

MARI NUGA

Soviet-era summerhouses
On homes and planning in
post-socialist suburbia



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Department of Geography, Institute of Ecology and Earth Sciences, Faculty of Science and Technology, University of Tartu, Estonia

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LIST OF RESEARCH PAPERS

This dissertation combines the following research papers that have been published or which are forthcoming in international peer-reviewed scientific publications:

- Paper I Leetmaa, K., A. Kährik, **M. Nuga** and T. Tammaru (2013) Suburbanization in the Tallinn Metropolitan Area. In Stanilov, K. and L. Sýkora (eds.), *Confronting Suburbanization: Decentralization in Post-socialist Central and Eastern Europe*, 216–248. Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford.
- Paper II Leetmaa, K., I. Brade, K. Anniste and **M. Nuga** (2012) Socialist Summer-home Settlements in Post-socialist Suburbanisation. *Urban Studies*, 49.1, 3–21
- Paper III **Nuga, M.**, P. Metspalu, A. Org and K. Leetmaa (2015) Planning post-sumurbia: From spontaneous pragmatism to collaborative planning? *Moravian Geographical Reports*, 4.23, 36–46.
- Paper IV **Nuga, M.**, K. Leetmaa and T. Tammaru (forthcoming) Durable Domestic Dreams: Exploring Homes in Estonian Socialist-era Summerhouse Settlements *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (accepted for publication).

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Author's contribution to each paper:

- Paper I The author participated in designing and writing the manuscript. The author participated in the data gathering process and was fully responsible for designing, actioning, and analysing the focus-group study that was used in the publication.
- Paper II The author participated in the study design and in collecting the main data source that was used in this paper – the inventory that was carried out in 2007. The author participated in designing and writing the manuscript.
- Paper III The author bore primary responsibility for the original idea for the publication and for the study design, carrying out part of the fieldworks, being the chief analyst, and also acting as main writer.
- Paper IV The author bore primary responsibility for the original idea for the publication, was fully responsible for the study design, carried out the fieldwork and analysis solo, and wrote the paper.

1. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation serves as a contribution to the growing body of literature that covers the transformation process of urban areas in countries that are undergoing a systemic transition from state socialism and central planning to a market economy under conditions of liberal democracy. Three main themes are discussed: (1) suburbanisation at a more general level; (2) suburbanisation at the personal level of establishing homes; and (3) the role of planning in taming and framing everyday suburban life. The empirical focus is directed towards the experiences of former socialist-era summerhouse settlements (also known as *dacha* settlements) and of their residents. The field setting is represented by those settlements that are located within the proximity of the two major cities in Estonia – Tallinn and Tartu. These are milieus that evolved as a result of socialist ideology-driven planning practices. At the same time, they have been subjected to multiple influences during the transition from socialism to a market economy, becoming an integral part of the increasingly heterogeneous ‘post-socialist’ suburbia.

Suburbanisation is largely a post-millennium phenomenon in post-socialist settings and, so far, it has been extensively studied, with an emphasis on macro-level patterns (cf. Tammaru *et al.*, 2004; Hirt, 2007; Ouředníček, 2007; Krišjāne and Bērziņš, 2012; Stanilov and Sýkora, 2014a). The sheer scale of the phenomenon, and its eye-catching characteristics, have tended to conceal the multi-faceted, complex, and at times contested nature of the process (Borén and Gentile 2007, Novák and Sýkora 2007). While the novel social worlds and lifestyles that are unfolding in the wake of suburbanisation have also attracted some attention (Novák and Sýkora, 2007; Ojamäe, 2009; Spačková and Ouředníček, 2012, Silm *et al.*, 2013), this dissertation contributes to the literature by highlighting the diversity, complexity, and multi-layered nature of post-socialist suburbia, starting from the macro level and subsequently zooming down to the level of the everyday lives and livelihoods of the suburbanite.

The important point of departure in this work is not to look at the post-socialist suburbs solely through the reductionist lens of the statistician’s or cartographer’s gaze, but as a setting for individual households and homes. The methodology used in this dissertation has been evolved during the work-process from the quantitative towards qualitative methods, resulting in ethnographic fieldwork that was conducted in order to understand the variegated ways through which life in former summerhouse areas is lived, experienced, and interpreted.

Suburbanisation at the personal level: homes

Reflecting on the multi-ethnic background and multiple homelands of her childhood, Finno-Ugric ethnologist, Eva Toulouze, once said: “For Estonians it is usually very odd that someone could be born into the world without having the concept of ‘home’ being unequivocally clear”, (2016). Her account is simultaneously that of the insider and of the outsider, as she became Estonian by

living and working in the country for two decades. Her experience illustrates a central theme in this dissertation – that *home* is not a self-evident concept, that it is an elusive mélange of tangible and intangible demesnes that is constantly in the making.

Home has a significant meaning for people, and it is a cornerstone of society. It is where we live our lives and where we find security and contentment. Most of all, a home is more than just a house. It is also a setting for feelings, cultural meanings, and a place for their negotiation (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). It is a site that intimately concentrates personal emotions, connections, identities, and memories, but at the same time it is inextricably linked to the cultural, political, and economic development of its surrounding society (Tuan, 1977; Douglas, 1991; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Brickell, 2012a; 2012b). This dissertation engages with ‘home’ in the Estonian context. It juxtaposes the socialist and post-socialist societal, political, economic, and cultural context with individual motivations for choosing particular living places and everyday arrangements.

The way in which people organise their everyday lives and negotiate their feelings of *home* is connected with, restrained by, and also enabled by planning. In the post-socialist context, in which planning practices are described as being little updated from the socialist years, and as being trampled down by neoliberal economies (Altrock *et al*, 2006; Hirt and Stanilov, 2009), well-managed planning systems are still out of sight. Suburban residential areas are generally discussed under the headlines of various unsustainability hazards, which demand the missing comprehensiveness in planning. In parallel, the dominating theories in planning highlight the importance of participative, communicative and collaborative qualities in planning (Healey, 2009; Innes and Booher, 2015). These qualities are based on the basic social interactions and are structured through institutional designs and deeper values in society; therefore they are very much context-dependent (Healey, 2003). This work looks at the messiness of post-socialist suburban planning and communication between the involved parties, both from the perspectives of residents and local planners, in order to understand the challenges that planning faces at this level.

1.1. Aim

The socialist-era summerhouse areas are places in which people carry out and justify their everyday lives. These are also settlements that are part of city suburban areas – they are an integral part of the urban system. These summerhouse areas were established during the socialist era, with particular functions and ideologies that created certain identities and cultural connotations (cf Lovell, 2003). Therefore, the settlements that form part of this study are intertwined with societal, political, and cultural influences, and so are the changes that have taken place within these areas during the post-socialist transition. The home-places for suburban residents and the way life is lived, experienced and interpreted in these places presents a basic structure for society.

With this background in mind, the overall aim of this dissertation is as follows:

To understand the changes that have taken place in the former socialist-era summerhouse settlements and to explore individual experiences in living there and explanations regarding these experiences.

In relation to this broad aim, the main themes and research questions covered in this dissertation are as follows:

1. The factors that are related to and which influence the intensive post-socialist suburbanisation process.
 - a. What are the preconditions and how has the process of suburbanisation unfolded within the study area?
2. The processes of suburbanisation influencing former socialist-era summerhouse settlements.
 - a. What are the effects of post-socialist transition on the ‘genuine’ socialist settlements that are located within the suburban range?
 - b. What are the socio-economic characteristics of the residents of these areas, and what do their living conditions look like?
3. Planning issues in ‘post-summurbia’, the social dynamics in the settlements and in the communications with the planning authorities.
 - a. How are planning problems relating to everyday life concerns in the relevant settlements?
 - b. What are the signs and practices of collaboration in the settlements?
4. The notion of *home* in the post-socialist context.
 - a. Which are the important aspects that make a house a *home* in former summerhouse settlements?
 - b. How has the idea of *home* evolved within the broader societal context?

The aim is pursued through four research papers. I use a combination of quantitative (mainly descriptive statistics) and qualitative methods, interview studies, and ethnographic fieldwork to capture the diversity of research situations that this dissertation project has presented.

1.2. Sub-disciplinal relevance

The topics covered and questions raised in this dissertation serve to address several sub-disciplines and themes in geography, as well as spatial planning. Suburban areas, including the socialist-era summerhouse settlements that will be examined in this study, are part of the broader urban and settlement system, and for this reason this dissertation has its (sub-)disciplinary home base within urban geography. The work connects to humanistic geography, as it is broadly understood, by placing an emphasis on human experiences, awareness, and consciousness as the centre of the study. There are connections to emotional

geography in the way my informants connect to their living environments and to each other in planning situations. It also touches on the literature of environmental psychology, as well as that of critical geography and feminist geography, as the topic of *home* has been greatly developed and influenced by these fields.

Using the qualitative and ethnographic approach, my study broadens the general qualitative understandings that are little studied in geography, be it regionally (in Eastern and Central Europe, namely the former socialist countries), locally in Estonia, or in suburban areas. It diversifies the largely prevailing neoliberal discussions in the region about housing and planning. It adds to the body of research on issues of how we want to live, how we actually live, how we interpret our lives, and how all of these views change over time. These issues are important in a practical perspective, as well as on a more theoretical perspective when it comes to spatial planning and housing policies.

1.3. Outline

This dissertation proceeds with a background description of the main study areas (chapter 2) – the Soviet-era summerhouse settlements. It presents the historical background of the areas, as well as previous research in similar and related settings. In doing so it highlights the geographically and theoretically contextualised issues that are related to the empirical foil. This is followed by the theoretical framework (chapter 3) within which the four empirical studies can be placed. It includes theoretical discussions and previous research in related areas of inquiry. The next section (chapter 4) discusses the methodological groundings for the study and presents the methods and data. The results are presented as paper summaries (chapter 5) and are followed by a concluding discussion (chapter 6) on the key results and conclusions, and on potential areas of further research.

This dissertation is based on four research papers. My two earliest papers (referred as *Paper III* and *Paper IV*) are largely built on the other two, which themselves provide more general background to the research topic and for the region (*Paper I* and *Paper II*). *Paper I* discusses the suburbanisation in general in the CEE country of Estonia, focusing on the capital city, Tallinn, and *Paper II* sheds light on the quantitatively measurable process of the former socialist-era seasonal settlements becoming a permanent part of suburbia. The other two papers are based on the qualitative study that was aimed at understanding more thoroughly the perspectives of residents in regard to living permanently in former socialist-era summerhouse areas. *Paper III* looks into the planning situation in the former summerhouse areas, considers the communications activities of local residents and planning authorities, and discusses planning perspectives. *Paper IV* uses an ethnographic approach and strives to understand the notion of *home* for the residents of former summerhouse areas.

2. SOVIET-ERA SUMMERHOUSE AREAS IN RESEARCH CONTEXT

The case focus of this work is on the Soviet-era summerhouse settlements. More precisely, those settlements that are situated within the close proximity of Estonia's biggest cities, Tallinn and Tartu (Figure 1).

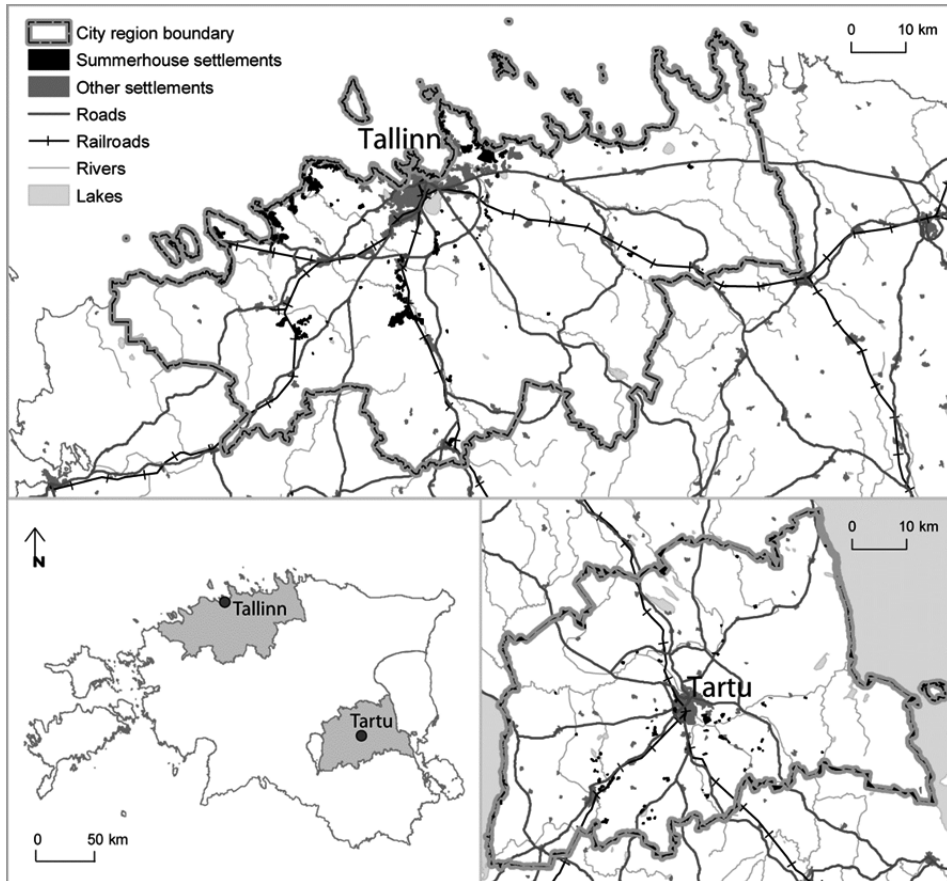


Figure 1. The locations of socialist-era summerhouse settlements in the Tallinn and Tartu urban regions (reproduced from *Paper IV*).

First of all, the key phrase used to designate these areas needs to be explained – *Soviet-era summerhouse settlements* (some impressions from these areas are depicted in Figure 2). The *Soviet-era* is included in this expression because these areas were established between the 1960s and 1991, during the period in which Estonia was dominated by the Soviet regime. The establishment of the

areas that are being studied took place in the Soviet context that will be looked into in more detail in the following sections of this chapter.



Figure 2. Examples of renovated houses in the former Socialist-era summerhouse settlements. Photos by the author, October 2014.

The second part of the phrase, *summerhouse*, has its strengths and weaknesses in the broadness of the concept, and in the fact that many similar terms are used in literature. Summerhouses can have a variety of locations, appearances, volumes, and functions. Summerhouses could be named such as, for example, summer homes/dwellings/cottages, second homes/dwellings, or recreation/holiday/leisure homes/dwellings/houses/cabins/cottages. The specific title is often determined by the focus of studies that belong mainly to the fields of tourism or settlement geography or when the terms are being used as synonyms. Additionally, summerhouses can have regional-specific names and connotations that are related to the native languages, as with *dacha* in Russia (Lovell, 2003), *chata* in the Czech Republic (Vágner *et al*, 2011), *stuga* in Sweden, *mökki* in Finland, *hytte* in Norway (Müller, 2007), and *suvila* in Estonia. For the current dissertation, summerhouses are given a basic definition as houses that were built for seasonal use (in other words it is not possible to permanently reside in them in the Estonian climate), and where their users have a permanent residence somewhere else.

The third part of the phrase is *settlement*. This highlights the specifics of this study in that the summerhouses that were observed have been combined into larger or smaller settlements and are not single huts that are scattered across the countryside. This connects to the specific context, ideology, and planning practices of Soviet-era urbanism. The fact that these settlements are also situated closely to urban centres adds an additional measure of mutual influence within the general settlement system. One conclusion of a large number of studies on

summerhouse areas relating to (sub)urban processes is that these areas have been contested by urbanisation and have been converted into permanent homes (cf. Jaakson, 1986 on Canada; Nyström, 1989 and Müller and Marjavaara, 2012 on Sweden; Ioffe and Nefedova, 1998 on Russia; Fialová, 1999 on the Czech Republic; Kok and Kovács, 1999 and Pócsi, 2011 on Hungary; Makowska-Iskierka, 2006 on Poland; Hirt, 2007 on Bulgaria).

The terms that are used to refer to summerhouse areas vary in the papers that have been included in my work as the definition was more greatly specified whilst conducting the study. *Summer home areas/settlements* and *dacha settlements* are used in *Paper I* and *Paper II*. In *Paper III*, I coined a new term to highlight the urban-relations and summer-seasonal characteristics of these settlements. I labelled them *summurbia* and *post-summurbia*. The term with the *post-* prefix points out the process of settlements changing from seasonal residence to permanent. In parallel, *summerhouse area* is used as a synonym and the term *dacha* is used only to connect the settlements to their Soviet past. In *Paper IV*, the term *summerhouse area/settlement* is used and I especially avoided the term *summer home* so that it would not generate confusion with the aim of this paper, to study domesticity. In the text at hand, I mainly use the term *summerhouse settlements*, while occasionally also using *summurbia* and *post-summurbia*.

