



How do the meanings attached to the mega-event building legacies differ between peri- and post-event generations of citizens?

The case of the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympics sub-event Tallinn Regatta

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Summary

This research investigates if the meanings attached to event building legacies differ between people who attended and did not attend a historic mega-event. As the built legacy of mega-events will decorate a city for years to come, it is important to reflect on its social impact and how it develops throughout citizen generations. With the case study of the Moscow Summer Olympic Regatta of 1980 in Tallinn, the current state of its legacy buildings was used to interview the peri-event and post-event generations of citizens on their attachment levels towards the Olympic buildings. It was concluded from 8 in-depth interviews that attendance in the event did not have a significant impact on the meanings citizens attach to the buildings and the meanings differ between the two population groups. It was rather the location, the architecture and personal connections that determined if and what type of meanings were attached to the Olympic buildings. The peri-event generation ascribed meaning to historical value and personal memories whereas the post-event generation valued location or style of buildings more.

1. Introduction

Olympic Games are considered a mega sporting event that brings together global innovation, talent, sportsmen and spectators to a city which is critically chosen for hosting the sports mega-event. Hosting can have a significant impact on a city before, during and even after the event. Thus, it is important to focus on how to approach, monitor and celebrate these long-term remaining legacies in a constantly changing and developing city even after the event (IOC, 2017; Kaplanidou, 2012). Olympic Games have a long-term impact on the physical and social environment of the city with for example improved infrastructure or more social cohesion within local communities. Kaplanidou (2012) specifically states how a mega-event creates a strong social impact of connections, recognition and pride for the local residents.

This research aims to investigate the social impact through comparison of generations of people who lived during a mega-event (peri-event) and people only experiencing the legacies afterwards (post-event). As Kaplanidou (2012) discusses, the more temporal distance between a person and an event, the more are social impacts and abstract features like meanings of the event valued. As buildings evolve and mature over time it is useful to research if also the meanings and attachments evolve as well and if those notions might differ for citizens who did not attend a mega-event. As Martinez (2018) puts it, legacies are recalibrated by each consecutive citizen generation and thus the sense of attachment and the meaning a built legacy creates of itself can be inherently generational. Researching citizens' perception on built legacies is important to have a societally approved future for mega-event buildings and to understand the life and value of event buildings after mega-events.

2. Research problem

The impact that mega-event developments have on a city has been researched before, although less in the context of historic events and their long-term impacts on residents (Kaplanidou, 2012). A gap that could be seen in academic research, however, is if attendance in the mega-event can have a significant impact on the meanings attached to the event's legacy buildings and if these attachment levels change through time.

Buildings as well as generations, however, change over time, prompting the question of what makes some past Olympic building legacies evolve to the state that they are in presently and how does that affect citizens. Many built legacies face abandonment after the event and become burdens for cities to deal with (TMD, 2017). Additionally, as time goes on the value or meaning of the built legacies becomes further assessed (Mangan, 2008; Talvik, 2011). The future of buildings that are left reminiscent of past events can prove much more critical if the host country undergoes demographic, political and cultural changes after the event. These buildings can divide opinions and values between the past and the present generations (Surzhko-Harned, 2017). However, the

attachment, meanings and collective memories of buildings are especially challenged with radical institutional changes in the society (Martinez, 2018).

Thus, this paper aims to combine the notions of historic mega-event building legacies and meanings attached to its remaining buildings of today. It starts with discussing the general background into the role of legacies for modern-day citizens with the reference to a case city. Related theories will be followed by methodological steps and the results will be analyzed and concluded last to answer the proposed research question.

In order to investigate a mega-event in more detail with specific first-hand perspectives of mega-event or only its legacy experiencers, the 1980 Moscow Olympics Regatta sub-event in Tallinn is taken as a case study. This mega-event serves as an example of how event legacies could evolve through time and space as well as changes of citizens, institutions and values. According to Martinez (2018), a radical institutional change has a strong impact on meaning attachment towards buildings. As the 1980 USSR Olympic Games Regatta was hosted 41 years ago, and Estonia has had an institutional shift towards regaining independence 30 years ago, it can be derived that the current state of the Regatta legacy buildings is under scrutiny and heated discussions (Talvik, 2011). It has been difficult to find a content future for the buildings due to repair costs, purpose finding dilemmas and discords regarding their value and meaning in the now free Estonia (Mutso, 2019). Even though the city hosted just a part of the Olympic games, the developments and constructions done to prepare for the mega-event had a significant impact on the city and its people, as discussed by Tallinn's main architect for the Regatta, Dimitri Bruns (1980). His priority was for the buildings to also actively serve Tallinners long after the event. To combine the concepts of mega-event built legacies and generational differences in meaning attachment, the research question for this project is:

“How do the meanings attached to the mega-event building legacies differ between peri- and post-event generations of citizens?”

The sub-questions, for a more critical and deeper insight, are as follows:

1. What state are the 1980 Olympic buildings in Tallinn currently?
2. What differences between citizen generations are there between the sense of place for past mega-event buildings?
3. Does attendance in the mega-event play a role in the sense of attachment and meaning an event building creates?
4. What are the future prospects to consider for historic mega-event built legacies based on citizens?

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Concepts

The social impacts of mega-events can be an umbrella term for investigating all types of causal effects that a certain action, or in this case an event, can leave on the society of the (host)region. Its methodology is mostly concerned with local participatory research where various stakeholder's values, opinions and affects are investigated, as they are the ones directly impacted by an event (Bridget, 2009; Mathur, 2011; Wolf, 1982; Finsterbusch et al., 1983). Even though the mega-event itself might only last a short amount of time, its potential social impact and legacy on locals can last for years. As Sharp (2017) discusses, it must be considered that, academically, measuring the social impact of an event is crucial as it investigates the concepts of community pride, sense of place and enhanced life quality that an event brings to a city.

The social impact of events is considered to be gaining popularity in research as discussed by Brown et al (2016). The formation of place attachment with regard to an event's location is of special interest in this field. Place attachment implies a strong psychological experience between a location and a person. Mega-event locations can affect people at an increased level due to higher levels of stimulation, pleasure and emotions present during the event in the location. This interaction between an individual and a place results in building place attachment. However, this could be highly influenced by the quality of a place and personal satisfaction with the location as well. Developing positive place attachment requires the place to be accessible, livable, comfortable, unique and memorable. On the contrary, weaker attachment results from lack of authenticity, generic designs and lack of history in a place (Shamsuddin & Ujang, 2008). Interestingly, Phillips et al. (2011) discuss that place attachment builds mostly on the number of experiences and connection one builds over time with a place. They believe that children can therefore have different attachment patterns to the same buildings compared to older people since collective attachment may be shaped by time and collectively experienced historical events. As the value and importance of a building is largely personal, preserved sites have at times faced criticism from the public. Many states have opted for heritage protection to save buildings from being forgotten. According to Kopec and Bliss (2020), the human perspective of places, the sense or spirit a building or a site creates, is even an official criterion for marking a place to be UNESCO heritage. Heritage buildings subconsciously create an evaluation of the common past, no matter if positive or negative, as well as signify the transition of progress in society (Yeoh & Kong, 1996).

