

A Study of Social Groups in Integration

Summary of Research

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Contents

Introduction.....	5
The aims of the study and its target group.....	6
Integrative dimensions and integration clusters.....	8
A qualitative study of the integration clusters.....	14
Social cohesion and the need for integration.....	15
Estonian language proficiency and use.....	16
Citizenship and the sense of belonging.....	16
Social and political participation.....	17
Young people in education.....	20
High-school students whose first language is Russian.....	20
Vocational school students whose first language is Russian.....	21
Young people studying at higher education institutions whose first language is Russian.....	23
Young people in Ida-Virumaa.....	24
The new migrants.....	26
Estonian Roma.....	28
The cultural societies of ethnic minorities.....	30
State officials whose first language is Russian.....	31

Introduction

Gerli Nimmerfeldt, Erle Rikmann, Klara Hallik

The last decades have been a period of extensive and critical change in Estonia, one of the most important elements of which has been the founding of an Estonian nation-state and the restructuring of the society along the lines of ethnicity and citizenship status. At the beginning of this trajectory, the state attempted to completely exclude some population groups (foreigners staying in Estonia illegally in terms of the 1993 Foreigner Law), then switched to legalising ethnic non-Estonians by issuing permanent residence permits and opening the possibility of applying for citizenship. Since 1997-1998, the problem of inter-ethnic integration emerged as a significant topic on the political agenda. This culminated in the establishment of a state integration programme. The leading idea of the first programme (2000-2007) was that non-Estonians will integrate into Estonian society mainly through linguistic-cultural integration. The next integration plan (2008-2013), presently in progress, has as its main aim multilateral social cohesiveness based on democratic values. The keywords of the integration strategy are equal opportunities, the strengthening of civic identity, and the overcoming of ethnicity-based seclusion in order to motivate all members of society to contribute to Estonia's social and political development.

The future integration plan, 'Integrating Estonia 2020', and the relevant policies will aim at increasing social cohesion through the participation of individuals with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. This requires, among other things, a greater consideration and recognition of people's experiences and practical knowledge than previously. The new integration plan seeks to be congruent with the social developments of our times, with changed attitudes about treating minorities, with processes pertaining to free movement of labour force and mobility of the labour market, including the growing need to compete with other states for a qualified labour force. The new strategic plan also seeks to comply with the general migration and integration policies of the EU. The present study attempted to gain an improved understanding of these processes and challenges.

The formulation of integration policies is a complex and multi-levelled process, as it will influence the society on multiple levels: local, regional, state and international. It also has a bearing on multiple socio-political actors and their competing claims. The understanding of these antagonisms is, however, of key importance for increasing social cohesion and discerning these disagreements.

The present study was conducted by a team of researchers and integration experts at Tallinn University. The project leader is Erle Rikmann, the research leader and editor in chief for the report is Gerli Nimmerfeldt. The members of the research team are: Jüri Kruusvall, Jelena Helemäe, Maaris Raudsepp, Tanel Vallimäe, Marianna Drozdova, Aida Hatšaturjan, Triin Roosalu, Margarita Kazjulja, Kristina Lindemann, Marti Taru, Aivar Joorik and Tea Pohl. Communication and public relation officer is Natalja Kitam. We received valuable assistance from Klara Hallik, Signe Krönström, Anastassia Sokolova, Liisi Keedus, Juri Kazjulja, Igor Ljapin and Claudia Meriküla. We are much indebted to Sean Auyash, Liina Kivimäe and Liis Tikerpuu. The copy-editor for the Estonian report is Siiri Soidro, the summary is translated into English by Martin Aidnik and into Russian by Lilia Timusheva. We thank Kristi Anniste, the coordinator of The Integration and Migration Foundation Our People (MISA). Our greatest gratitude belongs to the respondents of the interviews, whose generosity made the study possible in the first place.

The aims of the study and its target groups

The main aim for the integration plan 2014-2020 is to create an environment that supports social cohesion of new migrants, permanent residents with foreign citizenship or non-Estonian ethnic background and ethnic Estonians in accordance to their specific needs. The aim of the present study of the different social groups in integration processes is to analyse the experiences, needs, expectations and possibilities of Estonia's integration policy target groups. We have used both qualitative and quantitative methods in the study in order to describe the target groups and understand their needs.