2.1. The historical context of Soviet-era summerhouse areas

I follow the suggestion by Vágner *et al* (2011: 193) that ‘second home development is influenced by the interrelated political, economic, demographic and subjective factors’. I explain within this framework the establishment of Soviet-era summerhouses, adding some historical explanation. In the forthcoming text I use, among various literature references, those expert interviews that were conducted with Estonian Soviet-era planning-related specialists (which are explained in more detail in chapter 4.3.3). The history of Estonian Soviet-era summerhouse settlements connects to the Russian *dacha* culture, as the decisions behind setting-up the settlements were made within the context of central planning and were carried out by the Soviet chief planning authorities which were situated in Moscow (Siht, 2011).

Lovell (2003) has written a throughout history of the *dacha* culture in Russia. He explains that *dachi* (the plural of *dacha*) started off fairly prosperously at the end of the nineteenth century. They were used mainly by the cultural elite and were known by their bohemian and artistic atmosphere. They were mainly larger rural mansions of decorated wooden architecture. These houses had several rooms that were rented and used by the *dachniki*. The first Soviet *dachi* in the 1920s and 1930s were also distinctively elite, being populated by Party or state functionaries and middle managers (*ibid.*: 153). During this period the population of *dacha* settlements changed often, as these people formed a group that was the most vulnerable to being unmasked as ‘enemies of

the people' at that stage of the Soviet state (*ibid*). The *dachi* remained solely for the use of the elite until the end of the 1950s, although the conditions became simpler over time (*ibid*: 171).

Only by the end of the 1950s were the political decisions taken to widen the accessibility of *dachi* and make them available for the masses. Politically the 'individual' function of providing recreation was not considered as being genuinely socialist at all but was accepted by the authorities thanks to Russia's long-established traditions (Shaw, 1979). In order to 'collectivise' the *dacha* idea a different type of Soviet-like summerhouses were established that served to initiate active leisure during summer holidays – 'garden cooperatives' and "summer garden cottage cooperatives' (Shaw, 1979), or 'garden-plot cooperatives' (Lovell, 2003: 190). These were meant for ordinary Soviet citizens who were living in city apartments without a garden. Garden cooperatives were very small garden plots (about 25m²) that were located within the footprint of high-rise estates or side-by-side with them. 'Summer garden cottage cooperatives' were similar to *dachi*, and they inherited this designation. These were located further away from town and had permission to build small 40m² chalets (with a surface area of 25m²) with no heating installed, although in later years heating was also allowed (Lovell, 2003). In this dissertation the simple allotment gardens without huts are omitted (although these also existed and still do exist in Estonia), and only those settlements with proper summerhouses (*aiamaja* or *suvemaja/suvila* in Estonian) were considered – these offered the option of 'seasonal suburbanisation' (a term used by Rudolph and Brade, 2005), and are therefore regarded as the summurban settlements by me.

These summurban areas were established alongside the state-subsidised standard urban apartments of large housing estates (French and Hamilton, 1979), themselves located around bigger cities for urban residents. In this sense they developed in parallel with the general ideas of socialist urban planning. In the vast available body of literature, *dachi* are connected to the shortage economy, especially food shortages as private vegetable and fruit production was promoted (Shaw, 1979; French, 1995; Struyk and Angelici, 1996; Seeth *et al*, 1998; Ashwin, 1999), and these plots were even considered to be part of an employee's wage (Southworth, 2006). For the socialist system these areas were also a way of promoting sporty recreation, and were even presented as means of preventing drunkenness (Niineväli, 2011). In addition to Russia (and in Estonia, for my case), the decisions to establish garden plots and summerhouse plots was exported to the other Soviet states and socialist countries of this era (these topics are discussed by Fialová, 1999 on the Czech Republic; Pócsi, 2011 on Hungary; Makowska-Iskierka, 2006 on Poland; and Hirt, 2007 on Bulgaria). It became a mass phenomenon in the Soviet Union and its vicinity, a single 'product' that could suffer no shortages (Ashwin, 1999: 42).

A summerhouse plot was a desired residential model for the socialist urban dweller with its association with social life, recreation, freedom, privacy, ownership, domesticity, and subsistence (Lovell, 2003; Caldwell, 2010), a need that the centralised plans failed to meet (French, 1995).

2.2. Planning and establishing Soviet-era summurbia in Estonia

The location of the socialist-era summerhouse settlements was determined by how close was the city; the location could be anything up to tens of kilometres from the urban area in question but still close to bus routes or railway lines. These suburban-rural areas were generally kept for agriculture, to provide food for the urbanised population (Pallot, 1993; Marksoo, 2005). Summerhouse settlements were, therefore, established on agriculturally-prioritised zones but were never built on good agricultural land. Instead, the settlements were set out on fields to which the big agricultural machinery did not have access (similar to *dachi* locations in Russia, cf Lovell, 2003: 193); additionally, the beauty of the landscape was still considered (Männiksaar, 2011). In Estonia, the summerhouse cooperatives were divided into two categories: a) *aianduskooperatiivid* (gardening cooperatives) which prioritised growing fruit and vegetables, and b) *suvituskooperatiivid* (leisure cooperatives) in which any form of gardening was prohibited. The latter type was less common and was mainly for employees of the Ministry of Agriculture, or agronomists at the collective farms, or cultural elites; in general urbanised people were rather more interested in getting access to vegetable gardens (Niineväli, 2011; Siht, 2011, Rodima, 2011). For the former type the land was mainly brushy wetland and people had to clear it by themselves; the latter type was normally situated in the pine forests along coastal areas (Niineväli, 2011). Summurban settlements covered relatively large areas. The surface of one single plot was between 600m² to 1100m² (Männiksaar, 2011). One settlement normally consisted of a good many cooperatives. The minimum number of plots for one cooperative was eight and there was no maximum limit (Männiksaar, 2011). The bigger enterprises that had a higher level of priority in the region or in the county also managed to get the better locations for summer home cooperatives (Niineväli, 2011).

Institutionally the land was reserved for summerhouse settlements at the state planning level – the land managers of the Executive Committee made the decisions (Niineväli, 2011; Siht, 2011). People who wanted plots had to belong to the trade unions at their work place or profession, where the cooperatives were established. Then a statute was agreed with the Executive Committee of the region (Niineväli 2011). A firm location was chosen by the members of the cooperative themselves, keeping in mind suitable locations in which the heavy agriculture was impossible (Rodima, 2011). Various parties, including the agricultural inspection division and the regional architect, had to provide permission before the Executive Committee could confirm the decision (Rodima, 2011). There was a group of planners, a so-called ‘production group’ working on detailed plans for the area. An architect drew up the plan for the cooperative: this included main roads, the entrance roads for plots, water wells, and drainage (Niineväli, 2011). The positioning of electricity and water pipes was planned out by specialists. In many trade unions they drew lots for the location of the plot in the cooperative, mainly after the leaders of the institutions had already chosen their plots (Niineväli, 2011). People could choose their architectural

project from those that were available, and in cases in which they required adjustments to be made, they simply had to pay for it. It was common for large numbers of people to choose the same project and divide the costs for adjustments between them, although it was still also possible to order individual projects (Niineväli, 2011). When the architectural schemes were drawn-up, the cooperative gained its building permit with permissions from very many safety control officials – fire safety, electricity, water, etc (Rodima, 2011). This kind of establishment scheme goes hand-in-hand with the ways in which such areas were created and governed in Soviet Russia (Lovell, 2003: 181). Similar to the Soviet-era planning strategies in general, the socialist-era summerhouse settlements were planned with rigid, normative, and fixed restrictions on location, the size of the plots, architectural design, and functions in these areas (French, 1995).

At the start, a ground surface of 25m² was allowed for the hut, although Soviet heroes and child-rich families could ask for an extra 10m² (Männiksaar, 2011). The gardens were not supposed to have fences, only a hedge was allowed inside the cooperative; the cooperative itself normally had a fence to keep out wild animals and unwanted visitors (Niineväli, 2011). Not allowing proper fences was grounded in the general idea of keeping these areas temporary – in case the central government wanted to use the land for some other purpose, in which case the sites would be easier to clear (Niineväli, 2011). The buildings had very strict rules and following the architectural schemes was enforced by means of irregular check-ups. Activities in the garden were everyone's own business; they did not have to follow the garden plan when it came to planting fruit trees or berry bushes, or in laying out vegetable beds, but everyone established a garden as it was considered to be one of the main points of value for these areas (Niineväli, 2011). The rules in summerhouse areas became more and more lenient over the years, with the help of Soviet-Estonian planners who were lobbying at the centre of power in Moscow for extra permissions for saunas and other outhouses (Siht, 2011). People could build heating bodies, or insulate and build cellars under the houses, but they did not do it quite that much as the materials were very difficult to get hold of and were also relatively expensive (Niineväli, 2011). As early as the 1980s, some of the plots could be registered as permanent places of residence, but any refurbishment work had still to follow strict regulations and confirmed architectural project outlines (Niineväli, 2011).

There were ideas to transform summerhouse settlements that bordered the city into permanent residential garden towns during the last decade of socialism, but there were several problems with this, including legislative headaches as the land rights belonged to the cooperative, not to individuals (Niineväli, 2011; Männiksaar, 2011). In the end, socialist-era planners did not come up with a way of transforming these areas into permanent residential districts.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the summerhouse plots were privatised by their former users and became private property. Even so, this did not solve the problems that had been raised by Soviet-era planners. During the tran-

sition process, most post-socialist countries were moving towards administrative decentralisation and increased self-government at the local level (Hirt and Stanilov, 2009; Tsenkova, 2011). These newly empowered but financially poor local authorities were now in charge of detailed residential planning, but they had far more acute concerns than the changing summurbia, namely a rearrangement of the planning system in general (Simpson and Chapman, 1999; Samarüütel *et al*, 2010; Roose and Kull, 2012). The liberal planning regime that was characterised by ‘boosterism’ (Ruoppila, 2007) and *ad hoc* pragmatism (French, 1995) brought the new phenomenon of market-led residential suburbanisation that was initiated to a great extent by property developers in the region who had formerly been regulated by the socialist planning regime (for example, see Treivish *et al*, 1999; Tammaru, 2001; Timár and Váradi, 2001; Tosics, 2003; Hirt, 2007; Ouředníček, 2007). The changes that have been made in the summerhouse settlements have not been monitored or checked by the authorised municipalities or initiated by property estate developers; they have taken place in a patchwork fashion, undertaken by the plot owners themselves. The areas have been and are developing into post-summurbia, where the summer-urban characteristic is changed to permanent-suburban.

Although the original infrastructure of the summerhouse areas did not have to meet the standards of permanent residence and there has been no systematic planning-related influence to change it, people have moved into these areas. This connects to one of my research aims; understanding these management and planning processes in more detail. *Paper I* highlights the preconditions, and covers how the process of suburbanisation has been unfolding in the suburban areas in general, including in those summurban settlements. *Paper II* looks in more depth at summurbia and reflects upon the suburbanization effects of post-socialist transition on these existing socialist-genuine settlements within suburban range. In *Paper III* the focus is on the planning and management issues in post-summurbia and the social dynamics in the settlements along with the communication to the planning authorities.

2.3. Economic strategies for (post-)summurban areas

A wide range of literature on the Soviet/socialist and post-Soviet/socialist *dacha* areas discusses their economic aspect. The plots were as close as one could get to capitalist-style ownership during the Soviet era: savings could be invested, wealth accumulated, and success exposed (Lovell, 2003). The idea that the *dachi* or the Soviet-style garden-plot cooperatives were a way of overcoming food shortages in the general setting of a shortage economy has been assigned as a common feature of these areas (Shaw, 1979; French, 1995; Ashwin, 1999; Lovell, 2003). In addition to food production, it is also connected to the idea that the Soviet workers could not afford any holiday trips, and a summerhouse was the place to spend one’s holidays (Domański, 1997). The popularity of the Soviet *dacha* was based on its economic utility and also a coping strategy,

rather than being the sign of affluence that second homes are commonly considered to be in Western countries (Paris, 2010).

The transition from socialism focussed the interest of scholars even more intently on the *dacha*-economies and the ‘coping strategy’. There is a range of literature that calculates and discusses the rationality behind making ends meet by means of garden food production. It is made clear that garden production is not something that keeps the poorest households on track as they, generally, do not own or use *dachi*, and the same thing applies to the richest households (Struck and Angelici, 1996; Seeth *et al*, 1998; Clark, 2002; Southworth, 2006, Rowe, 2009). Surprisingly, Clark (2002) as well as Southworth (2006) conclude that economic utility is not sufficient to explain the widespread use of *dacha* plots. Still, Southworth (2006) finds that the decision by residents to garden there is a rational decision that is made every spring, depending on the concurrent economic uncertainty and often accruing wages depths. Also, as Zavisca (2003: 789) has noticed, the variance of Clarks’ (2002) data is high and there is a minority of users for whom the *dacha* is an important resource despite the average *dacha* user not gaining sufficient input from gardening. Seeth *et al* (1998: 1618) provide a convincing argument that ‘entering transformation with a well-managed, efficient garden plot certainly was an advantage in dealing with the new risks from exogenous shocks and market disruptions’. Round *et al* (2010) argue, based on their study which was carried out in Ukraine, that during the Soviet years, people grew foodstuff due to the lack of choice and quality as, during the post-Soviet years, the general Soviet-era social guarantees were abolished and everyday life became more stressful, with cultivation being a way of assuring a feeling of security. They also assert (*ibid*), that increased social marginalisation and unaffordable prices on the housing market has forced some households to move to *dachi* in order to save on utility bills or allow their children to use their urban apartments.

Inspired by these debates on what are mainly Russian *dachi*, this dissertation elaborates on the ‘survival strategy’ idea, but transforms this from gardening to housing. This connects to the critical discussions over post-socialist housing conditions, where the harsh conditions in the mortgage market and economic inequalities that accompanied neoliberal reforms have made it difficult to establish new households and has even ruined the lives of many families (cf. Stenning *et al*, 2010; Zavisca, 2012). The summerhouse areas can be considered to be part of the housing stock that became available for permanent residence after 1991. The study on the destination of suburbanisers in Estonia has shown that less affluent people went to these areas compared to the new residential areas that were built after 1990 (Leetmaa and Tammaru, 2007). In *Paper II*, the current work brings this question under greater observation and examines the conditions in which the permanent residents of former summerhouse areas are living, describing the social characteristics of the residents themselves. *Paper IV*, on the other hand, contradicts this idea of a ‘coping strategy’ and the dark picture painted by neoliberalism by highlighting the importance of the emotional ties that the residents have along with their sheer number.

As highlighted above, economic studies of *dacha* areas reach the common conclusion that the popularity of still using these areas for gardening in post-Soviet times does not have an explanation that is only rational. For Zavisca (2003: 789) these areas are a ‘discursive arena for debating the rationality and morality of transition to a market economy’, as on *dacha* plots everyday life and social stratification is broad. Round and Williams (2010) stress the importance of an informal economy and social networks that have developed around the *dacha* business, where sharing food and helping those who are in need is the elementary coping tactic. That, and also other aspects of the relationship to the place, are specific to these summerhouse areas and are further elaborated in the next section.

2.4. Communal and personal connections to summerhouse areas

It became an important part of Soviet pride and identity to refer to oneself as a *dachnik*; communal self-help practices and the shared difficulties that had to be overcome bonded the garden settlements better than any collectivist ideology and made a ‘new form of community with its own set of values and established models of behaviour’ (Lovell, 2003: 197). It is commonly known that community life in the Soviet summerhouse settlement was very active in its nature (Caldwell, 2011). The areas mainly combined people from the similar backgrounds – profession or work place – and they were often combined by very good friends and workmates who established their small summer-time brotherhood in the countryside (Rodima, 2011). Community life was a key feature, running in parallel with growing food. Zavisca (2003: 809) describes the *dacha* users as follows: ‘All were once members of a broad Soviet class of urban professionals for whom *dachi* were consumer rewards that required active cultivation to incorporate and increase cultural capital’.

Lovell (2003: 200) has highlighted the personal pride of a Soviet summerhouse user: ‘The owner of a *dacha* stands out among those around him: he is practical, industrious, determined, and full of optimism in his anticipation of regular contact with nature’. The same pride was present in Estonian garden cooperatives (Männiksaar 2011). Eve Niineväli (2011) described vividly how the distribution of summerhouse plots took place in Estonia: ‘People were like seagulls after a fish, everyone wanted it!’ The willingness of a city dweller to confront serious obstacles in order to satisfy their thirst for land has been always praised and sympathised in texts that cover *dachi* (Lovell, 2003: 202).