These social impacts and attachments are bound to change through time. As noted by Yeoh & Kong (1996) and previously mentioned by Phillips et al. (2011), the history of a location or building can naturally be overwritten by the newer generations of citizens who create new values and associations with the buildings. As this paper looks at generational differences of the attachment to the event legacy buildings, it is important to clarify the differentiation of generations.

Vinogradnaite (2018) discusses that a generation is a group of people who are born during an identifiable time frame. Yeoh & Kong (1996) state that people from the same generation can share similar world views and can also share similar memories of the past. Toomsalu (2019) has made a chronological list of the characteristics between generations in Estonia and the values of these generations differ greatly. For example, older generations who lived during the Soviet rule value loyalty and staying true to tradition whereas younger, post-Soviet people tend to value modernizing and multi-functionalism. This clear divide of ideals and beliefs arising from post-communist transition is also thoroughly discussed by Surzhko-Harned & Turkina (2017). Although the switch from the USSR to the Republic of Estonia happened 11 years after the Olympic Regatta, it is still important to understand the impact of political, cultural, and value changes on society over a long period of time. As Martinez (2018) discusses, building memories or values from the Soviet times are impacted by the change to a post-Soviet generation. What we do not yet know, however, is whether the emerging generational differences of opinion, attachment and values could be related to the current state of the built legacies as discussed by Shamsuddin & Ujang (2008) previously.

As this paper is focused on Tallinn, it is important to understand the background of the city and the perceptions of its citizens. The Regatta buildings are currently facing an uncertain future in the constantly modernizing Tallinn. It is important to investigate the societal value and perspective on the buildings to make sure decisions about their future correspond with Tallinners' expectations. The buildings that were designed and created for the Regatta are characterized with the term *Soviet Modernism/Sovmod* (Kurg, 2009). Examples of it from Tallinn can be seen under Figure 1. Most of these grandiose, unique and brutalist concrete-overkill buildings stand out in contemporary post-Soviet cities and have had a difficult time in recent years as there is constant controversy over their value, purpose and suitability (Kurg, 2009). That shows a divide in the Estonian society on the meanings and worth of Soviet buildings already by their architecture (Mark, 2019; Hallas-Murula, 2016). The architecture and design of event buildings can have a significant impact on the attachment or connection an attendee builds during their visit (Brown et al., 2016) so that is why *Sovmod* is also considered in this paper.

3.3 Hypotheses

After discussing the theory, four hypotheses were created to investigate if the concepts and previous research also hold value in the case of the Tallinn Regatta. The hypotheses are connected to the sub-questions of the research question proposed earlier.

Firstly, I expect that most of the Soviet-era event legacy buildings are used to this day in Tallinn and a very small number of all the built legacy is either abandoned, neglected or demolished.

Secondly, I expect there to be a difference in how the people who actually participated or experienced the mega-event perceive the event's built legacies and how the people who have just lived in the host city *ex-post* of the event perceive the event and its legacies.

Thirdly, I expect to find out that the younger generation is more likely to suggest repurposing the Olympic era buildings which are currently in a dire state or even suggest demolishing them as they have less of a personal attachment towards these buildings.

Fourth, connected to the previous hypothesis, I expect the older generation to not be keen on new repurposing plans, unless the plan is to bring back the purpose the buildings had when they were actively used.

4. Methodology and Data collection instrument

For researching the meanings of generations of Tallinners, various steps need to be taken. As stated previously, researching social impacts is often done to gain community insights. As this is a retrospective research, interviewing or surveying past event attendees are preferable methods to gain valuable perspectives (Giet et al. n.d.). However, this paper is also interested in post-event perspectives of non-attendees. Thus, the main data of this research will be based on interviews. Since the Regatta is a historic event, non-attendees may also benefit from first-hand data from various archives. In order to make the interviews as elaborate and inclusive as possible, it is also important to map out the locations of the legacy buildings. The visualization of the current state of the Regatta buildings will thus facilitate the interviews.

The research started with a visit to the Tallinn City Archives in March 2021. This was to gather preparatory data on the history and spatial aspects of the event's buildings. The data was used to create the visualization as well as a scenario for the interviews. It also helped to establish the most relevant buildings to research in Tallinn. Physical fieldwork in Tallinn was done to analyze what the current quality, activity status and state of the built legacies is in order to prepare for the interviews. A scale about the current activity status of the buildings was created for assessment purposes and looked into abandoned buildings, inactive buildings, repurposed in-use buildings and fully in-use event buildings. Deriving from the works of Shamsuddin & Ujang (2008), the assessment criteria included the current quality of the buildings, the state of the facade, popularity

of the location and ongoing construction. The states of some of the buildings can be seen in Figure 1 as well as Appendix D.

The building list was transformed into a GIS map with the use of Google Maps and ArcMap. The map was created because: 1) there is currently no comprehensive map of all the buildings created for the 1980 mega-event, and 2) it was a necessary addition for the interviews to prevent confusion on which buildings are event legacies and to remind interviewees of the current state of the buildings. By creating a scaling tool on the state that the buildings are in now, the developments were gradually visualized on the map. The GIS flowchart of the process can be seen in Table 1. Related map layers that were needed for this step were inquired from the Estonian Land Board public database.

Table 1. GIS flowchart. (Author, 2021)

Original dataset	GIS Processes	Final dataset
Estonian Land Board: Cadastral Units of Harju County (SHP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Making layers of selected attributes - Change to correct color of the cadastral unit by Properties 	Unique layers of all the Regatta buildings colored based on their activity status

Next, interviews were conducted for a qualitative in-depth perspective of citizens of Tallinn on the situation and their connection to the buildings. It was decided to opt for in-depth interviews as opposed to a survey to allow respondents to freely share their emotions, opinions and experiences and more conveniently participate in the research. The participants were gathered via snowball method from two Tallinn citizen generations. The first group was aged 45-81 and consisted of people who lived during the mega-event as well as the Soviet regime. They would have been at least 5 years old during the 1980 Olympic games, i.e., old enough to contribute to the perspective of attending the Olympics. The second group of people was aged up to 40. That group did not experience the Olympic games, however, they have grown up with the event's legacy buildings. From both age groups the participant who was selected to be first by my networking guided me to future interviewees. For that the participants aged 35 and 63 were respectively used.