The first part of the study highlights the heterogeneous composition and the multiplicity of social groups within the broader integration sphere. 'The survey of integration in Estonian society' (SEI 2011), drew attention to the fact that groups with different integration levels and outlooks need individualised integrative approaches and support methods. The past policies based on acquiring the Estonian language have turned out to be insufficient (SEI 2011). Our study has analysed two other key dimensions in addition to language proficiency: civic attitudes and state identity, as well as socio-political engagement/participation.

When studying the Estonian Russian-speakers, we started out by identifying and formulating 'integration clusters'. These are sub-groups identified by a cluster analytic method, based on differentiating between three dimensions of integration: civic identity, social-political participation and language proficiency and use. In a two stage analysis of the integration clusters, we combined qualitative and quantitative methods. In the first stage, we conducted a secondary analysis based on the 'SEI 2011' database. We analysed integration patterns based on the cluster analytic method, and clusters with a varying profile in three dimensions were discerned according to their socio-demographic characteristics. The factors influencing integration trajectories were analysed, including contacts with Estonians, media consumption, information fields, ethnic and cultural identity, and citizenship status.

Based on the results of the quantitative study, qualitative data was collected in the course of group and personal interviews. Our aim was to investigate the differences and similarities of attitudes, experiences and ideas of individuals who represented certain integration clusters. The cluster analysis conducted in the given study (as well as in the 'SEI 2011' final report) shows that the Russian-speaking population has diverse beliefs and attitudes regarding integration, and that the simplified categories or divisions hitherto used (based on nationality, mother tongue, citizenship and place of residence) do not do full justice to this heterogeneity. There are also geographical variations within the differentiated clusters, but larger samples are needed for a more substantiated regional cluster analysis (for example Russian-speaking population in Tallinn in contrast to Ida-Virumaa county). At the same time, we saw that also among Estonians there are different groups with varying degrees of willingness to contribute to social cohesion, and it might be useful to study these groups more in detail.

Additionally, we studied the needs and experiences of institutions targeted in the integration process in order to specify the potentials of integration policies on the institutional level. We did not rely on their formal representatives' assessments, but on the attitudes and experiences of their individual members. The younger generation of Russian-speakers studying at secondary schools, vocational schools and universities shared their experiences with us. Young people from Ida-Virumaa, ethnic minorities representing community centres, and officials whose native language is Russian, formed a separate study group.

We studied the Estonian Roma as a different target group that is small in size but distinct culturally, and who should not be treated as a part of the Russian-speaking minority. The Roma have been declared to be an ethnic group under special attention in the EU integration policies.

One of main goals of the integration policies has been to facilitate the entry of qualified labour force into Estonia, including integration of foreign top specialists and students already living in Estonia. The integration of new migrants appears to be one of the main topics in the field of education and labour. The cul-

tural and socio-economic heterogeneity of this group surpasses the limits of what Estonians have hitherto experienced and poses new challenges for both the state and society. For this reason we included in our study the new and hitherto insufficiently studied group of new migrants. We sought to understand their adaptation experiences and analyse the features of their social integration in comparison to the traditional target groups of integration politics. Our study gives an overview of the integration of new migrants with different social backgrounds, countries of origin and migration reasons.

Lastly, we collected data and situation descriptions from experts (in course of individual interviews) who have extensive knowledge about the target groups. There were altogether 20 focus group and 22 individual interviews in Tallinn, Tartu and Ida-Virumaa with 192 participants in total.

Integrative dimensions and integration clusters

Jüri Kruusvall

Approaches to integration and integration politics have been focused on three central dimensions: citizenship and civic identity; social imperative to use Estonian language (henceforth: language proficiency and use); and social and political participation. The dimensions of integration used in this study are based on several single traits (the answers given in the survey), which are then analysed as assembled traits (indexes). Based on cluster analysis, identified integration clusters are based on the values of the assembled traits table; they are the differentiated values of the three dimensions mentioned before. The analysis of integrative dimensions and integration clusters is based on the data gathered in 'The integration survey of Estonian society 2011', and uses the single traits selected therein (see Lauristin in SEI 2011: 196-197).

