstract representations. Representational spaces concentrate a host of these meanings in one place, constituting it as an object of memory. The KGB museum in Hotel Viru is established on the basis of the representational space of the hotel, turning it into a public memorial space and part of the official discourse on the Soviet past of Estonia. This

way, Hotel Viru is constituted as a monument which gains its memorial significance from its original symbolic purposes and the social practice taking place in it. Hotel Viru as a monument represents a medium which transmits between individual and collective memories, and provides a ground to interpret processes of memory and history next to each other.

Social space: a practical application of the Lefebvrian theory

The present analysis contributes to a deeper understanding of the Lefebvrian theory about social space by offering a possible way of its application in an empirical study. The notion of social space has strong theoretical relevance in two ways: first, it reveals the active role of space in the formulation of social processes instead of being a neutral background of social phenomena. Second, it modifies the previous conceptions about time as the only dimension relevant in the study of the past. My research aimed to utilize this feature of the Lefebvrian theory, employing it as a tool for the analysis of Hotel Viru's space to obtain new insights about the questions of memory. Similar examples of practical application are relatively rare, as the original work is usually cited for its theoretical relevance, and it does not provide clear guidelines for its further empirical application. The present research attempted to accomplish this task by providing a clear and pragmatic reinterpretation of the theory, with a special emphasis on the three parts of the Lefebvrian triad. As one of the most important characteristics of social space is the superimposition and interrelatedness of the different layers, the aim of the analysis was to identify the different layers of social space and show their interconnections on a particular object. Therefore, Hotel Viru was investigated on three levels: on the level of spatial practices, on the level of representations and finally as a representational space. Each level of analysis revealed different aspects about the space of Viru and the social relations which affected the emergence of that space. The analysis provides us with new conclusions about the explanatory power of the three concepts. Investigation of spatial practices in a given space as a reflection of corresponding social practices reveals the social structures which affect the formulation of that space, and at the same time the ways these structures are subverted and modified by individual

intentions. By exploring the representations of space, we are able to identify the logic of power that directs the formulation of space, and draw conclusions about leading ideological principles of the given society. Finally, by studying representational spaces, we learn about the themes and events important to the members of local community, and see how individual meanings are inserted in a space formed by the abstract and rational interests of power. By presenting them in practice, the theoretical position of the three parts of the triad becomes clearer as well, facilitating a better understanding of the concept of social space and also the way of its functioning.

Summarizing the above findings, investigation of social space in Hotel Viru reveals the temporal dimension of space, exposing the complex dynamics between memory, history and space. Analysis of spatial practices as material expressions of social processes allows us to comprehend the space of Viru as a result of a historical process. Investigation of representational space reveals how this process is reflected in the individual experience. These aspects of Hotel Viru are combined and constitute the hotel as an important object of collective memory, by spontaneous processes of remembering and the deliberate gesture of displaying the past in the KGB museum. This way, social space should be conceived as a medium where historical process is translated into particular experience, and as such, becomes the object of collective memory.

Individual and collective memory

The investigation of social space in Hotel Viru provides important conclusions concerning the questions of collective memory. The analysis of Hotel Viru on the different levels of the Lefebvrian triad shows the process in which space obtains social and individual meanings in its full complexity. The question of collective and individual memories is clarified by the analysis of Viru as a representational space in chapter 4, which identifies the types of individual meanings that can be attached to a space as proper names and narratives. Explaining that each of the individual meanings has a spatial dimension, it identifies representational spaces as junction points where these meanings are present in a high concentration. Since memories constitute the group of

individual meanings referring to a close or distant past, the investigation of representational spaces can clarify the relation between individual and collective memories. We see in the case of Hotel Viru that individual memories are accumulated in the hotel space, which serves as a common spatial reference for all of them. This does not mean the mere accumulation of private memories: the space of Viru serves as a medium that enables the separate memories to be shared and made available for the public. This process leads to a different kind of memory: the new entity lacks the fragmented character of individual memories. The subjective details are blurred and substituted by more generalized and unified narratives, although they do not lose the private character which distinguishes them from the abstract themes identified in the representations.