From the interviews, four types of data groups were gathered drawing on research done on place attachment by Lewicka (2008):

1. Measures on the respondent's socio-demographic position
2. Measures on place memory
3. Measures on emotional bonds with places, sense of place and place attachment
4. Measures on future prospects of the historic built environment

The interview questions can be found in Appendix A. During the interviews the map created in the first step was shown to the interviewees so they could discuss their opinion about the buildings in detail. This approach gave an opportunity to gather respondents' insights on all of the Olympic specific buildings. Showing and discussing the map also helped the interviewees to relate or bring back memories of the event legacies better and provided reassurance.

The original transcripts of the recordings of the interviews were created with Microsoft Word and stored on my personal protected computer. All the interviews were conducted in Estonian and translated into English during transcription. Translating was done as true to the meaning as possible by myself. All the English transcripts were analyzed and inductively coded with the Atlas.ti software where a codebook was created as seen in Appendix G.

All interviewees were given a consent form (Appendix B) before the interviews so they were aware of their rights as research participants. The consent form was available in Estonian and English and stored safely until the end of the research. As the younger age group included underage people, transparency, clarity and respectfulness about their contribution was of utmost importance. All the interview responses were anonymized as this paper deals with personal opinions and viewpoints.

As I am an Estonian who lived in Tallinn during data gathering, I could be considered an insider with the positionality towards this project. Previous familiarity with the mega-event and knowledge on its suitability for the research question is also why the Tallinn Regatta was chosen for the case study. This positionality made the research more accessible, comfortable and trustworthy for potential participants. The risk of having a biased perspective on the research problem was considered at all stages of conducting the research. Thus, objectivity and neutrality were an aim.

5. Findings

5.1 Current state of the event's legacy buildings

The quality of the historic Olympic buildings in a modern city context can have a large impact on how the legacies of the mega-event are perceived by citizens. All together it was found through archival data that 50 buildings and infrastructural developments were built for the Olympic Regatta between the years 1972-1980 (Orgtöögrupp, 1980; Ehitusosakond, 1976). As seen in Figure 3 and listed in Table 2, only 20 buildings were showcased because after archival data collection, only 20 could be identified, assessed and mapped.

Table 2. Buildings shown on the GIS map in Figure 3, with translations. (Author, 2021)

	English	Estonian	English	Estonian	
1	The Olympic Sailing Centre	Purjespordikeskus	11	Tallinn University	Ülikool
2	Beach House	RannaHoone	12	Narva Highway buildings	Narva mnt. hooned
3	Pirita Mall	Keskus	13	Forum Mall	Täitevkomitee hoone
4	Pirita Phone Exchange	Jaamahoone	14	Art Gallery	Galerii
5	District heating Centre	Boileriruum	15	Baltic Railway station	Balti Jaam
6	TV Tower	Teletorn	16	A-terminal	A-terminal
7	Tallinn Airport	Lennujaama peahoone	17	Naval/ Sea Museum	Meremuuseum
8	Airport Hotel	Lennujaama hotell	18	Linnahall	Linnahall
9	Olympic Hotel	Olümpia Hotell	19	Sewage station	Reoveejaam
10	Polyclinic	Polikliinik	20	Postal house	Postimaja



Figure 3. GIS Map on the current state of the Regatta buildings in Tallinn. (Author, 2021)

As a result of the fieldwork, one building was indicated to be abandoned and one in an inactive state. Six buildings seem to be repurposed after the Regatta and 13 buildings are still fully in use as during the Olympic Games. The two buildings which were in a more dire state were Linnahall and the Olympic Sailing Centre - two of the biggest built legacies from the Olympic Games. Their

state was characterized by deteriorated facades, broken windows and inactivity inside or outside the building. These two buildings were then specifically focused on during the interviews to investigate if their current state has an effect on residents' sense of attachment.

5.2 Results of the Interviews

All together eight representable and diversely aged residents were interviewed from 23 March to 17 April. Four interviewees represented the younger, post-Games generation. Their ages were respectively 15, 21, 30 and 35. The other four interviewees were from the older, peri-Games generation and aged 45, 50, 63 and 73, respectively. That means they experienced building the city for the Olympic Games as well as got to attend the Regatta. The results will be discussed in three themes suitably derived from Lewicka (2008): building legacies, personal connection to the buildings and general remarks about the Regatta. Table 3 shows what buildings were even discussed during the interviews and in what order, indicating what building the person felt more connected and attached to. The most discussed building legacies were the Sailing Centre, Airport, Olympic Hotel, the Baltic Station and Linnahall, which will be focused more on the coming analysis.

Table 3. Order of talking/discussing the building by the interviewees. (Author, 2021)

Building/Person's age	15	21	30	35	45	50	63	73
Sailing centre	8, OR?	7	2	11	8	2	10	5
Pirita Mall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Station building	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Beach House	11, OR?	8	-	4	9	-	12	1
Boiler House	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
TV Tower	7, OR?	11	-	5	10	1	9	2
Airport	5, OR?	6	1, OR?	1, OR?	12	3	1	15
Airport Hotel	6, OR?	-	-	-	13	4, OR?	3, OR?	-
Olympic Hotel	3, OR?	5	3	10	7	6	13	11
Polyclinic	4, OR?	-	-	9, OR?	-	5	2, OR?	17
Tallinn University	10, OR?	10	4, OR?	-	3	7, OR?	-	9
Narva highway buildings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Postimaja	9, OR?	9	5	7	4	8	8	12
Forum mall	-	12, OR?	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gallery	-	-	10, OR?	-	-	-	-	-
Baltic Station	2, OR?	2	9	8, OR?	6	9, OR?	7	16
A-terminal	-	4	6	2	2	-	5	8
Sea Museum	-	3	8, OR?	-	5	11, OR?	6	13
Linnahall	1, OR?	1	7	3	1	10	11	7
Sewage station	-	-	11	6, OR?	11	-	4	14
OR? = Did not know the building was connected to the Olympic Regatta								
1;2; ... = Order of talking about the building								
- = Did not talk about the building								
1 = Discussed this building first								

5.2.1 Linnahall

By looking at the buildings in more detail, then based on Table 3 as well Table 4 (more extensively in Appendix D), the most mentioned and discussed legacy building was Linnahall. However, meanings connected to Linnahall and attachment levels vary by person. Although Linnahall was not even considered to be the main building of the Regatta in Tallinn, its impact on generations of citizens is the biggest. This can have various reasons but the interviews highlight its city centre location, uniquely massive architecture, long term inactivity and consistent popularity in media.