- ⊙ When formulating the counting index that measures the **integrative dimension of citizen identity**, we presumed that the more integrated Russian native speakers have Estonian citizenship, and that they associate citizenship with active political engagement. Furthermore, we presumed that they have a sense of civic influence on political and social matters, and a sense of solidarity with the Estonian state and nation.
- ⊙ **The dimension of Estonian proficiency** presumes that the more diversely integrated Russian-speakers speak proficient Estonian and use it actively when communicating with Estonians and consuming the local media.
- ⊙ **The dimension of participation** contains political participation (the diversely integrated among the Russian speaking population are politically engaged and competent, even beyond elections, they are interested in Estonian politics and state institutions), social participation (those who are better integrated participate more in citizen organisations) and cultural participation (attend Estonian cultural and sport events).

The assembled traits of the integrative dimensions differentiate sufficiently the people who participated in the study. Table 1 presents the integration division on three levels based on these dimensions. The table also shows us that according to the integrative dimensions based on the same presumptions, the level of civic identity and participation of Estonians is on average higher compared to the Russian-speaking population. At the same time, the comparative data shows variety between Estonians in terms of civic identity and participation.

The survey was carried out based on the integrative dimensions based on data from 'SEI 2011'. The five cluster model proved to be the most efficient. Figure 1 shows the average values of the standardised indexes in the form of cluster divisions that can serve as conditional cluster designations.

Table 1. The percentage of Russian speaking population with different levels of integration according to integrative dimensions (in comparison to Estonians)

Level of integration	Civic identity (Russian speaking population)	Estonian proficiency (Russian speaking population)	Participation (Russian speaking population)	Civic identity (Estonians)	Participation (Estonians)
Lower level	30	20*	24	2	12
Middle level	41	32**	52	36	48
Higher level	29	48	24	62	40

In the case of Estonian proficiency * missing level** lower level

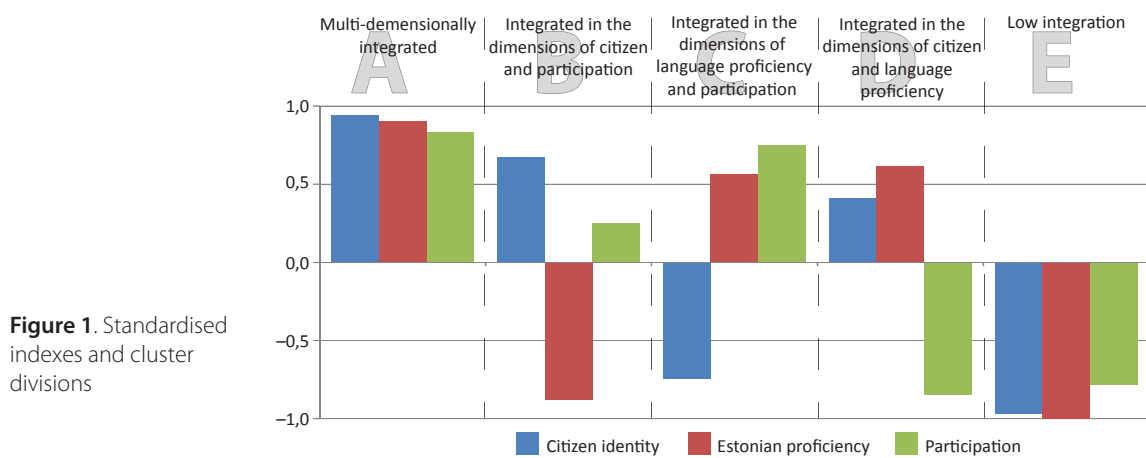


Figure 1. Standardised indexes and cluster divisions

The largest of the integration clusters are the multi-dimensionally integrated (cluster A) and the least diversely integrated cluster (cluster E), forming respectively 22% and 26% of the Estonian Russian speaking population between ages 15-74. Cluster A is formed on all three dimensions by relatively high index value respondents; in other words they are characterised by a strong sense of citizenship, good Estonian language proficiency and its frequent use, as well as relatively high level of social and political participation. Cluster E covers respondents whose measures in all three dimensions are most different from those representing cluster A; they are characterised by lower than average civic identity, low language proficiency and modest participation in social life. Between them, there are three groups whose integration measures are lower than average in one of three dimensions, who are, so to say, partly integrated. Those integrated in the sense of civic identity and participation, 16% of the Estonian Russian speaking population, have higher than average civic identity and participation index, but lower language proficiency and its less frequent use (cluster B). Those integrated in the dimension of language use and participation, or belonging to cluster C, are socially and politically active respondents who have a high level of proficiency of Estonian, but whose citizen identity index is considerably lower than the average. Cluster C forms 18% of the Estonian Russian-speaking population. Both in terms of participation and language proficiency, integration cluster D was composed of respondents with good language proficiency and higher than average civic identity index, but who were neither politically nor socially active. Cluster D forms 18% of the Estonian Russian-speaking community.