The case of Hotel Viru facilitates a new conceptualization of collective memory as simultaneously accumulated and mediated individual memories. Investigation of space as a medium of the process allows for a detailed understanding of the relationship between individual and collective memories. Analysis of Hotel Viru as a representational space reveals the way individual meanings with a common spatial reference are accumulated in that particular space, resulting in a spatial object intertwined by various connected or contradictory meanings. Taking a step forward and investigating Hotel Viru as a monument clarifies the process in which the above discussed meanings become part of the public knowledge through a spatial object exposed and easy to identify for each member of the community. Monuments are created by deliberate top-down gestures of the ruling elite, or emerge through a spontaneous process in which a community recognizes their memorial relevance. Hotel Viru belongs to the latter category, being an officially acknowledged representational space where individual memories are concentrated and made available for the public. Hotel Viru as a monument accumulates individual memories about Soviet Tallinn and the time of transition, displaying them in the KGB museum in a unified narrative.

Memory and history

The application of the Lefebvrian triad in the analysis of Hotel Viru's space serves with important conclusions regarding the relationship of memory and history. By studying representational spaces, one is able to identify the essential features of private experience and compare it to the abstract character of representations. These two qualities revealed in the same space clarify the relation of memory and history as two sides of the same phenomenon: while history concerns social processes in an abstract and generalizing way, memories reflect the way in which individuals experience the same process. Abstract processes of history are reflected in the private experience as particular places, people and events; in the opposite view, history itself is constituted by the sum of these particular experiences. This recognition helps to resolve the conflicting relationship of history and memory by rendering them together on a unified ground. The investigation of spatial practices expands our understanding about this relationship, exposing the processes of history and memory while they work simultaneously in direct material action.

By the observation of the dynamics between representations of space and representational spaces, the present work offers a unique reading of how individual experience contributed to the appropriation of space in Hotel Viru. The symbolic contents identified in chapter 4 obtain their significance in relation to the dominant power structures which directed the production of Viru's space and which they occupy and modify in a subversive manner. Individual meanings escape the control of the dominated space in each period in the history of Hotel Viru. Soviet-era memories describe private experiences mostly independent of the ruling representations of space. This reflects a fairly realistic image of the functioning Soviet Viru, where individual spatial practices constituted a reality on its own, existing within the space prescribed by dominant power structures. Individual experience and the subsequent memories created a parallel Hotel Viru, rooted in the space of the official Inturist institution and inseparable from it. The life of this secondary Viru was deeply affected by the Soviet ideology and its regulations, but it constantly challenged this power through subversive individual practices. By disclosing the symbolic meanings and individual practices formulating the space of Hotel Viru, the present work demonstrates the process in

which individual perception and power interests constitute space in a dynamic interaction.

Contemporary attitudes towards the hotel are generally influenced by the same memories from the past: Hotel Viru exists in the collective consciousness more as an object of Soviet time memories and nostalgia instead of a contemporary high profile hotel, as positioned by its current management. However, there is one point where rational interests of power meet the private realm: the KGB museum, besides serving as a collection and display of private memories, also serves the interests of power when it contributes to the development of the Viru brand. By establishing a museum that connects the history of the building to the broader historical period of Soviet Estonia, the creators build on the increased interest in the Soviet times as a possible factor that could attract more visitors to the hotel and help generate more profit.

The present research concludes with the investigation of Hotel Viru as a monument, suggesting an innovative understanding of the concept as a mediator between various different qualities. The conceptualization of Hotel Viru as a monument presents an opportunity to explore the ways how space can be employed in the analysis of social phenomena. The mediating qualities of monuments help to clarify the transformations between individual and collective memories, as well as the abstract processes of history and the everyday experience of the individual. Therefore, monuments provide a specific example of social space which serves as an ideal object for investigations within the field of memory studies.