One important measure that was projected into the post-socialist period was that Soviet-era and socialist-era urban phenomenon in general – something that is very visible in summurbia – do-it-yourself activities (cf. Varga-Harris, 2008; Bouzarovski *et al*, 2011; Milstead, 2013; Soaita, 2013; Sgibnev, 2013). Everything was done by the summerhouse users themselves, be it preparing the bushy and often swampy ground for settlement’s territory, building the hut itself (and finding materials for building in the context of the shortage economy), setting

up the vegetable beds (and finding plants and seeds for it, along with taking care of it for the entire growing season), or any other refurbishment or decorating activities. These forms of activity bonded people to the plot and to the community (Lovell, 2003; Niineväli, 2011; Siht, 2011).

Due to the informal networks and relationships in the community versus the higher degree of formality and the alienation of city life, these summerhouse areas were also 'perceived as a place of enhanced privacy [when] compared to city living conditions' (Kasatkina, 2011: 41). The same author claims, with an example of tensions regarding building fences between summerhouse plots (something that was previously forbidden), that nowadays 'people tend to care about their own business and their families only, because any civil activity in the existing framework is associated with undesirable features of the past; moreover, it is seen as incompatible with the informal atmosphere of a *dacha* community' (*ibid*: 27, emphasis added).

The measure of privacy that the plots offered is also related to the political non-control there, something that was more or less absent elsewhere during the socialist years (Vágner *et al*, 2011). The *dacha* is often portrayed as a site of political resistance (cf. Lovell, 2003). On one hand, it was the Soviet-era 'oppressive regime', but it is also connected to the uncertainties of the transition period (Round *et al*, 2010) and the capitalist period (Zavisca, 2003). This form of rebelliousness, with shared secrets regarding illegal or partly illegal activities, added an additional level of depth to the bonds in the (post-)summurban community.

The personal bonding to a summerhouse plot and the community is genuine not only in regard to Soviet-era summerhouses. The vast literature on second homes and summer homes shows that it is common for people to become rooted in places that are only intended for temporary 'tourist' visits (Jaakson, 1986; Haltrup, 2004; Tuulentie, 2007; Müller and Marjavaara, 2012). Jaakson (1986) has formed an extended list of ten aspects that connect second-home owners to their seasonal residences and makes them go there again and again. He highlights the fact that these places contain both routine and novelty, they offer an inversion of everyday life, with going back to nature being important for his Canadian urban residents. The places also connect to the identity of the second-home user; they offer a different time schedule to that of urban life with its daily obligations and therefore serves to bond together family members. An important measure is the measure of continuity – second homes are often owned for long time; they offer opportunities for physical work and maintenance activities. They also have an elitist aura as second homes are considered to be privileges in the Canadian context. The aspects that Jaakson (1986) highlighted are also recognisable in regard to Soviet-era summerhouse users and I also examine more thoroughly what the personal measures may be and how the connection to the current home is established during past experiences in *Paper IV*.

In summary, the summerhouse areas are an interesting phenomena of Soviet-era urbanism which have several implications when it comes to understanding urban and suburban life. The theoretical ideas that I connect to these areas are discussed in the next section.

3. THEORETICAL CONTEXT

This section outlines the theoretical points of departure on which this dissertation draws. It aims to provide an elaborated background to the research papers and, additionally, place the study into a wider theoretical context. The first section presents a wider urban geography context that is followed by the next section going deeper into the studies and theorisations on residential suburban developments that have been made in the post-socialist context. I elaborate on the planning theories by focusing on the collaborative approach and (sub)urban planning issues that are affected by the transition from socialism. I continue by discussing examples from qualitative studies that have been conducted on post-socialist urban contexts and, by doing that, arrive at the longest section, which discusses the *home* topic in various paradigms and studies, as this is the main theoretical concept that has grown from my ethnographic study.

3.1. A place in urban geography

The Soviet-era summerhouse settlements in this dissertation belong to the suburban zones of the cities, and these have a number of urban features as has been highlighted in the previous paragraph, not least the fact that the original users were all concurrently living in urban apartments. This is the starting point, explaining why I have positioned this work within the discipline of urban and settlement geography. Urban studies form a very wide umbrella in the contemporary ‘urban age’, in which the cities play an important role in any society. It is arguable whether the summerhouse areas are even urban at all, rather being rural, and if they change to become permanent living places, how does this change their messy rural/urban status (cf. Jaakson, 1986; Nyström, 1989). Urban and rural and suburban characteristics are contested in this case. I draw from the critical paper by Brenner and Schmid (2014) who suggest a framework for planetary urbanisation that would ‘interrogate the underlying conceptual assumptions and cartographic frameworks’ (*ibid*: 749) around which the urban social science and policy discourses are organised. They propose, among other things, that ‘urban cannot be plausibly understood as a bounded, enclosed site of social relations that is to be contested against non-urban zones or conditions’ (*ibid*: 750). They continue:

Within this extended, increasingly worldwide field of urban development and infrastructural equipment, agglomerations form, expand, shrink and morph continuously, but always via dense webs of relations to other places, whose historical patterns and developmental pathways are in turn mediated ever more directly through their modes of connection/disconnection to the hegemonic zones of urban concentration (*ibid*: 751).

This kind of idea summarises the necessity I have felt to connect to the history of urban development in relation to the Soviet-era summerhouse, in addition to looking at the contemporary everyday social and spatial connections in

these areas. It shows how urban relations to places have changed – with summerhouse function changing into residential function and the network around it equally changing.

Taking into account the Soviet history of urban development, Murray and Szelenyi (1984: 90) claim that although ‘socialist theory is pro-urban, socialist practices appear to be rather “anti-urban”’. They state that urbanism is a genuinely capitalist phenomena as it assumes the accumulation of capital and, although, the socialist cities contained a considerable amount of urban industrial employment, the ideological and political consideration of strict migratory controls lead to ‘zero urban growth’ and ‘under-urbanisation’ (*ibid*: 97; this idea is also discussed and empirically tested by Sjöberg (1992)). Murray and Szelenyi (1984: 102) suggest that the signs of urbanism leads the way for a transition to capitalism. As I previously highlighted, Socialist-era summerhouses were not genuinely socialist and are instead rather more connected to liberal and capitalist values (Shaw, 1979; Lovell, 2003). They are the signs of urbanism that Murray and Szelenyi (1984) were warning about.

3.2. Suburbanisation in the post-socialist context

Although, in the pre-socialist period in Central and Eastern Europe, the suburbanisation process was similar to that on the western side of Europe, and the suburban areas developed around cities (Kok and Kovács, 1999; Sýkora, 1999; Ott, 2001; Tosics, 2005), the socialist regime changed this trend dramatically. During the decades of centrally planned economic and spatial development under the auspices of monopolistic communist parties, the urban areas were prioritised, and their industrial bases in particular, at the expense of the suburban low-rise residential environment (Konrád and Szelényi, 1974; Nove, 1986; Szelényi, 1983; Kornai, 1996).

Therefore, suburban living under socialism had a different meaning than in the West because it reflected pre-urban migration rather than post-urban residential mobility. This stems from the general shortage economy that also resulted in the shortage of appropriate urban housing – newly built socialist modern housing estates – and the rural fringe along with the crowded inner city tenements were the alternative option for housing (Khorev and Likhoded, 1983; Szelényi, 1983; Sjöberg, 1994; Szymańska and Matczak, 2002). In fact, in the Soviet Union the suburban scene started to change as early as the 1980s, as new economic priorities and respective investments favoured agriculture in and beyond the urban fringe areas (Marksoo, 1984; Tammaru, 2001). At this point, some people actually chose to move to the suburban ring in order to work in collective or state farms (Berényi, 1986; Tammaru, 2001). Even so, the quality of suburban life varied across time and space; in general, and with the (partial) exception of the 1980s, permanent life outside the urban core came at the cost of various forms of socio-economic disadvantage across the spectrum of socialist countries (Szelényi, 1983; Ronnås, 1982; Andrusz, 1984; Sjöberg,

1992). The seasonally used summerhouse settlements generated a different atmosphere in the suburban zones as they were desired additions to the urban apartments of urban residents (Lovell, 2003; Rudolf and Brade, 2005; Caldwell, 2011).

Within the literature on post-socialist urban development one of the main discourses has surrounded suburbanisation. Sýkora and Stanilov (2014: 7) refer to the changes that have taken place in the surroundings of these cities as ‘the post-socialist suburban revolution’. They (*ibid*: 17) introduce the analyses that has been carried out on suburban developments in post-socialist countries with the idea that ‘recent developments in post-socialist countries manifest traditional processes of suburbanisation adapted to the socioeconomic realities of post-socialist societies’. These developments have often been compared to Western-style suburbanisation, referring to the processes that took place after the Second World War when the suburban residential areas for the middle classes were developing at a rapid pace (Teaford, 2008). These ideas regard the socialist period as a time that was cut out of history, and the pre-war suburbanisation processes continued from where they were aborted. In this way, suburbanisation is viewed mainly from the perspective of market forces, ie. supply and demand or environmental quality-related push-and-pull factors. Indeed, the new residential areas of mainly single-family homes for the more affluent urban households have played the most visible part of the post-socialist suburban changes and, additionally, residential suburbanisation has also influenced existing settlement systems and housing in suburban zones (cf. Kok and Kovács, 1999; Timár and Váradi, 2001; Tammaru *et al*, 2004; Hirt, 2007; Ouředníček, 2007; Kährlik and Tammaru, 2008; Krišjāne and Bērziņš, 2011).

These ‘traditional’ or classic characteristics of suburbanisation are also discussed in *Paper I* of this dissertation, which is a chapter in a book that compares the experiences of suburbanisation in former socialist countries in Central and Eastern Europe (Stanilov and Sýkora, 2014a). One of the main factors is that there is land lying vacant for suburban developments due to the socialist-style compact planning of urban areas that disregarded the possibility of suburban developments (Tammaru, 2001; Borén and Gentile, 2007). The other important factors for suburban developments becoming so widespread are the political and economic reforms, the affluence of the metropolitan population (including a functioning mortgage market), and the dynamic land and property markets (Stanilov and Sýkora, 2014b). These classic factors are complemented in *Paper IV* by discussing the deeper, and personal, levels and connections to the residential choice.

In fact, ‘western-style suburbanisation’ has diversified so much that at the global scale there is hardly any consensus as to what best describes and defines a suburb. Instead of classic low-rise residential suburbs the suburban forms have become hybrid, fragmented, and heterogeneous (Teaford, 2008). The terminology of suburban areas has become confusing, which is why Forsyth (2012) calls for doing away with the term ‘suburb’ altogether. Despite the terminological confusion, however, the notion of the suburb remains entrenched in

academic research. I add to this confusion the term ‘summurb’ to show, among other things, that the post-socialist suburban areas are not as traditional as is often assumed.

It can certainly be seen that there are studies that provide some insights into who the people are and what their everyday lives and lifestyles are like in the post-socialist suburbia (Novák and Sýkora, 2007; Ojamäe, 2009; Spačková and Ouředníček, 2012; Darbina and Luse, 2012; Silm *et al*, 2013). The socialist-era summerhouse areas are an example of non-conventional suburban settlements in comparison to the immensely visible new suburban settlements that attracted the people of a higher socioeconomic status (Leetmaa and Tammaru, 2007; Kährik and Tammaru, 2008).

3.3. Theory perspective on post-socialist (suburban) planning

Another important role in the suburbanisation processes in post-socialist countries is played by the institutional setting and its changes during the transition from socialism. General knowledge states that the suburban developments are managed poorly. The described spatial developments at the urban fringe of post-socialist countries can be regarded as being typical examples of market-led urban sprawl, as is also mentioned by Timár and Váradi (2001). Although most eastern European governments have recognised the ecological, economic, and social consequences of urban sprawl, they continue failing to address these issues adequately due to the low priority given to regional planning under the prevailing neoliberal policies (Pichler-Milanovič *et al*, 2007, Stanilov and Sýkora, 2012).

Planning is an activity that needs a good institutionalised format and policies. Healey (2009: 277) defines planning as a governance practice ‘that has evolved to address the difficulties created by the complex collocations of activities and their relations and the impacts that these collocations generate across space-time’. Planning needs a form of rules and principles that are to be followed. This lack of rules and principles is exactly what has been criticised in relation to planning activities in the post-socialist countries (Hirt and Stanilov, 2009; Tsenkova, 2011). Post-socialist planning is characterised by spontaneous changes and ad-hoc approaches as well as a lack of comprehensiveness (Altrock *et al*, 2006; Hirt and Stanilov, 2009). These liberal and eclectic legislations have originated in the overall mistrust about planning based upon the Soviet experiences and has resulted in low public engagement (Simpson and Chapman, 1999; Tsenkova, 2011). Although the ideas of participative and collaborative planning have been embraced formally, public interest has been low and participation has also not been promoted by the planners themselves. Roose and Kull (2012: 498) also criticise the fact that Estonian national planning is ‘rooted in rational thinking and technocratic management promoting straightforward, command, and control solution-orientated plans’, that has its roots in the prevailing Soviet mentalities.

This kind of ad-hoc approach and lack of comprehensiveness in post-socialist planning connect primarily to the general philosophies of pragmatism or incrementalism from the planning theory perspective. The original idea of pragmatism is that there should be no comprehensive rules – every problem that arises should be discovered and asserted in the flow (Healey, 2009). When it comes to the lack of comprehensiveness this approach is considered to fall into the extremes of incrementalism that is criticised as being the antithesis of planning (Kemp *et al*, 2007). In practice, pragmatism relies on the small steps and cycles of learning and adaptation, although these changes and alternative goals are only marginally different from the present situation, it makes it more adaptable and understandable for those parties that are being influenced (Næss, 2001). In order to be effective, it assumes a very strong connection between the planner and the planned to be able to adapt changing situations, and this is not what has been characterising the planning in post-socialist situations (Hirt and Stanilov, 2009; Roose and Kull, 2012). In *Paper III* we view the absence of proactive planning in our case study area as ‘spontaneous pragmatism’ that has evolved through residents’ actions and activities.

The pragmatic approach connects strongly to the ‘communicative’, ‘collaborative’, or ‘community planning’ which emphasises consensus-building, participation, and communication throughout the planning process (Forester, 1989; Allmendinger, 2002; Allmendinger and Tewdwr-Jones, 2002; Healey, 2003; Hirt and Stanilov, 2009; Innes and Booher, 2010; 2015). This importance of mediating various interests in planning attracted attention from planners in the 1990s and has been greeted, embraced, criticised, adopted, and evolved over time (cf. Innes and Booher, 2015). Its popularity is embedded in the democratic qualities that planning should carry with it in order to mediate these versatile interests (Inch, 2015; Innes and Booher, 2015). Collaborative planning is, obviously, adopted by planners in Estonia and post-socialist states, but they have often been seen as doctrines that have been imported by the European Union, and also as being culturally and socially superior (Jaakson, 2000; Raagmaa and Stead, 2014). The actual philosophical and theoretical ideas have been obfuscated by the structural enforcement to bring them into use.

In parallel with the sceptical attitudes that have been shown in post-socialist settings, collaboration and communication in planning has become even more justified by planning theorists when it comes to criticising post-political trends in planning. MacLeod (2013) writes against post-politics where planning decisions are based on the knowledge of experts and scientists in order to assure sustainability and smart-growth, and the needs of local knowledge are overruled. In fact, for the community, scientific knowledge is irrelevant to their concerns and the reality they experience (Innes and Booher, 2015: 201). Therefore, the democratic aspect, and mediating between various interests, are important in planning to be able to create sustainable environments and communities as the community members themselves also have a feeling of being in charge of the decisions that are taken in regard to their everyday and long-term living environments.

The common idea that is carried forward by planning theorists is that democratic communicative planning needs skilled planners who can act as mediators and facilitators. Unfortunately the proper education for achieving this is exactly what is missing in many former post-socialist countries (Adams *et al*, 2014). The mediators should be able to manage and combine multiple, contingent, and evolving forms of knowledge – scientific, local, values, interests, and emotions – to be able to make reasonable decisions (Forester, 2012: 6). They have to be able to prioritise and translate this often emotionally-loaded knowledge between the involved parties and be sensitive towards it, whilst also being reflective towards their own reactions in the planning process (Osborne and Grant-Smith, 2015). The skills of planners or mediators are especially valuable in conflict situations that are common in any planning situation, but can move between deconstructive scepticism and reconstructive imagination, as pointed out by Forester (2012: 6).