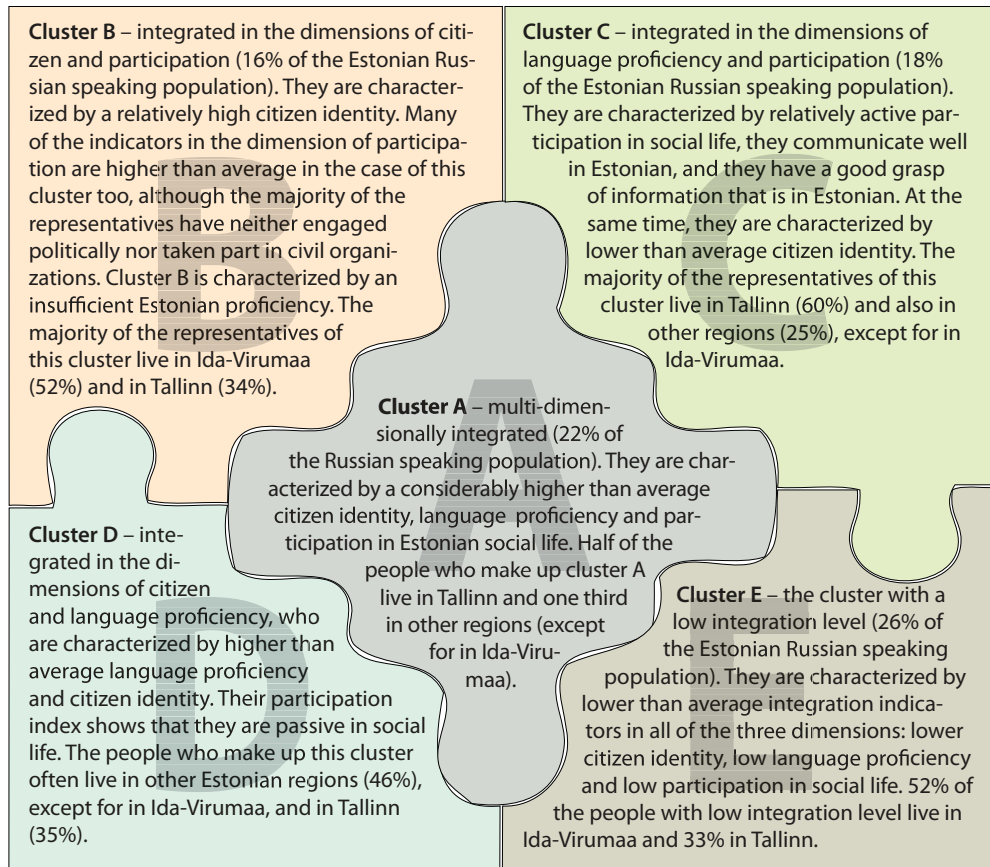


Figure 2. The descriptions of integration clusters

The cluster structure of the Estonian Russian speaking population is also regionally diverse, and the main differences appear between Tallinn, Ida-Virumaa and other regions (see Table 2). Among the Russian-speaking population in Tallinn, clusters A and C are more numerous, in Ida-Virumaa clusters B- and E-, and clusters A and D in other regions. At the same time, cluster A in Ida-Virumaa, cluster B in Tallinn and in other regions, and clusters C and D in Ida-Virumaa are represented quite marginally. Uncovering the cluster structure of different regions enables to enact regional integration policies in regard to the identified set of problems that dominate the particular cluster group. For example, by encouraging greater social engagement and a stronger civic identity of the Russian speaking population in Ida-Virumaa, the transition process from cluster E to cluster B could be eased.

Table 2. The distribution of integration clusters according to regions

	Tallinn	Ida-Virumaa	Other Regions	Total
	%	%	%	%
Cluster A: multi-dimensionally integrated	28	10	28	22
Cluster B: integrated in the dimensions of civic identity and participation	12	26	9	15
Cluster C: integrated in the dimensions of language proficiency and participation	25	8	17	18
Cluster D: integrated in the dimensions of civic identity and language proficiency	15	11	31	18
Cluster E: low integration	20	45	15	26
Total	100	100	100	100

The cluster based analysis shows that citizenship can not be an indicator that serves to differentiate integration levels. None of the citizen groups has either too low or too high integration scores within the three dimensions under consideration. Each one consists of people with very different integration problems (see Table 3).