REFERENCES

- Arrhenius, Thordis (2004): *The Cult of Age in Mass-Society: Alois Riegl's Theory of Conservation*, *Future Anterior*, 1:1
- Assmann, Aleida (2008): *Transformations between History and Memory*, *social research*, 75:1
- Assmann, Jan (1995): *Collective Memory and Cultural Identity*, *New German Critique*, 1995:65, 125-133.
- Baudrillard, Jean (1994): *Simulacra and Simulation*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press
- Boym, Svetlana (2002): *The Future of Nostalgia*, New York, Basic Books
- Craig, Campbell and Radchenko, Sergey (2008): *The atomic bomb and the origins of the Cold War*, New Haven/London, Yale University Press
- de Certeau, Michel (1984): *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Berkeley, University of California Press
- Dowey, Kim (1999): *Framing Places. Mediating power in built form*, London, Routledge
- Droitcour, Brian (2009): *Irina Korina*, *Artforum*, 2009 Summer, retrieved from <http://www.mutualart.com/OpenArticle/Irina-Korina/67FF89D9C39F2BA1> on 4 November 2013
- Ellin, Nan (1999): *Postmodern Urbanism*, New York, Princeton Architectural Press
- Elliot, Brian (2010): *Postmodern Urbanism: Critical Appraisals in Venturi, Rossi, Harvey, and Jameson in Elliot, B. (2010): Constructing Community* Lanham, MD, Lexington
- Graeber, David (2011): *Debt: the first 5,000 years*, New York, Melville Publishing
- Halbwachs, Maurice (1992) [1925]: *On Collective Memory*, Chicago/London, Chicago University Press

- Harvey, David (1989): *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry Into the Origins of Cultural Change*, Oxford, Blackwell
- Jagodin, Karen (2006): *Modernistlik ruumikontseptsioon ja Nõukogude ideoloogia kohtuvad Viru Hotellis*, in: Valk, Kristel and Hallas-Murula, Karin (2006): *Yearbook of the Museum of Estonian Architecture*, Tallinn, Estonian Architecture Museum
- Kornai, Janos (1992) [1980]: *Economics of Shortage*, in: *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism*, Oxford, Clarendon Press
- Ledeneva, Alena V. (1998): *Russia's Economy of Favours: Blat, Networking and Informal Exchange*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Ledeneva, Alena V. (2001): *Unwritten Rules: How Russia Really Works*, London, Centre for European Reform
- Lefebvre, Henri (1991): *The Production of Space*, Oxford, Blackwell
- Lotman, Jurij M. (2001) [1990]: *Universe of the Mind: A Semiotic Theory of Culture*, London/New York, I. B. Tauris Publishers
- Lotman, Jurij M. (2005) [1984]: *On the semiosphere*, *Sign System Studies*, 33:1
- Merrifield, Andy (2000): *Henri Lefebvre. A Socialist in Space*, in: Crang, Mike and Thrift, Nigel: *Thinking Space*, London, Routledge
- Olick, Jeffrey K. (1999): *Collective Memory: The Two Cultures*, *Sociological Theory*, 17:3, 333-348.
- Prigge, Walter (2008): *Reading The Urban Revolution: space and representation*, in: Goonewardena, Kanishka (ed.): *Space, difference, everyday life: reading Henri Lefebvre*, New York, Routledge
- Riegl, Alois (1982): *The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin*, *Oppositions* 25, 21-56.
- Said, Edward W. (2000): *Invention, Memory, and Place*, *Critical Inquiry*, 26:2, 175-192.
- Saunders, Peter (1989): *Space, urbanism and the created environment*, in: Held, David and Thompson, John B.: *Social Theory of Modern Societies: Anthony Giddens and His Critics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Schmid, Christian (2008): *Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space: Towards a three-dimensional dialectic*, in: Goonewardena, Kanishka (ed.): *Space, difference, everyday life: reading Henri Lefebvre*, New York, Routledge

- Soja, Edward W. (1989): *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, London/New York, Verso
- Stanek, Lukasz (2011): *Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research and the Production of Theory*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press
- Tilley, Christopher (1994): *A Phenomenology of Landscape. Places, Paths and Monuments*, Oxford, Berg
- Warsza, Joanna (2009): *Ruins of Our Times*, retrieved from <http://georgien.blogspot.hu/2009/12/text-ruins-of-our-times-by-joanna.html> on 4 November 2013
- Warsza, Joanna (2013): *Kamikaze Loggia. Georgia at the 55th International Art Exhibition – la Biennale di Venezia*, Tbilisi, Ministry of Culture and Monument Protection of Georgia
- Witcomb, Andrea (2003): *Re-Imaging the Museum. Behind the Mausoleum*, London, Routledge

LIST OF ARTICLES

Alas, Askur (2004): Linnakeskus hakkab ilmet võtma, Eesti Päevaleht, 13 April 2004, retrieved from <http://epl.delfi.ee/news/eesti/linnakeskus-hakkab-ilmet-votma.d?id=50981303> on 17 February 2014