Table 4. Number of times a code/theme was mentioned by the interviewees. (Author, 2021)

Code/Age	15	21	31	35	45	50	63	73	Total mentions
1 Personal connection with a building	7	8	12	7	15	6	12	13	80
2 Showcase of emotion towards a building	4	10	7	14	9	5	8	14	71
3 Linnahall	3	7	4	7	18	6	19	5	69
4 Repurposing of buildings	1	14	8	12	6	5	9	11	66
5 Building the city for the Regatta	0	0	0	2	19	2	14	15	52
6 Visiting building-legacies	8	9	7	2	12	4	6	2	50
7 Pirita region (TOP, Mall, stations, houses)	2	5	4	0	12	3	9	9	44
8 Tallinn airport/ Airport Hotel	1	3	3	5	5	3	7	3	30
9 Architecture/ SovMod	0	3	1	8	6	4	4	4	30
10 A-terminal	0	4	2	2	8	0	9	4	29
11 Future of legacy buildings	2	4	1	0	9	3	6	3	28
12 Balti Jaam/ Station	0	4	2	1	7	5	1	6	26
13 Locational effect	3	6	2	1	6	2	3	1	24
14 Comparisons (to other cities, mega-events, buildings)	0	2	1	2	2	3	3	5	18
15 Generational differences	3	2	1	1	3	2	1	4	17
16 Sewage station	0	1	0	1	5	1	4	3	15
17 Olympic Hotel & Polyclinic buildings	0	0	0	5	5	1	1	2	14
18 TV tower	1	1	0	1	3	2	1	4	13
19 Abandonment of legacy buildings	3	2	0	2	0	0	2	2	11
20 Narva Highway buildings (apartments, Forum, Postimaja)	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	5	9
21 Tallinn University	0	4	1	0	1	1	0	2	9
22 Heritage	0	4	0	0	2	0	1	1	8
23 Olympic security	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	4	7
24 Sea Museum	1	0	0	0	2	3	1	0	7

Although it was hypothesized that the younger generation will support tearing down the abandoned building, they actually all would like either the whole building to stay or parts of it to stay to keep the mark of history. This shows a distinct connection to the building and its historical value for non-attendees. The youngest person who had never even visited Linnahall, and had not formed an attachment to the building, still hoped that it will be given a new life as in her eyes it has historic value and means more for older generations. However, the oldest representative felt least connected to Linnahall and supported demolishing. This shows quite a divide between the opinions and attachments of the two extremes of age groups. He stated:

“Well, that Linnahall, it has been discussed so much recently. Honestly, did we even really need it back then? (...) and well, the state of Linnahall is horrible anyway right now so an option is to just demolish it” (73, Man, 2021).

Interestingly, the scenic seaside location of Linnahall is mentioned many times. The 21 year old even states that she believes the most important thing for Linnahall is its beautiful location and not its historical meaning or that it's a heritage site. The 31 year old also supports that viewpoint. The 63 year old even stated that if Christopher Nolan found Linnahall an attractive set location for the 2020 movie *Tenet*, its meaning and popularity internationally shifts away from the Regatta.

As Linnahall is designed in a brutalist way, the architecture was noted by many interviewees. There are already divisions between the younger generation representatives on the fondness of the design. The most passionate about brutalism was the 35 year old man who believes that just Linnahall's design is what connects and attracts him to the building the most. He does not feel connected at all to the glass-box-style buildings of Tallinn's current developments. This shows that even a person who did not attend the mega-event can create a strong attachment to the building just based on the way it is designed. However, this is a unique case and does not represent the opinion of the whole group of young people. Overall, their generation talks positively of the design. Compared to the attendees, the 63 and 45 year old respondents both said the building has a spirit and its stand out design also feels special to them.

In general, the older generation does show slightly more attachment to the building, which rather comes from memories of the building being active, living near the building or its historical background. With the exception of the oldest person, they say that Linnahall holds value to them as well as to the city. As the 63 year old stated: "The building was once just so good that you cannot really imagine it not being there at all (...) That would make me really sad" (63, man, 2021). This quote generalizes the overall perspective of the older generation on Linnahall. Even in a more passionate sense, the 45 year old concludes Linnahall in relation to the Regatta event by stating that:

"Maybe in 40 or 100 years someone could say "Oh look, that's Linnahall!" When you tear it down, you cannot say stuff like "You see that Linnahall over there, that was built during the Olympics in Estonia!" We will never get to experience another Olympic game here again! I am more than sure of it! So, I think, let the building remain and remind us of that. Let us be happy that back then it was brought here for us even" (45, woman, 2021).

5.2.2 The Yachting Centre

Another important and most discussed event legacy was the Sailing/Yachting Centre in Pirita. This is where the Regatta sport actually took place. With this Centre, there is a definite divide between the attachment levels of the older and younger generation. What seems to be the deciding factor is that Pirita district is located far from the city centre as seen in Figure 3, and far from where the interviewees currently reside. This locational effect has given them almost no reason to visit or grow attached to the Yachting Centre, even if they visited the mega-event. All of the respondents

believe that the Centre should be updated, renovated and modernized to make it relevant again but none of them believe it should be fully demolished.

Looking at the older generation, the inactive buildings in the Sailing Centre are discussed by the 45 and 63 year olds as the reason the location has lost its value and attachment for them nowadays. Although three respondents used to visit the location and grew attached to it because of memories, that attachment is now almost nonexistent due to the inactivity. The 73 year old, who had the strongest personal connection to Pirita due to living there most of his life and working in the Sailing Centre during the Olympics, believes that the Centre should be demolished to a small extent. He believes that a Sailing Centre should remain in Pirita as it still keeps the sport spirit and the history of the Regatta alive, but it should be decreased in size because its massive brutalist form does not fit the modern city and is losing its value. This conclusion is also what other older generation representatives hinted towards.

5.2.3 Other legacy buildings

With the other buildings shown on the map, the opinions and attachment levels vary based on the location and popularity of the legacy building, personal memories as well as if the building is currently even open to the public. Since the interviewees who visited the Games went to the Sailing centre for the actual sailing competition, it seemed reasonable that other legacy buildings were less prominent for the attendees. However, that generation was also more enthusiastic about the sewage centre, the district heating centre and phone exchange building. These were valued more due to their crucial necessity for the city at the time.