Table 3. The cluster composition of the different citizen groups

Citizenship	Estonia	Russia	Other State	Indeterminate	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
Cluster A: multi-dimensionally integrated	34	9	8	10	22
Cluster B: integrated in the dimensions of civic identity and participation	16	12	0	19	15
Cluster C: integrated in the dimensions of language proficiency and participation	14	16	61	21	18
Cluster D: integrated in the dimensions of civic identity and language proficiency	26	8	8	11	18
Cluster E: low integration	10	55	23	39	26
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The highest percentage – 60% of the Russian-speaking population who have Estonian citizenship belong to clusters A and D, characterised by stronger civic identity and higher language proficiency. It is noteworthy, however, that among those with Estonian citizenship there are many belonging to the lower language proficiency cluster B, lower civic identity cluster C and even to the cluster of lowest integration level – E. Although among Russian citizens and the Estonian permanent residents without any determined citizenship there are many who form a substantial part of the low integration cluster E, their representatives still manifest different levels of integration potential. The more multi-dimensionally integrated Russian citizens (who presumably have Russian citizenship for practical reasons) should also be treated as an integration target group. In order to offer opportunities for a more diverse and multi-level integration for people with indeterminate citizenship, there should be less focus on language learning, and more on civic education and involvement in social life.

Analysing the contacts that members of the Russian-speaking population have with Estonians, it appears that the measures of daily communication (the frequency of communication and the number of different communication spheres) are better connected to the integration measures than the measure of permanent contacts. Almost everyone in A and D clusters communicate daily with Estonians, at the same time one quarter of representatives of A cluster have no permanent contacts (thus it is possible to be multi-dimensionally integrated without having permanent contacts with Estonians), while one third of D cluster representatives also have no permanent contacts (which among other things shows their low participation in Estonian social life). In contrast, in regions where there are few opportunities for daily communication with Estonians (Ida-Virumaa), it is the higher number of permanent social networks that sets apart the more integrated Russian speaking community from the less integrated (for example those who belong to cluster B have more permanent contacts with Estonians than those who belong to cluster E).

Individuals who speak on average better Estonian and are more active socially (representatives of clusters A and C) mention more frequently the obstacles to participating together with Estonians in citizen organisations and in societies (such obstacles include their low command of Estonian language, insufficient information available in Russian, cultural differences). Individuals, who have lower Estonian language skills, representing B and E clusters, claim that they lack shared interests with Estonians. Therefore, one should think about the attractiveness of shared events in order to broaden the communicative space between Estonians and Russian-speaking population. Shared events in turn facilitate learning of Estonian language and mutual appreciation of each other's culture.

The level of being informed about the events and news in Estonia, in the EU and in Russia, is related to the dimension of participation. Those who are characterised by a high level of participation (A, B and C cluster), claim to be better informed. Individuals who are characterised by a lower participation level feel less informed (cluster D and cluster E). Although we don't know exactly what in each case is behind the connection between being informed and political participation, it is evident that information should be made more accessible to individuals with lower levels of integration.

The diverse use of information channels in Estonian language has the strongest correlation with the dimension of integration: the more important these information channels are for the respondent, the higher his/her measures of integration. The use of global channels is also strongly connected to the dimension of participation (representatives of clusters B and E, whose level of participation is lower, use fewer global information channels). The connection between more frequent use of Estonian media channels available in Russian language and civic identity dimension should also be underlined.

As to the level of involvement with their own ethnic culture, it appears that individuals who score higher in terms of Estonian proficiency and participation (clusters A and C), are more attached to their ethnicity in terms of religion and culture than home and place of birth. Representatives of clusters A and C celebrate different holidays in the most balanced proportion (Estonian holidays, Russian religious holidays, Russian state holidays). The lower attachment to one's religion and culture is characteristic of the clusters whose participation level is lower (D and E). The relatively higher importance of history and language factors is associated with the lower level of Estonian language proficiency and more frequent celebration of Russian holidays (B and E cluster).