Buracinschi, Boris (2009): Läbimurre Moldaavia parlamendis - saadikuks sai miljonärist pleiboi, Eesti Ekspress, 31 August 2009, retrieved from <http://www.ekspress.ee/news/arvamus/arvamus/labimurre-moldaavia-parlamendis-saadikuks-sai-miljonarist-pleiboi.d?id=27691081> on 19 April 2013

Ehasalu, Peep (2012a): Eesti Kunstimuuseumi näitus Sokos Hotel Virus, SIRP, 11 May 2012

Ehasalu, Peep (2012b): Viru hotellis algas kabareehooaeg, SIRP, 18 October 2012

Ehasalu, Peep (2013): Viru, vabaduse kringel, SIRP, 25 April 2013

Erelt, Pekka (2009): Abiellusid välismaalasega – reetur!, Eesti Ekspress, 1 May 2009, retrieved from <http://www.ekspress.ee/news/paevauudised/elu/abiellusid-valismaalasega-reetur.d?id=27688007> on 19 April 2013

Erelt, Pekka (2012): Sofi Oksaneni raamatud põhinevad tema Eesti sugulaste läbielamistel, Eesti Ekspress, 4 October 2012, retrieved from <http://www.ekspress.ee/news/paevauudised/eestiudised/sofi-oksaneni-raamatud-pohinevad-tema-eesti-sugulaste-labielamistel.d?id=65058854> on 19 April 2013

Huimerind, Anna (2008a): Ivo Linna lihavõttejänes, Eesti Ekspress, 20 March 2008, retrieved from <http://www.ekspress.ee/news/paevauudised/toit/ivo-linna-lihavottejanes.d?id=27675981> on 19 April 2013

Huimerind, Anna (2008b): Meisterkondiitri suussulavad suutäied, Eesti Ekspress, 8 May 2008, retrieved from <http://www.ekspress.ee/news/paevauudised/toit/meisterkondiitri-suussulavad-suutaied.d?id=27677583> on 19 April 2013

Juske, Ants (2005): Nõukamajad muinsuskaitse alla!, Eesti Päevaleht, 12 December 2005, retrieved from <http://epl.delfi.ee/news/arvamus/ants-juske-noukamajad-muinsuskaitse-alla.d?id=51025823> on 17 February 2014

Jürgen, Madis (2012): Sofi, naerata ometi!, Eesti Ekspress, 30 August 2012, retrieved from <http://www.ekspress.ee/news/paevauudised/elu/sofi-naerata-ometi.d?id=64891420> on 19 April 2013

Jõesaar, Tuuli (2011): Vene-aegsed imed Viru hotelli KGB muuseumis, Eesti Päevaleht, 12 January 2011, retrieved from <http://www.epl.ee/news/eesti/vene-aegsed-imed-viru-hotelli-kgb-muuseumis.d?id=51290022> on 9 February 2014

Jõesalu, Kirsti (2012): The Role of the Soviet Past in Post-Soviet Memory Politics through Examples of Speeches from Estonian Presidents, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 64:6

Jõgeda, Tiina (2012): 15 vähetuntud fakti president Ilvese elust, Eesti Ekspress, 17 February 2012, retrieved from <http://www.ekspress.ee/news/paevauudised/eestiudised/15-vahetuntud-fakti-president-ilvese-elust.d?id=63930471> on 19 April 2013

Kaio, Heidit (2012): Jõukust nautiv Indrek Toome, Eesti Päevaleht, 15 December 2012, retrieved from <http://www.epl.ee/news/lp/joukust-nautiv-indrek-toome.d?id=65408758> on 19 April 2013

Kaldoja, Kerttu (2007): Viru hotelli vastu menetlust ei tule, Eesti Päevaleht, 16 April 2007, retrieved from <http://www.epl.ee/news/tallinn/viru-hotelli-vastu-menetlust-ei-tule.d?id=51083392> on 20 April 2013

Kaljuvee, Ardo (2007): Soome ajakirjanik pani Viru legendid raamatusse, Eesti Päevaleht, 12 May 2007, retrieved from <http://www.epl.ee/news/kultuur/soome-ajakirjanik-pani-viru-legendid-raamatusse.d?id=51086711> on 20 April 2013