The agreements and disagreements, and the balance of power when reaching a consensus in collaborative planning have been characterised by deliberative and agonistic conceptions (Forester, 2012; Inch, 2015; Innes and Booher, 2015). Inch (2015) has used these conceptions to portray possible consensus-seeking from the perspective of participating (or non-participating) individuals in order to understand how the democratic ethos really works. He (*ibid*) is highlighting the fact that planning often assumes that participants will organise their collective affairs deliberately and may even demand that people be active in the name of democracy, whilst in reality participants become active only thanks to the most annoying changes, those towards which they have mainly agonistic stand-points. This fact, again, places responsibility upon planners to channel the outcomes and involve individuals meaningfully.

To sum up this section, as with post-socialist settings, the classic challenges that are faced when attempting to make collaborative planning work, and ensuring that stockholders are able to participate in the planning process in a meaningful way, are placed in the authoritative background (cf. Healey, 2003). This means that the interplay between the various participants depends upon the way in which routine social relations and practices are structured through institutional designs and deeper values and conceptions. For this reason it is important to take into account the concrete social settings for planning (Healey, 2003; 2009).

Paper III looks into the communications activities between residents and planners as a basis for collaborative planning in post-summerurban areas. This form of social dynamics can be made visible by gaining qualitative knowledge from the setting in question. The ethnographic knowledge and the qualitative studies that are carried out in the post-socialist setting and that have inspired my work are briefly discussed in the next section.

3.4. Qualitative and ethnographic knowledge in a post-socialist context

Hörschelmann and Stenning (2008) invite geographers to be more open towards ethnographic inquiries on post-socialist change. On one hand, they give credit to the already existing attempts to examine ‘grand theories of transition against the reality of localised social practices and meaning construction’. (*ibid*: 345); on the other hand they invite further studies – agreeing with the suggestions of other anthropologists – and require further understanding about how the processes and meanings of transition are lived, experienced, and interpreted in the everyday lives of ‘locally embedded social actors [participants]’ (*ibid*).

Stenning *et al* (2010: 112–143) depict a somewhat depressing picture of how the economic inequalities accompanying transition have ruined and impeded the opportunities of many households. They base their arguments mainly on the economic argument and the influences of neo-liberalism. The current work strives to show that there is more than the economic side of transition to influence our everyday life. This idea is inspired by another call by Hörschelmann (2011: 379) for geographers to ‘demonstrate more clearly the participative, vital, and dynamic role of places and spatial relations’. She continues with ‘environmental changes and transformations in the make-up and meanings of places unsettle identities, social relations and livelihoods’ (*ibid*: 379).

It is clearly the case that the transition process has not been a straightforward journey of progress towards capitalism. Accordingly, the current qualitative work does not aim to understand the transition *per se* but recognises the important effects of these grand historical changes on the informants’ everyday lives. As the two well-known anthropologists that have studied aspects of post-socialist change state: Despite the collapse of the fundamental socio-economic workings of those countries that are going through a post-socialist transition, daily life has managed to ‘recompose’ itself in the aftermath (Burowoy and Verdery, 1999: 14). Still, somewhat surprisingly, the formation and recomposition of ‘new’ post-socialist suburban places and place-based identities lack appropriate treatment in the available literature. The identities are studied in settings that depart from the urban one in general (cf. Young and Kaczmarek, 2008; Tölle, 2010). There are also studies that focus on specific housing such as, for example, Gądecki (2013) who studied the nature of social relations that are forming in gated communities, and Blazek (2011) who has sought to understand the youth friendship and gender identities that are developing in socialist-style high-rise neighbourhood. These are some fragments of the everyday lives influenced by post-socialist transition.

The emotional sides of relating to places that are using the metaphor ‘home’ is the core topic being analysed here. In fact, there are two quite fruitful studies that have highlighted the notion of *home* in post-socialist context – Altwood (2012) and Soaita (2013). The theories on home that have been used in my work are explained more precisely in the next section.

3.5. 'Home' as a central term of inquiry

The literature on 'home' gathers together the complex emotional relationships that relate to a place or places that for decades has been studied by researchers – mainly in the fields of geography and environmental psychology – all the way from phenomenological and humanistic to feminist and critical perspectives (Moore, 2000; Manzo, 2003; Mallett, 2004; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Brickell, 2012a; 2012b). Home has a significant meaning for people. Moore (2000: 210) states that an emotion-based relationship with the dwelling place is what defines the nature of home and distinguishes it from a house. Cristoforetti *et al* (2011: 226) call people 'meaning makers' as they constantly attribute their personal meanings and thereby transform spaces from a simple container into subjectively-lived meaningful places. The concept of *home* functions as an everyday word for the emotional connection that is created in connection with *place*.

The ideas of phenomenologists show 'home' as an existential state. For example, Heidegger (1978) describes 'dwelling' as being in the world that is not related to one setting or one building and not as a comparable activity to working but as a way of existing in the world. Heidegger states that dwelling can be carried out by means of building and he plays with phrases such as 'dwelling as existing' and 'building as creating' and how they interrelate with and give meaning to each other. Similarly Tuan (1977) plays with the words 'space' and 'place', stating that what begins with a neutral and unsignified 'space' can become a meaningful and value-added 'place' when we get to know it better. As Douglas (1991) implies, creating a home needs space, and spending time and resources there. 'Home' is used in this form of literature as a metaphor that combines a wide set of associations and meanings for a dwelling place. Also according to humanistic thoughts, a home reveals much about the personal identities of its occupants, and has always been related to emotions, experiences, and ties that constitute everyday life, whether 'security, familiarity, and nurture' (Tuan, 2004) or a feeling of refuge or private haven (Mallett, 2004). The problem with these earlier humanistic works on 'home' is that they carry with them the theoretical assumption that a 'home' is associated mainly with positive feelings of inner sanctuary – comfort, joy, protection, belonging – and that, with the focus on a domestic heart, 'home' relates mainly to the residence (Moore, 2000). These assumptions are common in everyday life but are widely criticised by scholars (cf. Moore, 2000; Manzo, 2003; Mallett, 2004; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Brickell 2012a, 2012b).

Manzo (2003: 56) argues that 'home' is a spatial metaphor for relationships to a variety of places'. It is agreed by many scholars that, in fact, home may be located at any scale, ranging from planet Earth to a specific country, a city, a neighbourhood, and all the way down to a private house (Tuan, 2004; Mallett, 2004; Blunt and Dowling, 2006), and can include gardens, parks, and landscapes (Reid and Beilin, 2015). The routines, activities, and familiarity that is related to places of different scale in general are the essential ingredients for home-making (Mallett, 2004), and the long-term affection that may develop

towards a territory, thereby giving it a meaning, lies at the core of attachment (Morgan, 2010). There is growing interest in relating *home* to the different scales of movement and travel that underpin contemporary society (Ahmed, 1999; Ellegård and Vilhelmson, 2004; Nowicka, 2007; Ralph and Staeheli, 2011). In this context, 'home' is also not necessarily limited to a single spatial entity. Migration studies have shown that a home is not 'a place with boundaries that are fixed' (Ahmed, 1999). People who are on the move create home through everyday practices or familiar references that can be found in multiple locations, making home 'territorially defined, but only as an extended network rather than as a bounded location' (Nowicka, 2007). Home may also be fractioned into different locations that are utilised at different times. The second-home literature suggests that people become increasingly rooted in places that were originally intended for temporary 'tourist' visits only (Jaakson, 1986; Haltrup, 2004; Tuulentie, 2007; Müller and Marjavaara, 2012). This also connects to the Soviet-era summerhouses in my work.

The connection to 'home' places is developed by taking up activities that are related to *home* as well as by being amongst those material things that remind us of home. Home, as an emotional place even as place of dwelling, doesn't simply exist but is rather made through material and the imaginative processes 'of creating and understanding forms of dwelling and belonging' (Blunt and Dowling, 2006: 22). The phrase, 'home-making', is an everyday word for emplacement, finding oneself in space. Bhatti (2006) refers to home-making as embodied practices that are 'domestic routines of everyday life in and around the house' (*ibid*: 322), and she is highlighting the ways in which gardens contribute to the understanding and construction of home, especially for older people. A home has multiple facets that are invested with ambivalent meanings and emotions from people's hearts (Blunt, 2005).

It is clear that these emotions and experiences, relating to home and home-making, do not have to be positive alone – they also have multiple facets. They have negative or neutral sides (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Brickell, 2012b). The alternative to the joyful experiences of home are often depicted in minority studies, refugee studies, studies regarding the elderly, feminists, and queer studies (cf. Ahmed, 1999; Fortier, 2001; Brickell, 2008; Varley, 2008; Waitt and Gorman-Murray, 2011; Gorman-Murray *et al*, 2014). For Brickell (2012b) home can be a site of power relationships and inequality, domestic struggles and conflicts, fear or trauma. In fact, these and more recent studies show that emotions related to homes cannot be categorised that easily as they are fluid and can easily change over time. The emotional attachment to a home-place can also disappear. Baxter and Brickell (2014) explain that, in addition to home-making, an alternative process goes hand-in-hand with it: home unmaking. This is a 'precarious process by which the material and/or imaginary components of *home* are unintentionally or deliberately, temporarily or permanently, divested, damaged or even destroyed' (*ibid*: 134). They claim that this process shows that the domestic lives of 'people' are rarely fixed or predictable, but are rather dynamic and varied' (*ibid*: 135) and, depending upon the person and the con-

text, the home unmaking activities can be as constructive as home-making itself. In fact, Brickell (2012b: 238) concludes that an 'evident clear-cut distinction between either a positive or negative manifestation of home in people's individual lives cannot be drawn'.

I have discussed 'homes' so far from mainly personal and individual perspectives, but homes cannot be separated from the wider context of social relations. The scale here is also manifold, starting from family, friends, and neighbours, through ethnic and cultural settings, and on to national identity, and national and global politics. Activities in the domestic environment are often shared and home-creation or net-building is carried out in conjunction with other people, family members, and the community (Jones, 2000; Mallett, 2004). According to Douglas (1991: 288), home and community are based on the same 'supply of loyal support', meaning that familiarity with people, things, and activities is important when it comes to defining *home*. The feelings and meanings that are related to *home* are not constructed personally but are deeply connected and are related to cultural meanings (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). For example, a collectively idealised form of home is depicted by Ahmed (1999) who saw refugee communities collectively creating multiple identifications when they are in a new home but they memorise and idealise together their previous homeland, in this way creating a spatial network of people as their 'home'. This is one way of seeing home as being global and connected rather than private and personal.

It used to be the case that the aspiration was to keep *home* as a private place, one that was separate from social, political, and natural processes (Kaika, 2004), but recent studies find that these 'outside aspects' are interrelated, connected, and even understood through home-making activities. Home is an important building block for society that is influenced by and in turn influences the wider structural forces, along with the public and political worlds (Brickell, 2012a). Brickell (2012a) is basing her arguments on nation building and on geopolitical activities influencing everyday lives, while, on the other hand, how everyday life is intermingled with and influences politics. She claims that 'any division between the public sphere of international relations and the 'private' sphere of everyday life are largely fictitious' (*ibid*: 585). A drastic example of outside influence on *home* is phrased as 'domicide' (Nowicki, 2014). 'Domicide' is defined as the intentional destruction of *home* and, although, the process is intimate, the 'personal tragedy of domicile lies embedded in a wider political context' (*ibid*, 788). The idea here is that people have lost their home due to political influences and this situation is in its turn influencing politics.

In this work (*Paper IV*), I focus on the notion of *home* in the post-socialist context. In addition to the personal perspectives and histories it also pays attention to the socialist context and changes that have taken place in Estonia while the country was moving away from socialism. The data and methodology used for this study, as well as for the other goals of this dissertation, are described in the next section.

4. METHODOLOGY, DATA, AND METHODS

4.1. Methodological considerations

This work started off with my engagement in suburbanisation studies in Estonia. The literature on post-socialist suburbia encompasses numerous empirical studies as have also been discussed in the previous chapters of this dissertation. A large part of the literature is based on quantitative approaches with one variation in the employed methodologies of data collection and analyses. The scope and focus of the research has been on the general trends of suburbanisation, and connected it to the prerequisite of the historical-specific nature of compact socialist cities as well as to post-socialist market-led consumption. There appear to be relatively few studies that employ the perspective of suburbanisers or which use a qualitative approach in order to understand personal perspectives on living-places (exceptions that tend towards this direction include Darbina and Luse, 2012; Šimon, 2012).

My work has its basis in descriptive quantitative studies on suburban areas. These studies explained and showed how important has been the role of former summerhouse areas in reconfiguring the post-socialist urban environment. They also highlighted how weakly the suburban changes have been managed by the planning authorities. The knowledge I gained from participating in quantitative studies about suburban areas made it interesting to attempt to understand the phenomenon more thoroughly when it comes to living in the former socialist summerhouse area. With these ideas in mind I progressed by looking for information through qualitative interviews and found the two main domains to study more thoroughly, these being planning perspectives and domesticity. I engaged myself more deeply in the ethnographic approach during my doctoral studies.

Therefore, the methodology for the current dissertation has developed in parallel with carrying out the actual work. It combines a wide range of data and methods. The analyses in this dissertation have moved from quantitative knowledge about the suburbanisation processes towards qualitatively gained understanding about planning and domesticity in former summurban areas. Accordingly, the first two papers mainly use quantitative data and the last two qualitative methods of analysis and data (Table 1). The combination of different methods in the analyses helps 'to examine both the number and nature of the same phenomena' (Ritchie and Lewis, 2008: 41). Moreover, the nature of the phenomena can provide very interesting insights that are not indicated by figures at all – the socially constructed worlds are difficult to put into numbers (Flick *et al*, 2004).

In the forthcoming sections I provide an overview of the data and methods used for this study in a chronological methodology-developmental perspective, but also highlight the solid methods used in every paper included. In doing so, I also explain the methodological considerations that have been or which become important whilst conducting the research.

Table 1. Data and methodology overview for the papers.

	Title	Aim	Data	Methods
Paper I	Suburbanization in the Tallinn Metropolitan Area	1. To provide an overview of the patterns of suburbanisation in the Tallinn city region	National Census 2000 data	Directed content analyses
		2. To understand the historical, structural, and economic forces influencing suburbanisation	New Residential Area Survey 2006	Descriptive statistics
			Estonian Building Register	Overview of secondary data
		3. To discuss management issues and future developments in the city region	Focus Group Survey conducted amongst Municipality Officials, 2007	
Paper II	Socialist Summer-home Settlements in Post-socialist Suburbanisation	1. To understand to what extent and in which ways socialist-era summerhouse settlements supported the supply side of the suburban housing market after 1991	Summerhouse Area Inventories 2002, 2007, and interview study 2009	Descriptive statistics
			Soviet-era and later studies on Tallinn city region, literature	
		2. To analyse who is living in the former summerhouse areas compared to the ‘new’ post-1991 suburban settlements	National Census 2000 data	
			New Residential Area Survey 2006	
			Inventory 1 of summerhouse areas: standardised questionnaire filled in by municipality officials, 2002	
			Inventory 2 of summerhouse areas: an observation study regarding the condition of the house and the signs of residence during winter, 2007	

	Title	Aim	Data	Methods
Paper III	Planning post-summurbia: From spontaneous pragmatism to collaborative planning?	<p>1. To understand the challenges faced by planners and residents in ‘unplanned’ settlements after the transition from socialism</p> <p>2. To map out current planning-related activities in post-summurban areas and see their origin in a wider societal context</p> <p>3. To understand the communications activities between the residents and planners</p>	<p>Interviews with experts from the municipalities</p> <p>Interviews with permanent residents of former summer-house areas</p>	Directed content analyses
Paper IV	Durable Domestic Dreams: Exploring Homes in Estonian Socialist-Era Summerhouse Settlements	To understand the notion of <i>home</i> in the post-socialist context for residents in former socialist-era summerhouse settlements	Ethnographic fieldworks: observations, interviews with permanent residents of former summerhouse areas, and field notes	Ethnography

4.2. Data and analyses of suburbanisation process in the Tallinn city region

Paper I uses mixed secondary sources of data to provide an overview of the suburbanisation processes in the Tallinn city region. This has been published in a comparative book about suburbanisation processes in many CEE countries and the papers intend to follow a similar logic. The data here is driven by the National Census 2000, the Estonian Building Register, the New Residential Area Survey that was conducted by Tartu University’s Department of Geography in 2006, a focus group study conducted with municipality officials that was carried out in 2007 (where I was the main researcher responsible and also the main interviewer). Additional data about former summerhouse areas come from two inventories in these areas from 2002 and 2007 and an interview study from 2009 (these data sources are explained below). Besides all of this, secondary data is used from published studies about the Tallinn city region.