The younger generation discussed their attachment to other buildings based on their current lifestyle. For example, the 15 year old is most connected to the Postimaja building, but the connection has nothing to do with the building's Olympic history of which she was unaware of. She is attached to it due to the building being in a central location to hang out with her friends. The 35 year old, however, said that working in the Olympic Hotel for many years made him more attached to it. The much discussed Airport is also another building that people do not feel attached to due to the Olympics but rather its current state and usage level. Thus, it could be concluded that former Olympic buildings currently in active use are primarily valued based on personal experiences and lifestyles.

5.2.4 Generally discussed about the Olympic legacies

In general, the younger generation is more shocked about the amount and especially the type of buildings that were built for the Olympic Games, as seen in Table 3. With most of the legacy buildings, none of them recognized the building's connection to the Olympic Regatta before the interview as seen also from Table 3 and Appendix D. The 35 year old realized he knew too little of the Regatta legacy of Tallinn, stating: "So basically, Tallinn before the Olympic games was literally a slum? We did not have the TV tower, a decent airport, the sewage, a normal harbour-

what were we even before that?“ (35, Man, 2021). For the three younger interviewees, after acknowledging the Olympic legacy of well-known buildings, their attachment to the buildings and the Regatta itself did not increase for them personally. As the 21 year old states:

“Once again, I don’t really have a personal attachment to the games. It feels like well, it happened and now we have those buildings as a result. It isn’t really a negative thing but it is a neutral thing. Just a fact in history. I don’t have a big thing for it really. Maybe also because the Olympics were in Moscow and I was not alive then. So it also wasn’t really the “Estonian” Olympic Games but rather the “Soviet Union” Olympics. It feels so far away in time and in space. It feels distant to me” (21, Woman, 2021).

Personal connections and attachment levels to buildings were the primary focus of the older generation as seen in Table 4. This shows the impact of experience and memories on attachment. The 45, 63 and the 73 year olds passionately support all of the developments that were made in the 1970s and proudly talk about the mega-event. The 45 year old thinks that in general: “...During the Regatta, when I was a child, I felt joy from the toys. I did not maybe appreciate or value the Games that much compared to when you were a grown up then” (45, Woman, 2021). She specifically brings out the generational difference as a likely reason she does not feel as attached to the Olympics or its legacies as older citizens. The 73 year old also discusses the generational difference of value the buildings create nowadays. Even though the buildings were a crucial part of creating history for the society and uniting Tallinners, they do not matter anymore in the current context. He states that:

“Well, for our generation it (the Regatta) was a big and crucial thing as we really showed that we can accomplish such big things together. We did the Regatta and we really won a lot with it(...) That was how we, the people, won in the Olympics. (...) However, we should not be stuck in that past and think they (the buildings) have some historical value now” (73, Man, 2021).

6. Discussion

After analyzing the current state of the buildings 41 years after the event, it can be seen that most of them are still actively used or have been repurposed. However, only 20 buildings were visualized on a current day map because it was not possible to see and map to infrastructural developments and not being able to identify the locations of various smaller scale buildings. Only one of the buildings is fully abandoned, contradicting TMD Studio (2017) according to whom most of the buildings built specifically for the Olympics face abandonment soon after the event is finished. It supports the vision of Bruns (1980) who aimed for the buildings to last and be active long after the event too. This confirms the hypothesis on many buildings still being in use.

The eight interviews were enough to cover generational differences. The younger generation feels less attached to the buildings as they either have not created many memories with them or they

have not visited the locations enough to form a connection. What can be concluded based on Tables 3 and 4 is that some buildings have left a stronger impression or are more popular amongst specific generations. This shows that the larger, purposeful buildings have created a bigger connection for the interviewees compared to the smaller, now mostly repurposed buildings.

The older generation feels more connected to and protective of the buildings as they have created personal memories or connections with them, enjoy the difference of design or used to live close to them. They were also more likely to mention the spirit or sense of a building by highlighting its character and saying that without the built legacy, a part of the cultural history and urban landscape would be lost. The younger generation's opinions could not be generalized the same way due to their lack of physical visits or strong memories to the buildings. This supports the theories of creating a sense of place and value of a building through memories and personal connections, as discussed by Jagannath (2018), Toomsalu (2019) and Yeoh & Kong (1996). Interestingly, the interviews show that geographical distance of residents from the buildings has a significant impact on attachment levels.

Almost all of the interviewees would like the buildings to remain part of the cityscape in the future, whether as integral buildings, facades or as other parts of the historic building showing. All interviewees feel that their architecture or history is interesting and enriches the city and its history to some extent. This disproves the third hypothesis of generational differences with regard to repurposing versus demolishing. However, the fourth hypothesis of the older generation overall suggesting activating the buildings with previous purpose holds truth.

7. Conclusion

Considering that this paper researches how the meanings attached to mega-event building legacies differ between generations, it can be said that mega-event building legacies do have a generational difference of meanings. However, this conclusion is based on eight personal perspectives of Tallinners and is not fully representative of the whole population. Although, it still gives a valid contribution towards the perspective of the population. For the younger generations the building legacies are meaningful to them due to their locations or their architecture. For the older generations, the building legacies are meaningful due to personal memories and experiences with the building as well as their historical value in shaping the city when they were built. This supports Jagannath (2018), Martinez (2018), Yeoh and Kong (1996) and Toomsalu (2019) and means the hypothesis of there being meaning differences between generations was proved correct. Based on the interviews, attending the Regatta has not had a significant effect on the meanings attached to the built legacies. It is rather the current locational distance between the legacy building and the person, the personal memories with the buildings after the event or the architecture of the buildings that influence the meaning attachments to the legacies. Although the Tallinn Regatta was hosted in a different institutional and political context 41 years ago, its significant social implications are still valued today and will be remembered for generations to come. Thus, learning from the

Regatta, a mega-event can physically as well as socially impact the host city and its residents. After all, if its legacy buildings are also preserved long after the event, that impact can evolve and change over time due to generational value and meaning changes.

To reflect, a weaker point in this research was the lack of knowledge or understanding of Soviet life in Tallinn as the researcher has only lived in the free Republic of Estonia. Thus, the archival data or the answers of older interviewees might be represented with insufficient historical context of life at the time. In addition, many buildings could not be represented in the GIS map due to changes in street names and building numbers after the re-independence of Estonia or the buildings could not be found from any present-day mapping software. In a positive light, a lot was learned about researching historic events and built legacies due to this. Arriving to an answer to the research question about a historic mega-event calls for clear background knowledge on the historical context, society, spatial planning and institutions. However, visiting the building locations was a possibility and physically being in Tallinn definitely helped with the research process and conducting interviews. It might be interesting to research in the future if such differences between the generations are also represented in the Russian minority population in Tallinn or even in Moscow itself, where the main events of the Summer Olympics of 1980 were hosted.