In conclusion, the integration clusters divide the Estonian Russian speaking population into sub-groups that have clear variations on all three integrative dimensions. The cluster models that we described demonstrate multi-dimensional diversity within the sample. Since the differentiation of groups is based on the comparison of average values of the measures of starting characteristics (integrative dimensions) that are compared by clusters, then in case of each cluster model, individuals fit in with varying degree. So the main result of cluster analysis is not the proportions of the differentiated groups (the percentage of the number of those who were studied), but rather providing new knowledge about sub-groups with qualitative differences among the Russian-speaking population. Their needs, attitudes and influences should be taken into account when designing an integration policy.

- ⊙ The profile of the **cluster A** underlines that even multi-dimensionally integrated individuals may have critical attitudes towards many Estonia's social problems (almost 2/3 considers is disappointed with recent changes in Estonia and 1/3 are not satisfied with life). It is also noteworthy that cluster A forms only one third of the Russian speaking population with Estonian citizenship. Therefore, citizenship does not ensure comprehensive integration into society.
- ⊙ Analysis of **cluster B** highlights the possibility of integration (in the dimensions of civic identity and participation) in the case of a low level of Estonian language proficiency. The fact that people belonging to this cluster live to a large degree in the same areas with the (low integration level) people who make up cluster E (in Tallinn and Ida-Virumaa), shows that moving into cluster B is also an integration perspective for cluster E whose language proficiency is not good.
- ⊙ **Cluster C** raises the question why do some socially active Russian-speaking minority members, who have intermediate level Estonian language skills, have a weaker civic identity (few people attain Estonian citizenship, and people don't feel themselves as part of the Estonian nation)? We need more extensive analysis, however, to determine whether the reason is a critical attitude that the Russian-speaking population displays in Tallinn (cluster C is mostly represented by people living in Tallinn), or the cluster representatives' economic conditions that are more modest compared to the representatives of other clusters.

- ⊙ **Cluster D** raises a new problem concerning the Russian-speaking population who live in comparatively good integration conditions (in an Estonian environment and having many contacts with Estonians): despite good Estonian language proficiency and high civic identity (the formal indexes of integration), they have been excluded in terms of having lower levels of political, cultural and social participation. Even when we are not dealing with a specific integration problem here (there are people who are alienated and at the periphery of society among Estonians as well), the Russian-speakers with the characteristics of cluster D need greater inclusion in social affairs.
- ⊙ **Cluster E** is composed of respondents whose integration level is low. They are characterised by modest Estonian language skills, on the one hand, and deficient economic wellbeing, on the other (higher age, many people who are unemployed, more people having difficulties making ends meet, etc). The integration perspective that the representatives of the cluster E might have would be to join cluster B (those integrated in terms of civic identity and participation). The fact that the representatives of both clusters live in a similar economic environment and are likewise critical towards the changes that have taken place in Estonian society (80% is disappointed in them), as well as living conditions (60% are not happy with their living conditions), should increase the likelihood of this transfer. If age can be an obstacle to achieving greater participation, then having a greater sense of civic identity (primarily in terms of feeling a part of Estonia and political engagement) could be possible.

Neither the models of integration clusters nor the proportional distribution of clusters among the population can be the benchmarks of the integration process in the future, because in the case of a further study the cluster model based on the same integrative dimensions of cluster analysis can result in a different cluster model. Still, the qualitative changes in cluster models (which dimensions differentiate the clusters better, how do they differentiate based on background characteristics) describe the changes that take place in the integration process. Depending on the conditions from which one sets out, cluster analysis allows for different results; thus the dimensions of integration are the most informative in terms of consistency and comparison potential (it is possible to form them relying on the same conditions and the same rules). It is the changes that take place in values of the integration dimensions (civic identity, speaking Estonian, participation or some other dimension) to allow us to describe the tendencies in the integration politics and measure its effectiveness.

A qualitative study of the integration clusters

Marianna Drozdova, Maaris Raudsepp

Based on the secondary analysis of the SEI 2011 data analysis, a further qualitative analysis was carried out in the form of group and personal interviews. This was done in order to understand the experiences, attitudes, and beliefs of the people belonging to different integration clusters. Relying on the results of the quantitative analysis, we chose the method for forming the interview samples, and we developed interview programmes. Altogether eight interviews were conducted with the representatives of the integration clusters, four of them took place in Tallinn, three in Ida-Virumaa (in Narva) and one in Tartu. When comparing opinions and needs relating to integration voiced in the group interviews, many overlapping themes emerge. The main differences between clusters emerge in terms of the degree of importance and emphasis. Table 4 displays the similarities and differences that emerged in group interviews, and that are characteristic for the representatives of the integration clusters. They were grouped according to four topics: 1) society's unity and need for integration; 2) Estonian language proficiency and use; 3) civic identity; 4) social and political participation.