Kard, Elin (2012): Soho Fond Hobusepea galeriis, SIRP, 6 June 2012

Keskrand, Kalle (2012): Kunstiakadeemia tase, SIRP, 2012:25

Kivi, Krister (2009): Jüri Pihl - hallinevate vuntsidega mees nagu kass, Eesti Ekspress, 3 September 2009, retrieved from <http://www.ekspress.ee/news/paevauudised/elu/intervjuu-juri-pihl-hallinevate-vuntsidega-mees-nagu-kass.d?id=27691179> on 19 April 2013

Kivi, Krister (2012): VANA KULD: Krister Kivi reportaaž Jaapanist: Tsunamirannikul, Eesti Ekspress, 12 March 2012, retrieved from

<http://www.ekspress.ee/news/paevauudised/vanakuld/vana-kuld-krister-kivi-reportaaz-jaapanist-tsunamirannikul.d?id=64060339> on 19 April 2013

Kossar, Kristel (2013): KGB muuseum on Viru hotellile toonud üleilmse kuulsuse, Postimees, 4 November 2013, retrieved from <http://www.tallinncity.ee/2585216/galerii-ja-video-kgb-muuseum-on-viru-hotellile-toonud-uleilmse-kuulsuse> on 19 February 2014

Lamp, Berit-Helena (2011): KGB muuseumi avamine Viru hotellis, Postimees, 13 January 2011, retrieved from <http://www.tallinncity.ee/371926/galerii-kgb-muuseumi-avamine-viru-hotellis> on 5 November 2013

Luik, Hans H.(2013): Meie Ilpo valiti Soome tööandjate presidendiks!, Eesti Ekspress, 7 March 2013, retrieved from

<http://www.ekspress.ee/news/paevauudised/eestiudised/hans-h-luik-meie-ilpo-valiti-soome-toojate-presidendiks.d?id=65785430> on 19 April 2013

Mandel, Aive (2011): Ülemaailmse vastasseisu piirkondlikud aspektid, SIRP, 14 January 2011

Märka, Veiko (2012): Läti Sofi ja Henrik Oksanen, SIRP, 2012:36

Nestor, Siim (2013): Jüri Makarov: “Ausõna, ma ei tule tagasi”, Eesti Ekspress, 23 March 2013, retrieved from

<http://www.ekspress.ee/news/paevauudised/eestiudised/juri-makarov-ausona-ma-ei-tule-tagasi.d?id=65850384> on 19 April 2013

Nupponen, Sakari (2007): Viru Hotell ja tema aeg, Tallinn, Eesti Ekspressi Kirjastus

Ojari, Triin (2004): Igavesed naudingud ehk Eesti kaasaegsest turismiarhitektuurist, MAJA, 7 September 2004

Ojari, Triin (2012): Loorberitega ja ilma: Mart Port 90, SIRP, 6 January 2012

Peegel, Mari (2012): Tallinna linnahalli lugu jõudis Venezia biennaalile, Eesti Päevaleht, 28 August 2012, retrieved from <http://epl.delfi.ee/news/kultuur/tallinna-linnahalli-lugu-joudis-venezia-biennaalile.d?id=64880202> on 28 November 2013

Pihl, Kristjan (2013): Arhitektid joonistavad Viru keskust ümber, Eesti Päevaleht, 16 November 2013, retrieved from <http://epl.delfi.ee/news/eesti/arhitektid-joonistavad-viru-keskust-umber.d?id=67103752> on 17 February 2014-02-17

Pors, Merje (2011): KGB muuseumi avamine kasvatas tublisti Viru hotelli külastatavust, Postimees, 31 March 2011, retrieved from

<http://www.tallinncity.ee/411748/kgb-muuseumi-avamine-kasvatas-tublisti-viru-hotelli-kulastatavust> on 17 February 2014

Ranne, Raul (2013): Kokkila kolm superdiili, Eesti Ekspress, 7 March 2013, retrieved from <http://www.ekspress.ee/news/paevauudised/eestiudised/kokkila-kolm-superdiili.d?id=65785466> on 19 April 2013

Rohtla, Katrin (2012): Viru hotell varustas koristajad iPadidega, Õhtuleht, 30 May 2012, retrieved from <http://www.ohtuleht.ee/478970> on 20 April 2013