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9. Appendices

9.1 Appendix A: Interview questions

General questions:

1. Could you state your age?
2. Have you lived in Tallinn or in very close proximity to it for most of your life?
3. Are you aware that Tallinn hosted the Moscow Summer Olympics sailing sub-event in 1980?
4. Can you briefly tell me if you have a personal connection to the Olympic Regatta in Tallinn?

Questions relating to place memory:

5. I will show you a map that I created of most of the buildings that were built in Tallinn for the Regatta. As you can see, almost all of them are still up today, although with sometimes a different purpose than what they had during the regatta. Which of these buildings do you recognize and which are more foreign to you?
6. Which of these buildings have you visited most recently and why did you visit it?
 - a. Why have you not visited some of the other buildings?

Questions relating to emotional bonds, place attachment, sense of place

7. What feelings do visiting or hearing about these 1980 Soviet Regatta buildings bring about in you?
8. Which of these buildings do you feel especially connected with? What is the reason for that?
9. Are you proud of these legacy buildings and where they have developed to be now? Why?
10. Do you feel nostalgic for the times the abandoned buildings were still actively used?
11. Do you like the architecture style the buildings have been designed in?

Questions relating to future prospects

12. Are you satisfied with how the buildings have been used or are used nowadays in Tallinn?
13. Which buildings do you think need a new life purpose and why do you believe that should happen?
14. What do you suggest would be the best future plan for these buildings?
15. As you can see, 40 years have got the buildings this far, but what do you believe will happen to them in the next 40 years?
16. What is your opinion on abolishing the abandoned buildings?
17. Do you believe buildings from a Soviet mega-event 40 years ago still are important for the city nowadays? Why?

9.2 Appendix B: Informed consent

Informed consent

Human Geography & Urban and Regional Planning
Cecilia Eero bachelors project thesis

Consent form for the research project 'How do the meanings attached to the mega-event building legacies differ between peri- and post-Soviet generations of citizens?'

1. Participation in this research is strictly voluntary.
2. You can leave or stop the interview at any time without giving a reason.
3. You will remain anonymous for the research project, meaning that no data you state can be traced back to you. The transcribed interviews will be strictly used by Cecilia Eero only and will be anonymously published in the research project paper and presentation.
4. You can freely ask any questions about the research and its process from Cecilia Eero at any point during the participation.
5. You have had enough time to agree to get acquainted and come to a decision to participate in this research.

I, Cecilia Eero, declare that I have informed the research participant about the research. I will notify the participant about matters that could influence his/her participation in the research.

You hereby declare that you have read and understood this consent form and agree to the conditions of participating in this research. All your questions at this point of the research have been answered by the researcher.

Researcher: Full name and date

Participant: Full name and date

Teatatud nõusolek

Inimgeograafia ja linna-ning regionaalplaneerimine
Cecilia Eero bakalaureuse lõputöö

Teatatud nõusoleku dokument uurimistöö "Milline sotsiaalne mõju ja paiga side on Tallinna Olümpiaregati ehituspärandil Nõukogudeaegsete ja Nõukogudejärgsete generatsioonide Tallinlastega"

1. Osalemine selles uurimistöös on täiesti vabatahtlik.
2. Te võite peatada või lõpetada intervjuu ilma põhjusest teatamata.
3. Te jääte projektis osalemisel anonüümseks, mis tähendab, et räägitud informatsiooni ei saa seostada teiega. Kirja pandud intervjuudele saab ligi ainult Cecilia Eero ning tal on õigus anonüümsust tagades avalikustada intervjuud uurimistöös ning sellega seotud presentatsioonid.
4. Teil on õigus küsida Cecilia Eerolt küsimusi kogu projektis osalemise vältel.
5. Teil on olnud aega piisavalt, et tutvuda uurimistööga ning otsustada, kas soovite osaleda uurimistöös.

Mina, Cecilia Eero, deklareerin, et olen teadvustanud uurimistöös osalejat uurimistöö osas. Ma luban teavitada osalejat, kui tekivad muutused tema osalemisega.

Te deklareerite, et olete lugenud ja aru saanud sellest nõusoleku vormist ja olete nõus selles kirjutatud tingimustega. Kõik küsimused, mis siiani on tekkinud uurimistöös osalemisega on uurija poolt vastatud.



9.3 Appendix C: Photos of the state of the legacy buildings



Figure 1.1 Linnahall in the inside. (Author, 2020); Linnahall facade on May the 4th. (Author, 2021)



Figure 1.2. Pirita Yachting Centre current state. (National Registry of Cultural Monuments, 2021; Author, 2021)