Paper I uses, among other sources of data and quantitative descriptive statistics, the focus group study with municipality officials (2007) in which I was the main researcher. This was one of my first experiences with carrying out an interview study. I was the main person responsible for preparing and moderating the interviews (with the assistance of Helen Hiimaa), and for analysing them. The focus groups concentrated on those problems that were related to intensive suburbanisation and actions, ideas, and willingness when it came to collaborating with the other municipalities in the Tallinn city region. Group discussions with up to six respective municipality members were conducted in a total of twenty-seven municipalities. The focus group method was chosen to initiate the discussion so that the participants could complement each other's knowledge and attitudes. The group discussion got going with a general question about the important themes in relation to belonging to the city region. The topics in the conversation sequenced openly but, based upon the pre-analyses of the development documents, the following themes were covered in every municipality: education, community life, demography, transportation, construction, planning, environmental issues, and budget. The results from these group discussions have been gained through deductive content analyses.

Paper II focuses on suburbanisation in the Soviet-era summerhouse areas. Two inventories covering summerhouse areas are used. One was completed in 2002 and the information there has been gathered on a standardised questionnaire form by experts from the municipalities of the Tallinn city region. They specified the location of the settlements and the number of plots. Based on the register data that was available to them and their tacit knowledge regarding their profession, they evaluated permanent residence in these areas as well as making future predictions. The first inventory was put together by Kadri Leetmaa (2002).

The second inventory was a field observation study that was carried out by researchers from the Department of Geography, Tartu University, which included myself. During the winter we visited all of the former summerhouse settlements in the Tallinn region and completed an inventory card for every fifth house (presuming that this method would save time). The main two observations that were made were in relation to signs of permanent living and the condition of the houses in question (covering three categories: a new or fully refurbished house, a house with sufficient winter-proof refurbishment, or a summerhouse in its original condition). We also described the overall infrastructure of each settlement. The study report was written by the main researcher for this inventory – Kristi Anniste (2007).

In *Paper II*, the New Residential Area Survey was carried out in 2006 (Tammaru *et al*, 2009), and this was used for comparison purposes. National Census 2000 data was used to analyse the demographic and socioeconomic background of the summerhouse residents so that it could be used to compare residents who had moved to the other parts of suburbia by that stage. The data is, overall, analysed and comparisons are made by using descriptive statistics.

4.3. Interview studies

4.3.1. Interviews with former summerhouse residents

The next step in my research on former summerhouse areas was the interview study which was carried out in 2009. During October and November 2009, a total of sixty-three interviews were carried out using a guided approach (Rossman and Rallis, 1998), with those people who were permanently residing in summerhouse areas around Tallinn and Tartu being the subjects of the interviews. These were prepared by a suburbanisation working group that was led by Kadri Leetmaa, while I also had a substantial role in it. The topics that were raised during the interviews were: (a) housing and the migration history of the participants; (b) everyday routines and activity space, connections to the (sub)urban surroundings; (d) satisfaction with and expectations in terms of living in former summerhouse areas.

Participants were selected from summerhouse settlements all over the urban regions. The settlements were picked out proportionally by (a) their geographical location in order to be able to include both the closer and more distant settlements, and by (b) larger settlement complexes and standalone cooperatives that were at a greater distance from the others. The houses were picked proportionally from three categories according to a visual decision being made about the condition of each house (using the same categories as in *Paper II*'s observation inventory). The idea was to include participants from different conditions and (presumably) also from different social backgrounds.

The interviews were carried out by five people – myself, Annette Org, Kadri Leetmaa, Anneli Kährik, and Helen Lainjärv. Helen conducted interviews in Russian, part of our idea to include residents who prefer speaking in this language, as our previous studies (*Papers I and II*) had suggested that there were Russian speakers living in former summerhouses and this is the main minority language in Estonia. Contact with the participants was made at the front door; the interview either took place on the same day in their home or a later, more suitable time was agreed upon with the participants to meet either in their home or at a café that was suitable for the participant. The interview was conducted with the household member who showed the most interest in the topic, sometimes there was more than one participant from a household. The interviews lasted about one hour. The interviews were taped, transcribed, and then coded manually.

Paper III uses interviews from this study that were carried out in the Tartu region. These were twenty-one interviews with permanent residents. This article brings into focus only some of the topics that were discussed during the interviews: the everyday practicalities of living in a former summer home, and the planning-related and management-related satisfaction and expectations of the residents. Therefore I would refer to this form of analyses as a directed content analyses (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005), keeping in mind the aim of the paper. For this paper I was the main analyst.

4.3.2. Interviews with civil servants

Interviews that were conducted with officials of nineteen municipalities in the Tartu region are also used in the *Paper III*. These were carried out in spring 2010 by Anette Org (one of this paper's authors), and was prepared by our working group which was led by Kadri Leetmaa. The experts were responsible for property affairs, environmental issues, construction counselling, or other fields within the municipality. Officials were asked to complete the comparable inventory cards as in the study made in Tallinn 2002 (used in *Paper I* and *II*). The municipality officials were also asked to assess, with both their official and unofficial knowledge, the number of plots that were subject to permanent residence in every settlement. Interviews were structured by focusing on the following topics: the historical formation of the summerhouse areas; the permanent residency of these areas (including the relation of residents to the municipality); the main problems that were related to the areas in question (including obstacles that were related to planning activities by the municipality); and the official and unofficial visions for former summerhouse areas. For *Paper III*, we used these interviews via the directed content analyses that was carried out, first and foremost, by me.

4.3.3. Interviews with Soviet-era planners

Along with working on *Papers III* and *IV*, we created an additional data source in order to be able to build up our historical knowledge in regard to how the Soviet-era summerhouse areas were developed in Estonia. These are expert interviews that I (and Pille Metspalu in one case) conducted with people who were somewhat related to the establishment of the former summerhouses. The interview topics were put together by our working team, and the questions were gathered together into a guided interview form (Rossman and Rallis, 1998), with topics and suitable questions being considered, although the idea was to allow participants to speak openly without tying them to a fixed line of discourse so that they had free reign to explore areas of conversation that may not otherwise be uncovered. There were two general topics. The firstly involved the establishment of housing during the Soviet era – its ideological considerations, norms, institutional responsibilities, how accessible it was for the people themselves, and how satisfied they were by it. The second involved the establishment of the Soviet-era summerhouse areas – the ideological side, the norms and responsibilities, how location-related decisions were made, accessibility for people, and what were the functions both planned and real for these areas. The experts being interviewed were as follows:

1. Peep Männiksaar (interviewed in Viljandi on 18.02.2011), an architect who worked mainly in Viljandi County, Estonia, during the Soviet period.
2. Hille Rodima (interviewed by Pille Metspalu in Tartu on 20.04.2011), the coordinator of the geodesy works and bureaus. By the time at which

the interview took place she was still working in Tartu County and had worked there since 1974. She has also worked on the Tartu City Executive Committee, before 1974.

3. Vaike Kotkas (interviewed in Muuga on 06.09.2011), who worked in the former Ministry of Agriculture and was and still is an active summerhouse user with one of the summerhouse cooperatives in the surroundings of Tallinn – this being Muuga.
4. Anne Siht (interviewed in Tallinn on 08.09.2011), a specialist architect who worked on the Estonian Building Committee during 1979–91.
5. Eve Niineväli (interviewed in Tallinn on 20.09.2011), a specialist architect who worked on the Building Committee for the Department of Rural Construction during 1966–76.

Each of these conversations lasted around two hours. The interviews were taped and transcribed. The conversations were analysed, keeping in mind, among other things, the subjectivity and possible memory errors of the participants. The knowledge gained from these interviews is used mainly as a resource for background information in the papers (*III* and *IV*) and in the current dissertation.

4.4. Going ethnographic

Back to methodological considerations.

With the ethnographic approach used in *Paper IV* I ground myself in the understanding that the reality that we can study is socially constructed, and the researcher's position is to understand the insider's or native's point of view and provide an 'explanation of "explanations" (in the cultural field) in relation to the totality of this cultural field' (Honer, 2004: 113). Philosophically, this idea is in contrast to how the position of the researcher in quantitative studies has been considered as one of an objective outsider observing the life worlds while in ethnographic approach knowledge is mutually constructed in the social situation, and the outcome is to reconstruct a world that is experienced by people rather than the world as it appears in the opinion of the researcher. The validity of ethnographic research lies in great deal in the practical skills of the researcher who has to ground his/her work in the field data and be clear about the interpretative decisions made in the course of the data production. The researcher must listen 'with empathy, approval or complicity in order to understand the logics underpinning his interlocutor's representations, perceptions and actions' (Olivier de Sardan, 2015: 35), in other words, researcher has to 'reflect their solid viewpoint as a participant in social phenomena and provide an account of where and how they are to be located in the network of social relationships' (Honer 2004: 115). In order to carry out the latter I have explained the course of this study.

The idea for *Paper IV* originates mainly in openly listening and in reading the interviews that were conducted in 2009. While conceptualising the paper, I got on with the ethnographic approach to understand the personal perspectives of residents who were living in former Soviet-era summerhouse areas; their values, emotions, and everyday practices, and putting this in the wider societal context. In fact, with the help of reading literature and gaining feedback from colleagues and conference presentations, the idea for this paper has changed from its previous ideas of 'lifestyle', 'place identity', and 'creating *home*', to the 'notion of *home*' for the now-residents of former Soviet summerhouse areas. Therefore, the concept of 'home' came to the surface and developed within and because of the interaction and discussions that took place within the ethnographic fieldwork setting and in the course of writing the paper itself. This kind of 'data production' is described by Olivier de Sardan (2015: 49) as 'continuous restructuring of the problematic due to the contact with data and through incessant rearrangement of the interpretive framework as the accumulation of the empirical elements progress.'

Accordingly, the data for *Paper IV* is difficult to grasp in one go. While working on this and writing it up I came to learn in practice what Crang and Cook (2012: 4) write in their book about the contingencies and twists and turns of the research, in which they suggest a grounded and process-orientated view of conducting the work rather than using the classic 'read-then-do-then-write' model of carrying out research. My process combined several *doings* and *readings* and *writings* and many methodological considerations. Some authors call it also 'iteration', moving back and forth between fieldworks, data and literature (cf. Olivier de Sardan, 2015: 48). It also connects to the idea of 'triangulation' that Olivier de Sardan (2015: 47) describes as 'the search for conflicting discourses, the study of discursive heterogeneity, a reliance on variations,' rather than blending or checking information in view of arranging the 'real version' of the reality.

Going in greater details of my study, the participant observation data used in the *Paper IV* is gathered together during several visits to summerhouse areas as a researcher. It starts from my first research encounter to these areas, the inventory observation study in 2006/07 (used in *Paper II*), when I visited the majority of the summerhouse areas around Tallinn. The next one was the interview study that was carried out in 2009 in Tartu, as well as in Tallinn's city regions when I conducted broader personal contacts with summerhouse residents (I was involved in preparing the topics and also in carrying out a fifth of the interviews (all together totalling thirteen interviews) – more specific details have already been written about this in section 4.3.1). As an interviewer, I had approached the participants with a positive attitude about their surroundings and, in my opinion thanks to this, the 'home theme' emerged spontaneously during the interviews. This means that this particular theme was not something that our research had aimed to analyse in the first place during preparations for the study. This fieldwork was followed by an extensive period of data analysis, literature reading, and writing up the first drafts of the paper until the 'notion of

home' became a major factor in the results. The data includes a good deal about 'the "real world" messiness' (Crang and Cook, 2012: 14) that one needs to be involved with and make sense of. In the analyses the historical context-making conditions and also theoretical literature played a crucial role, as the general idea is to trace connections and critically engage the stories with wider perspectives. Olivier de Sardan (2015:44) expresses well the characteristics of the researcher that I also was cultivating in myself while doing this work: researcher has to 'combine empathy and distance, respect and suspicion, remaining mentally vigilant.'

The fieldworks done by that point of the study appeared not to be sufficient. My next fieldworks to the study areas took place in October 2014 with the aim of gaining more input for my then-clear idea of writing about the 'notion of home'. This time I went there myself, alone, instead of being part of the working group as I had previously been. The only guiding word used for these visits was 'home', and the guiding attitude was to be open to the reactions and reflections of the participants. I revisited three of my previous participants whose cases had been especially interesting and intriguing for me. I also conducted five new interviews, looking for a people at a different stage of their lives and in different housing in order to be able to complement the knowledge I had already gained. This time I wrote more detailed field notes than I had done during the previous times. I also added to my field notes some unrecorded, shorter, over-the-fence conversations with mainly seasonal residents about the general social environment in the areas in question.

An important part of working on ethnography is the 'subjectivity' critique that is often considered as being the weak point of any ethnographic query. The issue is normally resolved by practitioners by them 'coming to terms with my partial and situated 'subjectivity' – and then it is less of a problem and more of a resource for deeper understanding' (Crang and Cook, 2012: 13). This is why it is important as a researcher to be reflective and to critically analyse your own 'nuanced beliefs, expectations, and stereotypes' (Rossman and Rallis, 1998: 127). The same authors continue by stating that, while interviewing people, the interviewer should be sensitive and aware of these issues in their own lives as well as those of the participants. They also say that 'a strong interviewer is a superb listener and is deeply interested in other people' (*ibid*: 125). These are the qualities that I have worked hard on for and during my experiences as an interviewer. Firstly, this is in order to be able to understand my own point of view in these areas and to the *home* topic in general. Secondly, listening to my initial interviews often raised a number of follow-up questions that I had not been insensitive enough to ask during the interview process. Seemingly I had not paid sufficient attention to some of the important nuances that the participants were expressing. These are important reasons I have also conducted two major interviewing periods in the areas concerned, and have revisited some of my first round participants.

4.5. Delimitations

Before continuing with the next chapters covering the valuable results of the study and the discussions around them, I would like to highlight some obvious limitations of this research due to the methodology being used.

The data and methods used in *Paper II* have some limitations when it comes to understanding and interpret them in connection with *Papers III* and *IV*. The Census 2000 data does not include the intensive suburbanisation period of the 2000s and, therefore, can only profile the residents of the pre-boom period. It is also important to notice that this census data does not represent those people who lived in the houses that were mapped out during the observation study in 2007. Additionally, during the observation study, we only mapped every fifth house as the presumption was that it would take less time. In retrospect, it could have taken the same effort and time to map out all of the houses and by that means be able to compile data that was more complete. Even so, the current sample is sufficiently large to ensure the continued validity of the conclusions of this study. Currently, this remains a recommendation for any future similar studies that may be planned.

Next, the study in general focused only on the (contemporary) permanent residents of the former summerhouse settlements and a remarkable number of still-present summerhouse users were left out. As the general observations show, many of the summerhouse users can still be called ‘seasonal suburbanisers’ (the term used by Rudolf and Brade, 2005), meaning that when the weather holds, they spend their daily life for at least half the year at their summerhouse. Their insights into living in the summerhouse areas may contain additional nuances, but remain here as a potential for further research and attention.

In relation, the definition of a resident is an important issue to discuss. In this work, the ‘resident’ is considered to be a person who lives in a former summerhouse area all year long. That was our question when we approached potential participants. Therefore, the definition is combined together from our preconditions and the participants’ interpretation. It is important to mention that the resident registries are often not accurate and there is, in general, little motivation for people to register where they actually live. During the course of the fieldworks, we encountered families in which one of the spouses was living in the summerhouse (without exception these were all men) and the other was living in an apartment in the city, being a weekend visitor to the summerhouse. In addition, there were also ‘residents’ who spent their whole year at the summerhouse and only occasionally, when the winter was especially cold, went to stay to their own apartment in town or spent few weeks with closer relatives (their offspring’s family, their mother’s apartment, and so on). Therefore, in these areas, the descriptor of a residence was relatively flexible. In fact, it would be an interesting topic for future study.

As I have noted before, the results of the study reflect the way in which I approached the informants with a positive feeling of curiosity towards their everyday life and interpretations. My approach may have presented an assump-

tion that their place of residence was equally their 'home'. This is unequivocal, as Eva Toulouze (2016) pointed out in her speech I cited in the introduction. I aimed to be more aware and mindful of this in the second round of fieldwork that was carried out in 2014, and tried not to presume this connection between the place and 'home'. Even so, my participants presented for the main part their positive connections and connotations when talking about 'home'. Therefore the results, as presented in the forthcoming section, should be looked at with the reservation that there could be more nuances to explore.

5. RESULTS: PAPER SUMMARIES

5.1. *Paper I. Suburbanization in the Tallinn metropolitan area*

The first paper belongs to a comparative book about suburbanisation processes in post-socialist Eastern and Central Europe (Stanilov and Sýkora, 2014a), and introduces the changes in urban spatial structure that are related to the social processes of post-socialist transition in the main study area of this work – the Tallinn city region. It explains the urban decentralisation or, in other words, the suburbanisation process around Tallinn by emphasising the impact of the socialist period upon its spatial structure. This starting point is also a key feature when it comes to understanding the changing role of summurbia within (sub)urban development. Hence, for this dissertation, the paper serves as background material, explaining the situation in the study area and highlighting some of the features that are more specifically stressed in other included papers – the unfolding pattern of suburbanisation in the summurban areas as well as the situation regarding planning activities in the city region and any instruments that are being used to further this.