Roomets, Kaja (2013): Kilumets: "Repod väärinuks Viru hotelli dokfilmis enamat!", Õhtuleht, 9 April 2013, retrieved from <http://www.ohtuleht.ee/516468> on 9 February 2014

Sikk, Rein (2012): Eesti ime 2012: tähelepanu, finaali, Eesti Päevaleht, 13 June 2012, retrieved from <http://www.epl.ee/news/eesti/eesti-ime-2012-tahelepanu-finaal.d?id=64532042> on 20 April 2013

Simson, Priit (2010): Erik Puura: ideid jätkub, aga teiste ideed ei meeldi kellelegi, Eesti Päevaleht, 16 October 2010, retrieved from <http://www.epl.ee/news/arvamus/erik-puura-ideid-jatkub-aga-teiste-ideed-ei-meeldi-kellelegi.d?id=51284698> on 26 February 2014

Soans, Hanno (2011): Reportaaž välitöödelt, SIRP, 17 November 2011

Soolep, Jüri (2006): Kuningas on alasti, Eesti Päevaleht, 7 January 2006, retrieved from <http://epl.delfi.ee/news/arvamus/juri-soolep-kuningas-on-alasti.d?id=51027578> on 17 February 2014

Suurkask, Heiki (2009): Vana miilits tahab kah kaeru, Eesti Päevaleht, 7 May 2009, retrieved from <http://www.epl.ee/news/arvamus/heiki-suurkask-vana-miilits-tahab-kah-kaeru.d?id=51167859> on 20 April 2013

Säde, Enn (2009): Kuidas me Viru mikrobetonist lutikaid otsime, SIRP, 18 December 2009

Tammik, Toivo (2004): Viru väljak kui edasiarendamisvõimaluste paljusus, SIRP, 4 June 2004

Tõnson, Margit (2013): Viru klassika punases kastmes, Eesti Päevaleht, 31 March 2013, retrieved from <http://www.epl.ee/news/lp/viru-klassika-punases-kastmes.d?id=65896072> on 19 April 2013

- Vahe, Urmas (2012): Viru hotell 40: küll teil on alles metalli betooni sisse virutada. Nagu heina..., Õhtuleht, 17 May 2012, retrieved from <http://www.ohtuleht.ee/477139> on 4 November 2013
- Vahter, Tarmo (2008): Estonia komisjoni 21 delikaatset teemat, Eesti Ekspress, 24 April 2008, retrieved from <http://www.ekspress.ee/news/paevauudised/eestiudised/estonia-komisjoni-21-delikaatset-teemat.d?id=27677195> on 19 April 2013
- Vainküla, Kirsti (2011): Mees, kelle hobiks on inimesed, Eesti Ekspress, 11 October 2011, retrieved from <http://www.ekspress.ee/news/paevauudised/majandus/mees-kelle-hobiks-on-inimesed.d?id=59438728> on 19 April 2013
- Vasli, Karoliina (2013): National Geographic tutvustab meie KGB muuseumit, Õhtuleht, 29 March 2013, retrieved from <http://www.ohtuleht.ee/515262> on 17 February 2014
- Veintsel, Aimar (2013): Viru ärikate rehabiliteerimine, Eesti Päevaleht, 15 April 2013, retrieved from <http://www.epl.ee/news/arvamus/aimar-ventsel-viru-arikate-rehabiliteerimine.d?id=65970938> on 26 February 2014

Soviet time articles

- Bruns, D. (1970) Mõningaid mõtteid Tallinna uue keskuse kujundamisest, Sirp ja Vasar, 23 October 1970
- Ivask, U. (1971): *Mis saab homme?*, Sirp ja Vasar, 22 January 1971
- Kuusik, E. (1971) *Vana ja uus linn*, Sirp ja Vasar, 20 August 1971
- Maremäe, E. (1970): *Tallinn 21. sajandi alguses, intervjuu D. Brunsiga*, Sirp ja Vasar, 17 July 1970
- Port, M. (1965): *Keskväljakust ühiskondliku keskuseni*, Ehitus ja Arhitektuur, 1965:4
- Tomps, F. (1971): *Vana ja uus linn*, Sirp ja Vasar, 20 August 1971