Table 4. The comparison of integration clusters based on the topics raised in the focus group interviews.

	A	B	C	D	E
Social cohesion and integration needs					
Integration is perceived as artificial and assimilatory, the aims of integration are perceived as nation-state centred and alien to people. A sceptical attitude is prevalent towards integration	+	+	+	+	+
The society's division into two communities is not perceived as a problem, the divide is stronger in the media discourse and on a political level. Conflicts do not occur in everyday life and the need for integration is not strongly felt	+	+	+	+	+
Strong alienation from the Estonian state and a greater expectation that the state would show more concern for people's problems	+	+	+	+	+
Intolerance: The perception that the attitude towards Russians in schools and in the media is offensive, emphasising the Russian threat	+		+	+	
Bitterness towards the hitherto existing integration (more prevalent in the case C and E), little faith in efficiency		+	+	+	+
Unequal treatment: The perception that Russians are disadvantaged in work relations (in being employed, in remuneration, in being promoted)			+	+	
A strong need to maintain one's ethnic identity. When integration is perceived as assimilatory, it is met with strong resistance			+		+
Young people have a more positive outlook on integration compared to the older generation		+			
It is perceived that Russians are being treated as second-rate people	-		+		
The need for a new political power is perceived that would have the unity of society as its goal			+		
Language proficiency and use (media)					
Estonian proficiency and the ability to communicate in Estonian are perceived as vital	+	+	+	+	+
Constantly changing/increasing language requirements and constant concern about language proficiency are a source of negative stress	+	+	+	+	+
Being strongly critical of the Language Inspectorate work, both because of its negative influence on the learning motivation as well as because of weakening the position of ethnic minorities in the labour market (language proficiency takes primacy over professional qualifications)	+	+	+	+	+
A serious alternative is seen in education in which language of instruction is Russian	+/-	+	+	+	+
State support is important for language learning, but people's own motivation is relevant as well		+		+	+
An important obstacle that inhibits Estonian language learning is the fear that is caused by language control and similar punitive methods		+			+
Positive experiences about the support of Estonians when learning a language, about communication in Estonian	+		+		
Russian could be the second official language	-		+/-		+
Negative experiences about the attitude of Estonians towards language learners				+	
All conditions having been provided, the success of language learning depends mainly on the attitude and motivation of the student	+				

	A	B	C	D	E
Citizenship and sense of belonging					
Estonia is homeland, towards which attachment is felt; people feel strongly connected to Estonian nature, land and culture, although are alienated from the state	+	+	+	+	+
The idea that the state would recognise all its permanent residents as equal is found desirable	+	+	+	+	+
The naturalisation demands for those who are born in Estonia are perceived as insulting	+	+	+	+	+
It is perceived that the strong stigmatisation and representing Russia in negative light generates intolerance towards Russia and Russian-speakers, inhibiting their acceptance by Estonians	+	+	+	+	+
It is inferred from the way that the state treats minority nations that they are needed only as tax payers and not as plenipotentiary citizens	+/-	+	+	+	+
Estonian citizenship (passport) has primarily instrumentalistic value. It allows one to travel to Europe, but it inhibits travelling to Russia		+	+	+	+
An important factor that strengthens civic identity is the possibility to contribute to Estonian society, to achieve self-realisation, including professionally	+	+	+		
A sense of homeland is mainly associated with the people who live here, with the graves of parents		+		+	+
Having an indeterminate citizenship is perceived as a state of coercion		+	+		+
Receiving a citizenship is one's own choice, remaining with an indeterminate citizenship is one's own choice as well	+				
Social and political participation					
The communication between Estonians and Russians needs to be facilitated, including the number and quality of contacts	+	+	+	+	+
Political participation takes place mainly through participation in elections		+		+	+
Participation is inhibited by a lack of information about participation opportunities, as well as by a distrust of events that take place in Estonian language, having a feeling of being unwanted		+		+	+
NGO activities are associated mainly with culture and sport, including with housing associations		+		+	+
People have used NGOs to further the interest of their ethnic group	+		+		
Participation emerges differently compared to the one measured by the survey 'SEI 2011'; for example communal work will count as a social activity				+	

Social cohesion and the need for integration

Divisions across linguistic and ethnic, but also socio-economic lines, are perceived by representatives of all clusters A-E. Overcoming these divisions would be crucial for the Estonian society as a whole, and the ethnic question is topical only when the percentage of minorities is greater among disadvantaged social groups.