The aims of this paper are threefold. Firstly, the paper provides a general overview of the patterns of suburbanisation since the 1990s in addition to explaining the historical, pre-1990s patterns. Secondly, it attempts to understand the forces that initiated relatively intensive suburbanisation, focusing mainly on the historical, economic, and structural forces. Thirdly, it discusses the impact and factors that serve to influence existing trends and future developments in the suburban area by highlighting the management issues in the Tallinn city region. For my dissertation, the overall aim of this paper is to explain those factors that are related to and which influence the intensive post-socialist suburbanisation process: what are the preconditions for this, and how has the process of suburbanisation been unfolding in the main study area?

Results

In regards to Soviet history, Tallinn was a centralised town with few satellite towns close by and summurban settlements within reach of public transportation or a car. Overall, the land served agricultural purposes and the coastal areas served a military purpose. The late Soviet period, nevertheless, brought about evidence of the decentralisation process.

The paper highlights the fact that suburbanisation in the 1990s was specific to a post-socialist transition from its social and economic features. During this period, residential construction was relatively modest when compared to construction work in the city centre. This was a period of economic uncertainty, deep recession, and mainly decreased household incomes. People who moved into suburban regions can roughly be divided into two groups – people with a low social status (the unemployed, the economically inactive, and those with a lower level of education) or economically thriving people (those employed in high-ranking and high-earning positions). Not surprisingly, the first group

moved to the metropolitan periphery, where lower cost housing was available. The second group moved to new, single-family houses that were mainly being constructed along coastal areas or other environmentally attractive areas that were close to the city. However, this binary division was only characteristic in the short-term of the suburbanisation process.

By the beginning of the new millennium, the preconditions for all of the factors that are generally accepted as inducing suburban growth had been met. This is why suburbanisation was also at its most intensive between 2000 and 2008 (until the global economic crisis). Suburban land was available that had formerly been assigned to agricultural and military functions during the Soviet period, as well as 'a functioning private housing market, an increase in privately-accumulated wealth, the availability of a well-functioning mortgage market, and the development pressure applied by investors' (p 202). During this period the construction of new residential areas was intensive and highly visible in the areas surrounding the city. The income and education of residents in these areas was higher than for the rest of the suburban population or even the population of Tallinn as a whole. This kind of 'western style' suburbanisation became diversified by the construction of urban-style apartments on the borders of the city as a form of urban expansion because the residents maintained very close everyday ties to the city. The intensive residential suburbanisation of this period also affected existing housing stock, including that of summurban areas.

As regards the third part of the aim, this paper concludes that, despite several national planning documents that have been released across the post-socialist years, the management of suburban growth and urban problems in general lacks a sustaining budgetary strategy. Both the regional and municipal planning documents covering the Tallinn city region have the problem of being stagnant, and non-responsive to rapid developments in the region as well as having failed to initiate cooperation between municipal stakeholders. Additionally, the local municipalities have had the key influence in suburban residential development, and they have engaged in competition in order to attract investment and tax revenue instead of developing integrated city regions. This has led to 'over-planning' of residential areas because a realistic prognosis for population growth was not considered. Although the financial crisis has made management bodies more cautious, the 'wait-and-see' attitude that was adopted during the uncertain times of the 1990s is prevailing. They feel that they need stronger top-down instruments and an appropriate legal framework to be able to really empower themselves to cooperate with other regional municipalities.

5.2. *Paper II. Socialist summer-home settlements* in post-socialist suburbanisation.

The second paper in this dissertation places a focus on summerhouse areas. More precisely, it focuses on the changes that have taken place in these areas during the intensive suburbanisation process of the post-socialist years. It argues

that, when compared to the very well-noticed changes thanks to the construction of new residential settlements on formerly open agricultural fields, the extent of people who are permanently moving to what had once been summerhouses plays an equally important role in the suburbanisation trend. In the paper it is referred to as the 'hidden component' of suburbanisation, as the changes in summerhouse areas have so far remained unstudied, and have also barely been considered from the perspective of suburban management. The focus of this paper for the current work is to provide an overview of the effects that post-socialist suburbanisation has had on these socialist-genuine settlements within the suburban range. The study area is the Tallinn city region and the socialist-era summerhouse settlements that are to be found within this region.

The more precise aim of this paper is to understand to what extent and ways the Soviet-era summerhouse settlements supported the supply side of the suburban housing market after 1991. The permanent residence in summerhouse areas is compared to post-1990-constructed suburban residential housing stock. Additionally, the social characteristics of summerhouse area residents is compared to those of other suburban residents.

Results

The number of summerhouse plots that were counted during the study reached a total of 28,000. Of those, 26,000 are situated outside the administrative borders of Tallinn and have been included in the observation in this study. The figures can be broken down as follows: a total of 546,000 people were living in the Tallinn city region in 2008 (73% of whom were within the city's borders while 27% were in the surrounding regions), and estimations show that about every sixth urban family in Tallinn had a summerhouse plot during the Soviet period. The size of summerhouse plots was generally at 500 square metres, (this being the most common plot size), but some were as big as 4,000 square metres, comparable to residential plots that have been established in suburban areas in the 2000s. The new housing stock that has been constructed between 1991 and 2006 amounted to 5,600 houses (including detached, semi-detached, and terraced houses, and some apartment buildings), and 3,000 detached houses.

The results from the 2007 study indicated that 35% of summerhouse plots (accounting for more than 9,000 plots) were subject to permanent residence. From 2002, the estimation by municipality officials was of 15% permanent residence. Therefore, about 60% of the permanently inhabited summerhouses began to be used between 2002 and 2007; during that time 75% of post-1991 dwellings were built within the city's borders. This demonstrates that the summerhouse areas also took part in the overall housing boom. What's more, the general spatial pattern followed the location preferences of the new residences – those settlements that were closer to the city and those that were located along coastal areas were more likely to be permanently inhabited, with these being precisely the locations in the urban region in which more new residential areas had been established.

The results from 2007 also provide hints of the heterogeneity of the residents in summerhouse areas from the technical quality of houses that are subject to permanent residence. Although most of inhabited houses had either been substantially refurbished or replaced by a new detached house, about 10% had not been refurbished at all and daily life during the winter should have been impossible. Similarly, 10% of well-refurbished houses did not provide any signs of permanent residence. A total of 19% of summerhouse stock was cost-comparable to building a new house of the sort seen in the new residential districts, making 5,000 new (or fully refurbished as if being built from new) single family houses in summerhouse areas between 1991 and 2007. Up until 2006, only 3,000 new single family homes were built in new residential areas.

According to the 2000 census, in fact most suburbanites lived in the Soviet-era apartment blocks in satellite towns and a marginal amount of residents also in older, single-family houses and rural farms. Only 8% lived in new single family homes and 3% in summerhouse areas. Even so, the residents of new single family homes as well as summerhouse residents were more likely to originate from Tallinn when compared to the other suburbanites. According to the same census fewer children and young inhabitants and three times more retired people lived in summerhouse areas than in the new residential areas at this time. Households in former summerhouses had one or two members, while new residences were more likely to have three or more members in a household. Mostly Estonian-speaking people were living everywhere, but the proportion of the Russian-speaking population was slightly higher in summerhouse areas. Summerhouse areas had fewer graduates of higher education. Instead, they were more likely to be unemployed or inactive people (including retired persons or those on parental leave). Half of the working-age residents in summerhouse areas did not work while in new residences the figure was 25%.

To conclude this paper's summary, the summerhouses were in fact even more important than new post-1991 construction in giving new detached housing to the suburban population. This is why it is also surprising that the role of planning has largely been overlooked in these areas, even more so than that of new residential districts – which is what the next paper will focus upon.

5.3. *Paper III. Planning post-summurbia: from spontaneous pragmatism to collaborative planning?*

This paper drives forward one of the findings from the previous papers included in this dissertation, as well as the general understanding that the management of suburban development in the study area has been of poor quality. It is especially the case that no systematic planning regulations have been applied in order to restrict or even regulate house building in summer home settlements since the collapse of the Soviet Union. In this paper, the help of the secondary data and a few expert interviews is used to provide an overview of the planning system in summurban areas during the Soviet period, as well as later, during the post-

Soviet years. It refers to the current situation in post-summurbia as being one of 'spontaneous pragmatism', as proactive planning is missing in these areas and post-summurbia is developing mainly as the result of activities and actions being undertaken by the residents themselves – the paper empirically clarifies the nature of these activities. The literature review presented in the paper around planning practices that have been used in a suburban context in general comes to the conclusion that the widely-used collaborative planning system could be a desired target towards which post-summurban areas should aim. This is also taken as the backbone for an empirical study.

With this background in mind, the paper aims at understanding the challenges faced by planners and the residents of 'unplanned' settlements after the transition from socialism. The purpose is to provide characteristics to the current planning-related activities in post-summurban areas and see their origin in a wider social context. Additionally, the paper looks into communications activities between residents and planners in the area, as this is an important basis for the collaborative approach to foster. Therefore, within the current dissertation, this paper clarifies the social dynamics as well as the everyday problems that the residents encounter in post-summurban areas and in looking back to the past – and how these dynamics and problems have changed during the transition years. The work for this paper is carried out in the surroundings of Tartu, the second largest city in Estonia.

Results

The results from this interview study reveal that summurban residents are very active in refurbishing and redesigning activities on their plot. The former summerhouses, obviously, need to be rebuilt in order to turn them into year-long residencies and only a few of the households interviewed had settled into a dwelling that had been fully renovated. The residents take this renovation process for these houses as a natural role of their everyday lives. The work is undertaken so that dreams can be fulfilled and novelty introduced every once in a while. This attitude is also present in the minds of residents when they approach common infrastructural problems in the settlements. They have dug wells, laid shared roads, built sewage systems, and put a great deal of effort in solving drainage problems. Private ownership rights place barriers around their range of activities. The overall state of mind is one of enduring, and of accepting problems and related inconveniences if one cannot change them oneself rather than complaining about it or hoping for help from the municipality.

Municipalities have invested little when it comes to making these areas liveable. Although municipalities highlighted many good examples of how the problems have been solved in cooperation with the residents, they barely bother to initiate refurbishment work themselves, even when they admit that existing problems often require comprehensive investment. Although the residents claim to like this independence from the municipality when it comes to finding their own solutions and are rather sceptical about any collaboration, the greatest degree of satisfaction and relief was unmistakable in examples in which the

authorities played an important role in rebuilding roads and adding street lights, establishing a central water and sewerage system, organising school bus routes, and offering other services.

Communication practices in post-summurbia are manifold, and there is no concrete pattern in the evolution of connection between the residents. There exists an 'old-style' community life as many of the residents are the original owners of the summer plots – or are at least successors of the original owners; however, this form of connection is less intensively practiced or is only seasonal when the remaining winter-period summerhouse users are still present in the neighbourhood. Year-round residents are more likely to form closer relations with only a handful of locals with whom they share the same attitudes or needs, or they have established a relationship for mutual benefit (such as a retired neighbour who helps to look after the children and in return gets some help around the house). Also, there are residents who avoid close communication with their neighbours and prefer privacy for themselves and their families. There also exists those who would like to communicate but who feel left out, ignored, or avoided by the other residents. Additionally, as is common in every social situation, some residents feel a reluctance to communicate, are annoyed by some of the other residents in the neighbourhood, and shun communications with them. Nevertheless, the important conclusion of this study is that the residents are for the most part satisfied with their communal lives regardless of whether they are active or passive or even if there are some annoying ingredients in the mix. This satisfaction makes them attached to their living place and open to positive change.

The diversity, depth, and quality of social connections anyway makes it more difficult to find a consensus amongst residents in relation to planning solutions. Common problems have been uniting the residents, as well as creating tensions between them when it comes to the process of forming suitable solutions. Additionally, municipality officials gave the impression of being somewhat blurred in their actions thanks to the influence of memories of Soviet-style close-knit summurban communities which they hope to find still existing in these areas. According to our interviews, forming a single representative body for the settlements that would present everyone's interests seems to be an unrealistic hope.

Since municipality officials have not taken the initiative when it comes to these areas, and prefer to wait until the residents contact them, they are poorly informed about how problems are solved and do not recognise that the limits of activities by the residents are generally set out by their plot area. Residents are also rather ill-disposed towards and distrustful of official bureaucracy as there are no concrete and explicit principles when it comes to dealing with their issues. The municipalities still carry on the 'convenient' attitude that it is better to allow the spontaneous transformation of the areas than to get involved with rules and regulations.

To sum up, the social dynamics and peoples' everyday practices, plus the refurbishment work that has been carried out, when managing life in post-

summurban settlements are diverse and manifold. The planning side of the coin is still stuck in past impressions of the areas and needs updating in attitudes and structural organisation.

5.4. *Paper IV*. Durable domestic dreams: exploring homes in Estonian socialist-era summerhouse settlements

The final paper that is included in this dissertation has grown from the interview study and other fieldworks that have been carried out in the summerhouse areas. The topic of *home* is intriguing in the perspective of transformation from socialism that already has a manifold influence on the economy, politics, culture, and other aspects of life. The label 'home' is assigned by people and, therefore, has a rather personal character but, according to the intensive literature study, it has a lot to do with general trends in the society.

Accordingly, the aim of this paper is to understand the notion of *home* in the post-socialist context. It takes into focus the personal and social factors related to home locations that are present in former summerhouse areas. It asks what the important aspects may be for residents in post-summurbia so that they might feel at home, and what changes and continuities might informants have encountered in relation to their idea of *home*?

Results

The paper uses the ethnographic approach and combines my experience as gained through various fieldwork exercises in former summerhouse areas. The findings of this study are divided into four themes: 'home as craftwork'; 'home as a personal experience and connection'; 'home as nature'; and 'home is affordable and own'. However, the themes often overlapped and had complex connections to other topics that have not been presented separately. The aim was to present the nuances and uniqueness of each participant while aiming to identify cross-cutting themes.

'Home as craftwork' presents the creative and inspiring refurbishment and design work that the informants like to carry out in their *home* places. This finding is already obvious in the dissertation's previous paper (*Paper III*). This form of creating material factors in a genuine and unique style is a very important aspect of 'home' for residents. It also connects to the physical work that is critically compared to the area of urban apartments (in which almost everyone had lived previously, or for at least some period of their lives), where the level of physical activity was insufficient and was certainly not carried out in the fresh air that was so important for the informants. These forms of idea were presented by all of the participants, even though they were enjoying a different course of life, from that of young families to that of retired people. More generally these attitudes connect to the literature in which homes are pictured as imagined: residents were always imagining their *home* places in a way that was different from the present situation – wondering more about changing

or adding something here or there. They live relatively satisfied in their homes, but they are always dreaming of something different.

The theme of 'home as a personal experience' connects the participants' current idea of *home* to their previous homes and experiences, and also discusses the ways in which they became post-summurban residents. Having both a childhood and adult connection to using the summerhouse seasonally was only one part of their story, although it was a strong one in these cases. Being grown up in the countryside and having a positive experience of living in a detached house in the past were important aspects of enjoying a connection to their current *home* place. Surprisingly, a relatively common narrative amongst participants was also seeing their friends or family living in the former summerhouse and simply dreaming about it, or about any privately-owned house, beforehand. In general, contemporary residents had developed a stronger connection to their previous summerhouse plot than they had to the land of their forefathers when it was collectivised by the Soviet state, or else they were influenced by the common culture of praising privately-owned single-family housing.

The theme of 'home as nature' is based upon an overall praising of the surrounding environment in the settlements. Perhaps it even forms the core connection between the self and a solid *home* place for residents. Mother Nature combines the summerhouse's own garden, with its lawn, flower beds, orchards, and vegetable patches, with the natural environment of the surrounding forests, fields, and wildlife. These positive narratives were often compared to urban life and a sense of relief that they had a chance to change the living-place. It presents a reaction to the communist-style 'enforced urbanism' when people were channelled into towns to live there but their hearts remained with the countryside.

The theme of 'home-place is affordable and own' brings together the economic side of the material assets at home and autonomy over those assets. Affordability was discussed in great deal by the participants. The plot was often inherited or had been purchased at a relatively cheap price. Bank loans (mortgages) were not popular (due in part to the relatively recent global financial crisis), and self-management was praised by my informants. Owing money to the banks was often connected with the idea of losing one's true ownership of *home* and a feeling of uncertainty, both of which were important areas of concern for residents. Despite this, even when the original plot was gained cheaply and the residents had low-level loans or no loans at all, the costs of everyday living and constant refurbishment work were comparable to the costs of running any other living environment – former summerhouses were not a low-budget option after all. Ownership was also connected to communications with municipality officials and planning regulations. On one hand, the regulations regarding private property were often regarded as being nonsense that violated the rights of property owners while, on the other hand, communications with municipalities and the bureaucratic way of presenting messy regulations were considered to be even worse. All in all, personal control over the property as well as over any costs that were related to the property were very important for residents.