9.5 Appendix D: Excel table on code themes, amount of times a code was mentioned and summaries of what were mentioned

Code/Age	Amount of times said + what is said									
	15	21	31	35	45	50	63	73		
A-terminal	0	4-developments?	2-developments?, memories	2- necessity	8- not developed, mobility obstacle	0	9- personal connection, developments	4- benefiting from regatta		
abandonment	3- time dependence, lonely buildings 3- attachment of older people	2- wasted resources 2- wasn't alive to feel attached	0	2- owner issues, expensive	0	0	2- not a problem in Tallinn	2- inevitable		
generation			1- age	1- age	3- was too young to understand	2- was too young to understand	1- age	4- Importance for his generation, high need for young eyes		
airport	1-visiting	3- enjoying design	3- Olympic legacy?, developments	5- Olympic? necessity, enjoying design, need based visit	5- personal connection, enjoying design	3- need based visit, enjoying design	7- hotel?, necessity, good location	3- good location, memories		
architecture	0	3- not liking, architecture changes by generation	1- have not seen upgrades on Soviet buildings really	8-high interest in brutalism, uniqueness, depicted negatively in media	6- likes brutalism, dislikes mixing old and new, confusion from Tallinn developments	4- likes brutalism- creates interest, dislikes glass-box developments	4- SovMod not fitting into the city although have spirit, function more important than style,	4- despises SovMod, confused about urban planners in Tallinn, Regatta an opportunity for architects		
architecture	0	4- hopes for renovations, enjoys the hang out spots there	2- personal memories with visiting	1- Olympic legacy?	7- personal connection with living nearby, dislikes the developments that happened, misses the old market, enjoys more security there now	5- personal connection with visiting, desires for modernization there, enjoys casually walking there	1- personal visits	6- prefers new location and developments, personal connection		
balti jaam	0	0	0	2- shocked of the growth the city got from the event	19- Olympic buildings were a great addition however done as Potjemkin village, hates current planning around the buildings and districts	2- dislikes current urban planning around the buildings, Olympic buildings create interest in city	14- crucial buildings for city development, functionality over design, poor quality, no excessive buildings	15- last minute developments, Potjemkin village, crucial for city development, demolishing for the games not thought through		
building the city	0	2- sochi abandonment, EU TV-towers	1- Berlin wall repurposing	2- Linnahall is the new Sidney? Our architecture is more interesting compared to rest of the world	2- national library, Kadriorg palace-attachment of similar Russian buildings	3- haven harbour, national library, Paide Cultural Centre	3- Dubai harbour planning, old Solaris, Saku Arena acoustics	5- Bastille, Linnemhagen, worse situation with legacy buildings abroad, Rio Olympics with nothing ready by time		
comparisons	4- growing interest towards the Olympics and what it did for the city, positive towards the TV tower mostly	10- Linnahall as her "feel-good" location, dislikes the idea of demolishing and building a bureau house on top, does not feel a strong connection to the buildings due to distant event + lack of visiting	7- finds the buildings important for character and coolness in the city, dislikes the idea of demolishing with a glass-box built on top, needs to visit more to create a connection	14- surprised of all the buildings connected to the Regatta, obsession over brutalism and its extraterrestrial look, intense sadness if Linnahall demolished	9- happy the Olympics were brought to us, history should not be teased down, excited memories from buildings, truly sad if Linnahall would be demolished	5- happy that the buildings exist, sensational feeling when attending the Regatta, eager to see new developments	8- truly sad and nostalgic over Linnahall's current state, proud of the developments made	14- excited spirits for the Olympics, hating Narva highway buildings, passionately supporting demolishing Linnahall		
emotion	2- would visit Linnahall with class if it was repaired, believes some buildings are too lonely and will be demolished	4- probably teared down, hopes the Baltic Station is renovated	1- wishes they will remain up but probably will be teared down	0	9- Hopes the future is not a market hall for Linnahall but rather the same concert hall, TOP to a luxurious hotel, buildings should definitely not be taken down	3- buildings need better owners and a lot of investments to be actively in use again, wishes for nice walking, cafe areas for Linnahall	6- sad that has not heard any future development discussions on Linnahall, two options: collapsing or expensive investments made	3- necessary developments will stay (etc sewage), hopes for narrowing of TOP + Linnahall, believes international sport federations will invest if needed		
future of buildings		4- overstatement to thing the SovMod buildings are worth that much, does not find value in some of the buildings	0	0	2- Linnahall is under heritage protection so will remain no matter what, can get rid of heritage buildings by setting them on fire (Kalamaja)	0	1- changing the top half is difficult under heritage	1- believes the heritage department is hindering crucial developments and is not looking at the bigger		
locational effect	3- does not live nearby or has no friends in Piritu to visit or create a connection	6- believes the locations are superb, lives in the other side of the city so has had no purpose to visit or create a connection	2- does not live close to the buildings so does not visit, believes the locations are superb	1- when he lived next to Linnahall he visited it constantly. Now due to less time and more distance he does not	6- as she lives in Kalamaja, she takes the buildings for granted and looks at them neutrally, cannot come to terms with developments near her in the last 10 years, doesn't specifically visit	2- dislikes how the centre is planned, enjoys the locations that the Olympic buildings are at	3- locations of the buildings is superb (closeness to city centre etc), believes nearby people to Linnahall would enjoy walking routes there	1- used to be more connected to the buildings in his childhood when he lived in Piritu		
Narva Highway buildings	0	1- believes the commercial areas will be rebuilt again	0	0	3- enjoys that the highway buildings were created (although in a potjemkin fashion) but they do not attract her at all	0	0	5- hates the other buildings but likes that the University is developing		
Olympic hotel	0	0	0	5- personal connection, believes it is amortizing, does not like the style, treats it as an icon	5- believes it is already too old although has not visited and is not attracted to visit it for some time, lies in the shadows of newer hotels, illegal activities during the Regatta happening there	1- has not visited in many years and cannot imagine how it is managing	1- believes the hotel is very modern and nicely in use till today, hopes same renovations will be done also on the Pirtu TOP hotel	2- personal memories, elite location during the games		
Olympic security	0	0	0	0	1- illegal currency actions to make a living	0	2- Russian occupation scaring potential visitors off, completed Pirtu area was so restricted that no sportsmen or foreigners could freely stroll around	4- TV tower location based on enemy attack strategy, foreign builders based on communism, restricted movements of even reporters, secretly hoping for freedom after the Games		
personal connection	7- does not know anything about the Olympics, did not study it in school, feels most connected to TV tower and Postimaja due to class trips and hangout spots	8- did not know most buildings, remembers class trips to Linnahall, remembers evening sunsets on the roof of Linnahall	12- visited grandfather and went swimming in Piritu, PE coach took part in Olympics, father works in harbour, Linnahall: school fairs, musicals,	7- not knowledgeable about many buildings connected to the Olympics, Linnahall: school fairs and events, knows a person who lived inside Linnahall	15- got Virgi toys home from the Olympics, worked in the airport for 11 years, used to go to musicals and skating in Linnahall, colleague was an insider as built Linnahall and worked in the Olympic Hotel then	6- went to watch and attend the Regatta, remembers the Finnish goods, visited Linnahall musicals, sensational to have a TV at home to watch the Games	12, worked on the official carrier of the Olympic games, currently works in A-terminal, enjoys the shore locations of the Olympic buildings, performed in Linnahall, many fond memories with the buildings	13- tight connection as worked as a sports reporter for the games and lived in Piritu, filled in work hours by building Pirtu road, nostalgic for the buildings that were demolished for the Olympics, lots of knowledge on the background of the Regatta		
Piritu	2- no connection due to no visits payed there, familiar with yachting centre	5- potential for leisure activities there to make it more attractive, only has driven past TOP, lives too far, visits the Reidi tee often	4- childhood connection to the place makes he wish the area was redeveloped into something active to create the connection again, doesn't visit as he finds no reason to book a room there	0	12- goes there for personal reasons (training), hopes it would be more modern, enjoys Reidi road and the connection it provides	3- no connection to TOP, thinks its lacking modernity, hopes the harbour would be modern like Haven	9- likes visiting the sea side or for the sea view, thinks of buying a yacht himself due to Piritu, lack of attractions there for modern tourists, creates great opportunities for Tallinn	9- lived in Piritu and remembers the horrible condition of the roads and bridge, excitedly waited for TOP to be finished building, Finnish tourists saving it, should be narrowed, Pirtu Mall is also good to have there		
repurposing in general	1- believes Linnahall should serve more functions but still remain a concert hall	14- doesn't know enough about architecture to know if buildings could be repurposed, hates wasting buildings so would rather repurpose, more public areas, Airport as an example of not letting a building "get old", does not feel like culture will be lost with demolishing instead of repurposing	8- likes to explore new and differently repurposed buildings, sustainably useful with old elements,	12- repurposed with design, pop-up stores, Linnahall should be multifunctional, hard to change what is written in a buildings identity, lack of courage to repurpose	6- modernizing Piritu, cannot imagine anything else that could be repurposed with Postimaja, dislikes repurposing old buildings that she was familiar with	5- likes Söörumaas ideas, supports modernizing Piritu and Linnahall, unique repurposing idea with filling Linnahall with cement as only the roof is usable	9- prefers modern repurposing over disappearance, dislikes promenade idea as lack of uniqueness, Hollywood should own Linnahall, repurposing is logical as society develops (postimaja), the outside area of Linnahall should be attractively repurposed	11- supports Söörumaas, saddened over repurposing that happened for the Olympics, would rather demolish than repurpose		
sea museum	1- thinks it will be abandoned	0	0	0	2- enjoys the modernity of the museum now	3- enjoys visiting as it is newly renovated and exciting	1- has recently visited	0		
sewage station	0	1- has no connection to it	0	1- surprised it was made for the Olympics	5- many memories with the hiking trail and its developments around there, hopes it will remain a conservation area	1- does not know anything about it	4- believes the city would not have functioned for long without the sewage system, does not visit as no need	3- remembers the ugliness of the city without the sewage station, believes it should definitely stay		
tv tower	1- has fond memories of visiting it with class	1- believes the TV tower is nice as it is and cannot be modernized any way really	0	1- surprised it was made for the Olympics	3- enjoys the surroundings, believes the location is bad as too far of a drive, thinks it is what it is	2- likes to climb up to see the view sometimes	1- has no purpose visiting it	4- memories of building it, embarrassed of the location but glad not anymore in the city centre, happy of the activities one can do there right now		