The final discussion in this paper relates to the study's main interpretations of the general literature on *home*. The main interpretations are as follows: firstly, that participants were living in imaginary homes and this is something that has been consistent over time, starting in the Soviet period and continuing into the present day. Participants have always been dreaming and (un)making their home. Secondly, the durability of a *home* place is crucial for my informants. This stems from the fact that participants were aiming for the certainty that they have full autonomy and independence over their home. This was definitely connected to the uncertainties of the past and of the concurrent social state (the economic crisis, blurred rules in planning and management, institutional uncertainties, etc). The results of this and previous papers will be brought together in the next concluding section.

6. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

When assembling the key results for the research papers, the evolution towards understanding the everyday life of post-summurban residents and giving deeper sense to the decisions to reside there is evident. The concluding section is organised around a discussion of the different facets of this gained understanding. It also suggest ideas for further research which may dig more deeply into the understanding of everyday life in (sub)urban surroundings.

6.1. Former summerhouse areas as suburban living places

The suburbanisation process in the city regions that have been studied, and also in their summurban areas, are clear and significant trends since the 1990s and onwards. The results from *Papers I* and *II* suggest that those people who moved to suburban areas in the 1990s were driven primarily by economic concerns, looking for cheaper housing on the metropolitan edges as the cost related to living in the city increased. Among the cheaper options were the large number of summerhouses that had been established in the urban periphery during the previous decades. Those residents who moved into summurban areas in the 1990s were characterised by their low social status – unemployment, being economically inactive, and occupying the lower levels of educational standards. This result shows that the summerhouse areas were not only a ‘survival strategy’ for gardening as the vast amount of literature suggests, but also served the same purpose for housing.

Paper II also concludes that summurban areas have taken part in the housing boom that emerged during the first half of the 2000s, characterised by more affluent people moving to suburban residences. This all suggests that people who live permanently in post-summurbia come from diverse backgrounds and social statuses. It contrasts with the overall understanding of post-socialist suburbanisation that has mainly been characterised as a classic suburbanisation process connecting to the image of Lewittownian low-rise, single-family residences on former agricultural fields. These field settlements were resided in mainly by middle class representatives (cf. Kährik and Tammaru, 2008). Even though the boom period of the 2000s brought some diversity with a mixture of building types and more non-residential activities (Stanilov and Sýkora, 2014b), when compared to the general trends in post-socialist suburban areas the former summerhouse areas still emerge as a diverse and rather alternative suburban environment with a social and functional mix.

Interestingly, *Paper II* highlighted extreme conditions in which people were living or not-living in addition to refurbished or newly-built houses in summurbia. A total of 10% of residents lived in an original summer hut that had not been adapted for winter residence. At the same time, 10% of those houses that had been fully renovated according to our observation did not have any residents. These conditions suggest very weak economic situations or, as an

opposing case, the opportunity to invest in a proper second home, preferring to use it only in the summer. My qualitative fieldwork put these results in a different light. During the ethnographic fieldwork I ended up visiting some of those summerhut residents. The experiences revealed here were not limited to problems with coping. They rather gave an impression of being at a stage in-between houses, where the new house was being built at the same time on the same plot or at a different location, while many residents of renovated houses recalled that they were already living in the house before they had made it all-season-proof. The other extreme involving fully renovated second homes was not present in my qualitative studies as we only looked for permanent residents. Even so, in addition to purposefully having these as second homes, as we discuss in *Paper II*, I gained the impression that they could be houses that could expect to receive permanent residents very soon – even though, perhaps, there was a level of interior decoration still to be done – or are expected to be sold because the owner has changed their plans and priorities in life. The overview of living conditions in the former summerhouse areas suggests that this area is also used as a buffer zone for people moving from one form of housing to another.

In fact, we have discussed the former summerhouses as vacant housing and, therefore, as an important precondition for suburbanisation to happen in *Paper I* and *II*. These were a reserve for affordable housing in the 1990s and a stock of building plots in the 2000s. It paints a broader picture of how vacant housing stock enables people to adjust their living conditions according to their needs. Interestingly, the qualitative fieldwork studies revealed that summurban areas have vacant housing to offer for the urbanites in many different stages of their lives. For example, a grandmother moved to the countryside in order to spend a peaceful old age in the fresh air, and left the urban apartment for the children or grandchildren, or to rent it out, or sold it to build up their pension. Another example is of a young couple or family who moved to their grandmother's old summerhouse in order to be able to have their first home together, or for their children to play and grow up in a green environment. It also provides a vacant house for the newly divorced or separated – as a shelter during a difficult period. These changes are often made during the more general life-transitional periods, when moving from one stage to another, and these are, in turn, commonly characterised by economically unstable periods just as was the transition from socialism (Hörschmann, 2011) but they also carry the notion of a new beginning and of positive arguments by my informants. The post-summurban areas here form the background to the diversity of life-transition stages that can be found in suburbia.

This kind of variety and mixture is also characterised in the urbanisation stage of the everyday lives of my participants. For summurbanites, their experiences are genuinely rural in modest conditions and in natural surroundings when compared to what they considered to be city lives, while at the same time their own interpretations and intensive connections to city life suggests highly urbanised everyday routines. The choices between urban and rural lifestyles

were made on both an everyday and seasonal basis. This is something that can be related to coping strategies but also just to pure joy and looking for a feeling of positivity. The creativity aspect that was present in my participants' lives suggests that they love being in this kind of space, a rural but still-urban environment – to be able to express themselves in their home design and not been regulated by the narrowness of urban apartments. This makes drawing the borders between urban, suburban, and non-urban difficult. People who live there are urbanised and yet not urbanised. I do not want to make a comparison here with other suburban, low-rise, single family settlements that have been established in the post-socialist period. There these dichotomies could be contested in a different way, but also in a similar way. In fact, this could be an interesting area of further research, to see urban and rural perceptions, and the urban territorialisation being built up or contested in these suburbs.

Suburbanisation with its push-and-pull factors is especially related to economic development and affluence. The arguments here are widely present in post-socialist suburbanisation literature (Stanilov and Sýkora, 2014a). From the perspective of residential choice, my results show that the reasons for people having chosen to live there and to continue living there are primarily unrelated to economic arguments. Although the economic aspect plays a role it projects itself rather as a way of being economically independent and having autonomy and freedom over the *home*-space. It is not about the survival strategies inherent in there being no other options but about the option to have greater control over one's personal economy and expenses. The urbanisation of summerhouse areas is not a capitalist phenomenon in the broader sense but, if I may suggest, it is in the personal sense of distancing oneself from the overall economic dependence of capitalist structures and making one's own self-based sustainable structures.

6.2. Summurban houses as durable homes filled with dreams

In addition to the economic argument on durability, as discussed previously, the outcome of my study shows that *home* as a durable place is also connected to many other arguments. This is, on one hand, related to the past and to contemporary fears and narratives of unstable homes and losing the right to live in a particular place. This can be considered a strong reaction to the Soviet-era experiences, the post-socialist period of uncertainties, or the most recent uncertainties that were brought by the global economic crisis. On the other hand, it is about being free from strict societal rules and regulations, disregarding public norms, and exploring and expressing one's own true desires and needs.

The most remarkable conclusion from *Paper IV* is the constant redesign, re-making, and rebuilding that people carry out in post-summurban settlements. What was remarkable was not only the activities but also the pride and excitement that the informants were expressing while talking about this. I connect it to their restless and anxious relationship with the idea of *home* and a constant drive for different material forms (materialities) around the house. Post-sum-

urbanites are constantly unmaking and making their home, just like the concept that was coined by Baxter and Brickell (2014). They (*ibid*) consider 'unmaking' more at the mental stage and as an idea of the place, but in post-summurbia it is highly visible and evident in its changing material forms. Obviously there is also a practical side to changing the previous summerhut into a winter-proof house, but it goes beyond this rationality, according to the explanations I received. These forms of activities connect to the oppressive standardised life that was experienced during the Soviet and post-Soviet past that my informants mainly connect to their previous urban living and the expression of freedom and autonomy that the individuals can demonstrate nowadays. They also connect to the more universal existential ideas of Heidegger (1978) for whom the notion of 'dwelling' is to exist and 'building' is to create this existence and give meaning to it; also dwelling gives meaning to building. So, in the case of post-summurbanites, this kind of existential phenomenological is lived here in a practical sense in addition to the reaction to their experience of a socialist urban past.

The refurbishment and remaking activities, coupled with solid plans or more abstract ideas for changes, suggested that people are living in imaginary homes. Indeed, there is a house in which to live but the dreams of how the home should appear went beyond the current state of the house. At the same time, my respondents were concurrently dreaming of their *home* place and proud of it the way it already appeared. This suggest that it is not the dream or the outcome that is important in a feeling of *home* but the process that leads towards it. Dreaming, imaging, and making bigger or smaller changes was an enjoyment in itself. In addition, informants talked negatively about their period of life in an urban apartment even in cases in which their contemporary living conditions were modest and rather primitive. In addition to fulfilling dreams, the process of adjusting to opportunities were an enclosed part of *home*.

These mentioned interpretations were overly loaded with positive images of *home*. The overall conclusion of my study was that my informants are proud, positive, happy, and even sublime about the way in which they live and about where they live. At this point I have to be self-reflective as a researcher. I think that this form of positive approach is also related to the way I approached them with a feeling of positive curiosity, and the way in which the conversations were carried in a light and cheerful spirit. It does not mean that they were not open, sincere, or genuine while talking to me but, if I had been there with a different agenda (such as, for example, a critical and problem-orientated approach or laying more stress on the coping aspect of living), I would have got a somewhat different insight. The importance of the interviewer as a builder of conversation is a well-established aspect of carrying out this form of study (Rossman and Rallis, 1998; Crang and Cook, 2012).

Even so, the negative side of living in summerhouse areas did emerge when people connected their lives to the bureaucracy of local municipalities and other institutions. These were their main targets for complaining and the sources of annoying influence. These institutions were creating rules and regulations to be

followed in the area (and their rules continue to be unclear – I will discuss the planning issues in the next section) and, in doing so, they influenced the autonomy which was valued by the residents.

6.3. The discourse on planning

When compared to the generally positive attitudes towards their *home*-place, any planning-related issues were those that were most critically assessed by my informants. The residents are very aware of the general problems in the area that could be solved by proper overall management or forward-looking planning ideas. At the same time, the residents are proudly self-sufficient and even sceptical or ill-tempered towards any regulations that are set on their personal properties. When compared to the Soviet period, the summerhouse areas have developed into a reverse type of settlement – the strict regulations have changed into almost complete autonomy for the residents. They were able to see the problems but had low levels of interest in making suggestions for or contributing to the planning principles that could be applied in their *home* settlements. In this way they were purposely gathering together only when their problems exceeded the limits of their personal tolerance – otherwise they maintained agnostic positions. According to Inch (2015) it is a common position for an ordinary member of the public towards changes that political decisions or planning creates.

The ‘spontaneous pragmatism’ in post-summurban planning, as termed in *Paper III*, piles the critical assessment upon planners who, generally speaking, have no comprehensive perspective of the areas in question and, in many cases, still consider them to be Soviet-era unison summerhouse communities. The perspectives of planners reflected the well-known critique of post-Soviet planning in general – technocratic decision-making, a lack of comprehensiveness, and strategic thinking. Their perspective also showed their position not as the mediator and facilitator that is needed to apply collaborative planning principles (cf. Forester, 2012) but rather as an expert with a strong degree of political power over the decisions.

Looking at the communications culture in the area, the aforementioned generalisations hold true. A consensus for solutions that will help to solve common problems is often not very easily found, as residents often have dissimilar and self-centered perspectives. They even have different perspectives and levels of willingness when it comes to accepting or demanding municipal investments for public infrastructure improvements. Again, when looking at collaboration theory principles, this calls for stronger facilitators from the planners’ bench.

The collaborative planning is described as a democratic process that does not necessarily have a desired outcome or goal *per se* but the process in itself is the outcome (Innes and Booher, 2015). The processes that is taking place in summurban areas are unstructured, unregulated, and spontaneous in their nature as they are driven by the residents’ everyday experiences and the necessity of

finding a solution that sits well with their own standpoints. The risk here is that this process cannot always be democratic and considerate towards neighbours, the surrounding environment, and suburban developments in general. At the same time, residents are strongly motivated to improve their living environment, in order to fulfil their dreams of *home*, as becomes evident in *Paper IV*.

The discussion point here is about whether this form of situation, as mapped by the study in *Paper III*, could be used to improve planning both locally and theoretically. The study shows that the uncertainties of the institutional rules and lack of principles in fact serve to disturb those residents who are living under these conditions. Even though they have enjoyed the autonomy and freedom this situation offers, it also shakes their common feeling of being rooted in the *home*-place. In this way, the study provides convincing evidence that the clarity and stability in institutional principles are important in creating valued living places. When looking at these areas in the overall urban context, the existing non-planning may be the best solution for these relatively small scale settlements. Although sustainable development needs comprehensive goals and planning, small-scale settlements in the urban system could keep the pragmatic approach that has already been adopted there, originally due to the practical incapability of planning institutions. This goal could be purposeful – places in which locals have to manage on their own and they know it.

6.4. Post-socialism in post-summurbia

Throughout this work I have been using the terms ‘Soviet’, ‘socialist’, ‘post-Soviet’, ‘post-socialist’, and others in similar vain. Using these terms clearly manifests the fact that historical experiences matter, and that they carry the main influence – or at least a very important one – when it comes to contemporary situations. The discussion point here is about whether the past experiences may be given too much weight in explanations and that other aspects of a more universal nature or involving complex global and local influences could be left unnoticed.

Even so, in my chosen case, the post-socialist aspects are proven to carry significant importance. Feelings regarding *home* are developed over a long period of time. The summerhouse areas that have been part of this study have grown out of a specific Soviet-era context and the emotional side of memories are deeply present around them, often even in the everyday situations of the residents themselves. In addition to Soviet-era problems, the economic difficulties, coping strategies, and attitudes of the post-socialist era are clearly present in people’s memories and in the arguments that serve to support their life decisions and *home* settings. Simultaneously, time forms limits on one’s memory. The collective memory of residents reaches back to the Soviet era, but not much further. For example, many participants admitted that when the restitution and privatisation process took place in the 1990s, they rather gave up on the farmland of their forefathers and concentrated on privatising the Soviet-era summer-

house plot in which their nostalgic memories of childhood lingered. In this sense it can also be taken generally as a form of personal history (one that is linked to social memory), something that matters in the process of building an emotional attachment to *home*, and something that will also only change over a span of several generations.

Post-socialism has been overly discussed within the framework of economics and neoliberalism (Stenning *et al*, 2014), as it is by the most basic definition a transition from one economic system to another. The aspect of affordability is present in post-summurbia, but yet it is also not present. People argue their everyday lives not in terms of economic perspectives but in terms of the other aspects that they value, something that I have already highlighted several times in this discussion. The question is whether it can be considered as being a post-socialist category, to have autonomy at home and to be able to fulfil one's domestic dreams? It can be thought of as an intensive reaction to socialist-era 'standardised life' as highlighted in *Paper IV*, but if I think of it from the perspective of disregarding the post-socialist framework, it could be characteristic of a type of post-summurbaniser, a type of Estonian, a type of lifestyle that gathers people together in these neighbourhoods (cf. Karsten, 2007). Yes, extensive studies on DIY activities on various forms of housing in post-socialist cities supports the first argument (Mandic, 2010; Sgibnev, 2013; Soaita, 2013), but could also be a more general global trend.

The economic arguments and, especially, the narratives around being mortgage-free and the 'true' owner of a property were often given in the context of post-socialist insecurity. At the same time, they also reflected the global economic crisis (of 2008). I like the idea that discussing past experiences reflects more upon one's current stage of life and does not necessarily provide interpretations of history (this idea is also discussed by Hörschelmann and Stenning, 2008). Trying to withdraw from the post-socialist presumption of the life in post-summurban areas, or in any other settlements or housing types, could open up access to innovative interpretations. I will elaborate further on this idea and on other suggestions for further studies.

6.5. Further research

My current study is positioned in the field of post-socialist interpretations. Of course this has been and still is an interesting aspect for the broader context and, especially for the Soviet-era summerhouse settlements. At the same time my first suggestion for further studies is to look beyond this framework and be open to other interpretations. Many universal but also localised aspects showed signs of their presence in my study on living in these areas, and there could be variety of interesting interpretations to be followed.