University	0	4- enjoys the mix of old and new with recent developments, would not mind tearing it down as does not hold high value	1- has never been to it	0	1- hates the mix of old and new and wishes same style was used for the whole building,	1- surprised it was made for the Olympics	0	2- personally studied in the University, enjoys recent developments, hopes nearby buildings also develop
visiting	8- visits Postimaja to hand out with friends or go on class excursions, feels no attraction to visit Linnhall as it is abandoned, does not visit far places	9- doesn't visit if too far and no purpose to go, enjoys the Reidi road, visits for the location rather than building	7- childhood memories of visiting buildings, likes visiting Linnahall roof, would visit more if they buildings activities or were repurposed, visits Postimaja for gym and groceries	2- visits based on his needs, wants to do a radtrip to all brutalism buildings, used to visit more when lived closer, visits more during the summer	12- lives closely and visits frequently although not with excitement, lives along the Olympic path, visits during free time but not with goal, does not visit when not attractive	4- mostly visits for leisure except for the Airport, likes strolling around Balti Jaam due to its new renovations, visits more during the summer	6- likes to visit the shore(pirita) due to his sea background, wished there were more exciting things to do when visiting the places, memories with visiting more previously	2- Olympic hotel due to conferences and the baltic station as he lives in another city

9.6 Appendix E: Codebook

Code	Sub-codes	Definition	Sub-question
Pirita	Sailing Centre	Legacy buildings in the Pirita region of Tallinn, where the main event of the Regatta was held.	Q1, Q2, Q3, Q4
	Pirita Mall		
	Station Building		
	Beach House		
	Boiler House		
	TV Tower		
Airport	Airport main building	Buildings connected to the development of the airport	Q1,Q2,Q3,Q4
	Airport hotel		
City Centre	Olympic Hotel	City centre building developments	Q1,Q2,Q3,Q4
	Polyclinic		
	Art Gallery		
Narva Highway legacies	Tallinn University	Buildings on the Narva Highway that are still in use today.	Q1,Q2,Q3,Q4
	Apartment buildings		
	Postimaja		
	Forum Mall		
Seaside legacies	Baltic Station	Buildings that frame the sea shore of Tallinn and are legacies of the Regatta.	Q1,Q2,Q3,Q4
	A-terminal		
	Sea Museum		
	Linnahall		
	Sewage station		
Personal connection	To a building	Did the interviewee discuss their personal connection to the Regatta or a building based on personal memories or experiences	Q2, Q3
	To the event		
Showcase of emotion towards a building	Sadness	What emotion were the respondents showing when a certain topic was being discussed. Based on the adjectives used and physically looking at their gestures. Gave an insight into their attachment level psychologically.	Q2, Q3
	Happiness		
	Anger		
	Curiosity		
Future of legacy buildings	Repurposing	What are future prospects that Tallinners believe will happen with the legacy buildings. Based on where they have evolved in 40 years and where they will evolve in the next 40 years.	Q4
	Abandonment		
	Demolishing		
Building	Building the city for the Regatta	Topics on physically Tallinn being built for the Olympics as well as current building practices that correspond with the Olympic legacies	Q1, Q4
	Current building practices		
Visiting	Visiting for the legacy buildings	Looking at if the respondents have had a recent connection with the buildings or what are the reasons they have not built the physical connection recently.	Q2, Q3
	Visiting for the location		
	Locational effect		
Architecture	Soviet Modernism	Discussion on the appearance, design and style of the buildings. Also takes into consideration what are the respondents opinions on the buildings.	Q1, Q2, Q4
	Modern architecture		
Comparisons	comparing a building to another in Estonia	Comparing either a legacy building or the whole event to another similar physical structure outside of Tallinn. Showed knowledge on mega-event buildings as well as architecture	Q1, Q4
	comparing a building to another in the World		
	Comparing the Regatta to another Olympic Game		
Generational differences	Age of respondent	Respondents specifically stating differences they feel between younger and older generations.	Q2, Q3, Q4
	Discussion on their generation		
	Discussion on the other generation		
Heritage	Opinion on heritage sites	Discussion on the concept of heritage protection and its connection to the legacy buildings	Q1, Q4
	Heritage protection of buildings		
Olympic security	security of the Olympic Regatta	Discussion on the institutional context and the Soviet regime in Tallinn during the Olympics and its affect on the respondents	Q3
	personal experience with the security		