Another important limitation in the current study is that the interviews were carried out with the permanent residents of these areas while contemporary seasonal users were left out. The areas are already complex and diverse from the

perspective of permanent residence, but adding insights from the summerfolk (the term borrowed from Lovell (2003)) would add greater levels of knowledge about the essence and importance of these settlements in the current urban system.

The interesting aspects of those topics that have been discussed in this dissertation and beyond would be accessible using a different methodology. As I have noted before, the results of my study reflect the way in which I approached the informants, with a positive feeling of curiosity towards their everyday lives and interpretations. The results that have been gained have made me curious about whether there could be more to it if I (or some other researcher) were to approach them with a critical agenda in mind. This could be one option when it comes to further investigating the home and everyday life in post-summurban areas or even the same elements in other types of housing – after all, why not?

To sum up, there are a good many research areas that are all related to the importance of *home* in personal, societal, cultural, and political perspectives. These perspectives are not only about grand theories and making connections with the macro-level of society, but also cover micro-level localised knowledge and everyday lives in terms of individual life quality, daily interactions, and planning for ‘good’ communities.

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KOKKUVÕTE (Summary in Estonian)

Endised suvila- ja aianduskooperatiivid: kodud ja nende planeerimise probleemid postsotsialistlikus eeslinnas

Käesolev uurimistöö lisab teadmisi linnageograafia valdkonda, mis tegeleb sotsialismiaja mõjude lahtimõtestamisega tänapäeva kontekstis. Põhilisteks teemadeks, mida töös käsitletakse, on (1) eeslinnastumise mitmekesisus ja olulised nõukogude perioodil loodud eeltingimused eeslinnastumiseks, (2) eeslinnastumine personaalsel tasemel – kodu mõiste ja (3) ruumiline planeerimine, mis mõjutab ning kujundab inimeste igapäevaelu. Põhiliseks uurimisalaks on Tallinna ja Tartu ümbruse endised suvilapiirkonnad, mis on haaratud üldisesse intensiivsesse postsotsialismile omasesse eeslinnastumisprotsessi.

Endised suvilapiirkonnad on osa postsotsialistlikust eeslinnast. Need rajati nõukogude perioodil kindla ideoloogia ja reeglistiku alusel ning juba siis oli neil piirkondadel spetsiifiline identiteet ja rahvuskultuuriline väärtus. Need on näited asumitest, mis on läbi põimunud sotsiaalsete, poliitiliste ja kultuuriliste aspektidega ning mida on mõjutanud mitmekülgsed muutused, mis leidsid aset Nõukogude Liidu lagunemisel. See, kuidas sinna on kujunenud inimeste kodud, kuidas sealsed elanikud mõtestavad ja selgitavad oma kodutunnet ning kuidas igapäevaselt elavad, peegeldab ühiskonna üldiseid alustalasid.

Töö oluline lähtepunkt on vaadata eeslinnaalasid kui inimeste kodusid ja elupaiku, mitte ainult sinna elama kolimise üldiseid trende ja statistilisi näitajaid. Seetõttu on töös kasutatud metoodika mitmekülgne ning muutnud töö kirjutamisprotsessi jooksul kvantitatiivsest kvalitatiivseks. Töö viimases järgus on metoodikas kasutatud etnograafilist lähenemist, et mõista, kuidas kogetakse ja põhjendatakse elamist endistes suvilapiirkondades.

Eelnevast lähtudes on töö täpsem eesmärk mõista muutusi, mis on leidnud aset endistes suvilapiirkondades, ning õppida tundma indiviidide kogemusi seal elamisest ja põhjendusi selle kohta. Töö käigus uuriti (1) baastegureid, mis on mõjutanud intensiivset postsotsialistlikku eeslinnastumist (artikkel I), (2) eeslinnastumisprotsessi statistikat endistes suvilapiirkondades (artikkel II), (3) planeerimisprobleeme suvilapiirkondades ja eeldusi kaasava planeerimise rakendamiseks (artikkel III), (4) seda, millest koosneb kodu mõiste endise suvilapiirkonna elanike jaoks (artikkel IV).

Doktoritööl on viis sisulist peatükki. Esimene neist (peatükk 2) paigutab uurimisala üldisemasse konteksti. See peatükk kirjeldab suvilapiirkondade ajalugu ja rajamise põhimõtteid nii Nõukogude Liidus ja sellega piirnevatel sotsialistliku režiimiga aladel üldiselt (näiteks Venemaal *datšad*) kui ka täpsemalt Eesti olusid arvestades. Samuti kirjeldatakse selles peatükis, millised on põhilised uurimisvaldkonnad, mille raames nõukogudeaegseid suvilapiirkondi on käsitletud. Peamiselt on nendeks majandusliku toimetuleku strateegiad nii nõukogude kui ka hilisemal perioodil, aga nende kohta on kirjutatud ka hulgaliselt spetsiifilist identiteeti ja kultuurilist omapära analüüsivaid teadustöid.

Doktoritöö kolmandas peatükis on ülevaade kirjandusest ja teoreetilistest aspektidest, millel töö baseerub ja mis on töö valmimise käigus pakkunud inspiratsiooni tulemuste jaoks. Siia kuulub (1) linnageograafiline baas, (2) ülevaade eeslinnade arengust ja nende kohta tehtud analüüsides postsotsialistlikes riikides, (3) planeerimisaspektid ja -probleemid nii sotsialismijärgses kui ka üldises teoreetilises raamistikus, (4) kvalitatiivsete ja etnograafiliste teadmiste vajadus ning viimasena selle töö jaoks kõige inspireerivam kirjandus-ülevaade, milleks on (5) kodu-kontseptualiseerimise teooriad üldisemas raamistikus.

Neljas peatükk annab ülevaate töös kasutatud andmetest ja metoodikast. Töö jaoks on kasutatud mitmekülgseid kvantitatiivseid uuringuid ja andmebaase, nii TÜ geograafiaosakonna töögruppide koostatuid kui ka riiklike registrite ja rahvaloenduse andmeid. Kui esimesed analüüsid ja järeldused põhinevad kvantitatiivsetel andmetel, siis töö järgnevate tulemuste ning järelduste saamiseks on kasutatud kvalitatiivseid avatud küsimustega intervjuusid ning etnograafilist välitööd. Töö kvalitatiivne lähenemine baseerub maailmavaatel, et inimeste sotsiaalne tegelikkus on igapäevase sotsiaalse tegevuse käigus loodud tähenduste, tõlgenduste, määratluste ja seletuste kogum, mis muutub ajas ümbritsevate ja isiklike kogemuste muutudes.

Viies peatükk, tulemused, kirjeldab töö põhitulemusi nelja avaldatud artikli kaupa. Artiklite täistekstid on leitavad doktoritöö lisade hulgast. Esimene artikkel (*artikkel I*) tutvustab ja annab ülevaate Tallinna eeslinnaalade muutustest sotsialismijärgsel ajastul. See analüüsib täpsemalt ka eeldusi ja muid mõjutegureid, mis on viinud intensiivse eeslinnastumiseni Tallinna tagamaal. Antud artikkel avaldati raamatus, mille eesmärk on võrrelda erinevate Kesk- ja Ida-Euroopa endistes sotsialismiriikides asuvate linnade eeslinnastumise kogemust ning artikli ülesehitus on seotud raamatu üldiste eesmärkidega. Sellest artiklist nähtub, et eeslinnastumisele on tugevalt aidanud kaasa endiste sõjaväelise ja põllumajandusliku otstarbega maade funktsioonide muutmine seoses sotsialismijärgse privatiseerimisega. See tekitas vaba maaressursi, kuhu rajada eeslinnaasumeid. Samuti on oluline faktor klassikaline linnalise keskkonna üle-rahvastatus ja rohelisema elukeskkonna otsingud. Viimast on eriti initsieerinud ka inimeste majandusliku olukorra paranemine 2000ndatel aastatel, sobilike pangalaenude võrk ning kinnisvaraarendajate ja investorite surve. Artikkel näitab, et kui 1990ndatel liikus eeslinnaaladele vastandlik vaesem ning rikkam sektioon rahvastikust, siis 2000ndatel oli see keskklassi trend. Eeslinnaalade planeerimine on selle artikli kohaselt nõrk, tulenevalt kogu riikliku planeerimis-süsteemi logisemisest.

Artikkel II suunab fookuse eeslinnastumisele endistes suvilapiirkondades. Arvestatakse Tallinna ümbruse suvilapiirkondi. Nendel aladel tehtud kaks inventuuri (aastal 2002 ja 2007) näitavad olulist rolli, mida suvilapiirkonnad on mänginud eramajadesse kolinud eeslinnastujate jaoks. Inventuuride käigus on hinnatud püsiva elanikkonna hulka suvilapiirkondades ning 2007. aasta inventuuri käigus hinnati lisaks elumajade tehnilisi näitajaid ehk elanike elamis-tingimusi. Oluline tulemus siin artiklis on, et suure ja silmapaistva eeslinnas-

tumise käigus rajatud uute eramajapiirkondadega võrreldes on endistesse suvilapiirkondadesse tekkinud veelgi rohkem püsiva elukohaga eramaju. Lisaks toovad tulemused välja, et kuigi enamus püsielukohti oli kas põhjalikult renoveeritud või oli endine suvila asendatud uue majaga, asustas umbes 10% elanikest renoveerimata suvilat, kus talveperioodil peaks olema teoreetiliselt võimatu elada. Suvilapiirkondade rahvastiku analüüs (2000. aasta rahvaloenduse näitel) tõi välja, et võrreldes muu eeslinnaga, kuhu tuldi ka mujalt Eestist, olid suvilapiirkondade, aga ka uute elurajoonide elanikud üldiselt pärit Tallinna linnast. Leibkondadesse kuulus suvilapiirkondades üks või kaks liiget, uus-elurajoonides olid leibkonnad suuremad. Suvilapiirkondade elanikkonna tunnused olid ka sotsiaalselt marginaalsemad võrreldes uuselurajoonidega, kuigi variatsioonid selles olid suuremad.

Artikkel III põhineb kvalitatiivsetel intervjuudel Tartu linnaregiooni suvila-piirkondade püsielanike ja omavalitsuste planeerimisspetsialistidega. Selles artiklis analüüsitakse suvilapiirkondade tänapäevast planeerimisolukorda elanike vaatevinklist ning kõrvutatakse seda omavalitsuse visioonide ja planeerijate tegevusega. Lisaks analüüsitakse elanike ja planeerijate suhtlustavasid, kuna kommunikatsioon on oluline kaasava planeerimise alus. Selle artikli tulemused näitavad, et suvilapiirkondade elanikud on väga iseseisvad nii omaenda elumaja ja krundi kui ka piirkonna üldiste kitsaskohtade lahendamisel. Kui eraomandi suhtes on elanikel omanditunne ja vastutus suur, siis kogu asumi probleemide lahendamiseks seab just eraomand ning elanike suhtumise erinevus olulisi piiranguid. Lahenduste leidmisel on elanike seas tavapärane, et pigem talutakse ebameeldivusi kui minnakse omavalitsuselt abi paluma. Omavalitsused omakorda ei kipu algamata piirkonna infrastruktuuri renoveerimistöid. Kuigi elanikud hindavad iseseisvust otsustes ja on skeptilised omavalitsuse sekkumise suhtes, olid kõige rahulolevamad nende piirkondade elanikud, keda omavalitsused on aidanud.

Sellest artiklist selgub, et inimeste suhtlustavad ja -võrgustikud suvilaaladel on väga mitmekesised ja väga erinevad võrreldes kunagise tihedalt seotud nõukogudeaegse ühistukultuuriga. Suvilaalade elanike hulgas on nii oma naabritega tihedalt suhtlevaid kui ka üldse mitte suhtlevaid elanikke. On neid, kes on huvitatud ühistest tegevustest ja üksteise aitamistest, kui ka eraklikke inimesi, kelle jaoks on oluline enda kodu privaatsus. Oluline ühisjoon elanike hulgas on, et enamasti ollakse rahul selle viisiga, kuidas naabritega suheldakse – olgu see siis passiivne või aktiivne. Samas, selline mitmekesisus piirkonnas tekitab raskusi konsensuse leidmiseks piirkonna planeerimisel. Planeerimisprobleemid on senimaani inimesi nii ühendanud kui ka tekitanud omavahelisi pingeid. Teisest vaatenurgast, omavalitsuse planeerijad sageli eeldavad nõukogudeaegsete suvilaühistutega suhestudes, et elanikud on piirkonnas ühtsel seisukohal või vähemalt peaksid ise endale eestkõneleja leidma. Sellest tulenevalt on planeerijad suvilaaladega tegelemisel üldiselt passiivsel positsioonil ja lasevad neil aladel spontaanselt muutuda ilma pikaajalist perspektiivi omamata.

Artikkel IV on välja kasvanud suvilapiirkondades läbi viidud intervjuu-uuringust, mille käigus sai selgeks, et kodu on suvilapiirkonna elanikele oluline

teema. Üldisemalt on see ka intrigeeriv teema postsotsialistlike muutuste valguses, mis on mõjutanud ühiskonna erinevaid valdkondi üldiselt. Artikkel uurib, mis on elanike väärtused, emotsioonid, tähendused ja igapäevased tegevused, mida nad peavad oluliseks, et tunda end koduselt. Lisaks, kuidas need on muutunud ajas ning seotud muude ühiskondlike aspektidega.

Selle artikli tulemused on jaotatud nelja alapeatükki: (1) kodu kui loominguiline käsitöö, (2) kodu kui isiklik kogemus ja seotus, (3) kodu looduses ja (4) kodu, mis on taskukohane ja oma. Nende nelja pealkirja alla on koondunud põhilised teemad, mida intervjueeritavad arutlesid. Esimene neist kirjeldab loominguiliste remonditööde ja kodukujunduse olulisust suvilaalade elanike hulgas. Enda ideedest ja tehtust räägitakse uhkusega ning sellist seisukohta esitasid elanikud kõikides eluetappides alustades noortest, pereinimestest kuni pensionärideni. Kodu kui isiklik kogemus ja seotus kirjeldab, kuidas kodutunnetus on kujunenud isikute varasemate kogemuste, tausta ja seostega kohata, materiaalse detailide ja teiste inimeste najal. Elanikel on nii lapsepõlvemälestusi, varasemaid suvilasuvesid, maaelu kogemust, elukoha ruumilisi ja materiaalseid lahendusi kui ka olulisi kontakte pere ja sõpradega, mis on neid mõjutanud rajama oma kodu just sellesse piirkonda ja sellises vormis. Kodu seost ümbritseva loodusega iseloomustab elanike entusiasm nii oma aia kui ka asumit piiravate metsade ning paljude jaoks läheduses paikneva mereranna suhtes. Kodu ei piirdu vaid oma maja ja krundiga, oluline on ka ümbritsev, mis seob neid suhteliselt linnalise eluviisiga inimesi looduse ja maaeluga. Viimane aspekt kodu juures, taskukohasus ja oma, avab kodudega seotud majanduslikke aspekte ja inimestele olulist omanditunnet. Pankadele ei taheta olla võlgu ning kodus tahetakse autonoomiat ning vabadust otsustada, mitte tunda hirmu, et majanduslikult raskel ajal võib pangalaenude tõttu kodu kaotada. Omanditunne väljendub ka iseseisvuses otsustada, mismoodi oma kodus elada ja kuidas seda kujundada, olles sõltumatu liigsetest regulatsioonidest ja piirangutest.

See artikkel jõuab järeldusteni, et kodu tähendab unistusi ja visioone, mis on inimeste mõtetes ega pruugi kunagi tõelisuseks saada. Olemasolevat muudetakse pidevalt kas siis ümberehituste ja -kujundamisega või siis lihtsalt visioonidega, mida plaanitakse tulevikus teha. See näitab, et uuringus osalejate jaoks on oluline olla protsessis ja muutustes ning valmis kodu pole tegelikult olemas. Teisest küljest on inimestele oluline stabiilsus, autonoomsus ja kestvus, et olla majanduslikult iseseisev, aga samas ka võimalus ise kehtestada oma reeglid ja määratleda iseseisvalt oma perele olulised normid ja vajadused, kuidas ja millises elupaigas elada.

Doktoritöö viimane sisuline peatükk (peatükk 6) esitab kokkuvõtva arutelu töö tulemuste üle laiema teoreetilise ja ühiskondliku tausta valguses. Selles peatükis arutletakse ka, kas postsotsialistlik lähenemine oli suvilapiirkondade uurimisel põhjendatud ning millisteks edasisteks uuringuteks see töö inspireerib.

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