The parallel existence of two ethnic-cultural communities is not seen as a problem because conflicts don't occur in daily life, and erasing the divisive borders is seen as neither necessary nor even possible (ethnic differences are seen to a large degree as being 'natural'). Different cultural spaces and largely independent communication networks are not seen as obstacles for creating a common identity. However, living in worlds constituted by linguistically divided information and interpretation spheres inhibits the sense of common belonging. Thus increasing shared information and improving access to it should be seen as an important goal of the integration politics. Representatives of all clusters stressed that they need more information in Russian – information concerning both the state and daily life – homepages of ministries, legislation, user manuals on pharmaceuticals, etc. Translating practical information is important from both the practical and symbolic point of view – it issues the signal that the state is concerned with the well-being of all of its citizens and residents, regardless of their language.

Placing an emphasis on ethnic-cultural barriers and creating oppositions between the communities in media and political discourse is also seen as problematic from the perspective of creating a shared civic identity. The respondents see the media producing disunity of society on a public level and accuse it of instigating ethnic conflicts both by disproportionate representation of minorities and depicting Russia only as a source of conflict. Estonian language media is seen to have a narrowly defined audience, which excludes minorities. The negative tone that dominates the media makes it even more different for minorities to follow it, and thus they become excluded. The producers of Estonian news could create trust in the Russian-speaking population only when they gave up the content and use of language offensive to the latter. At the same time, the media need to tone down the emphasis on ethnic differences and the 'us-them' juxtaposition. The same is expected from politicians and others in the public sphere. Instead of highlight-

ing ethnic differences, respondents expect the public sphere to address the entire Estonian population, including minorities. A more sensitive treatment of issues that entail different meanings for Estonians and minorities should also be considered.

The negative attitude that Estonians have towards 'others', and their ethnically-based civic identity, are also problematic from the point of view of creating a common identity necessary for greater cohesiveness. Despite their language proficiency, non-native speakers remain 'foreigners' for Estonians. The representatives of all clusters share a sceptical attitude towards previous integration practices and goals. Representatives of cluster C stand out by being well informed about life in Estonia due to their media consumption and their high level of social engagement. They also offer solutions that they believe would benefit Estonia as a whole.

Until now, the aims of integration practices are seen as unconnected from the people, centred on the nation-state, and uni-directional, treating minorities as objects. Therefore, the integration practices are seen as one-sided and simply assimilatory. They are seen as presupposing an immersion between different ethnic groups and erasing their cultural differences. Representatives of cluster E expressed the strongest concern about the assimilatory pressure. The most positive attitudes towards integration perspectives were displayed by the younger representatives of cluster B, who expressed hope that a different approach to social integration is possible in the future.

Estonian language proficiency and use

Respondents in all the cluster groups agree that proficiency in the Estonian language is important and that publicly funded support measures for language learning are necessary. Nonetheless, many Russian-speakers feel discouraged to learn the language, especially due to the poor methodological quality of language learning programs (in schools as well as in language courses). The punitive control measures used in the implementation of Estonian language policies also decrease one's motivation, as do negative attitudes that in some cases Estonians display towards beginners. This appears to be more frequently experienced by those who live in a predominantly Estonian-speaking environment (outside Tallinn and Ida-Virumaa). Representatives of A and C clusters who are highly integrated in terms of language proficiency spoke about their positive experiences with Estonians in learning and using the language. Deficient language proficiency was said to stem from the lack of opportunities to practise the language (cf. The survey of the influence of the language developing program, 2013), and from the lower language learning capacities of older people. The lack of language practice opportunities is especially problematic for B and E clusters and Ida-Virumaa. Discrimination based on language proficiency in the labour market is particularly strongly perceived by representatives of cluster D. Representatives of cluster C also voiced their dissatisfaction with unequal treatment of minorities in the labour market, and believe that even having a Russian-sounding name may become a disadvantage.

Citizenship and the sense of belonging

There were notable differences between different clusters in how their representatives form and express their sense of belonging in Estonia. All cluster groups distinguish between having a sense of belonging to Estonia, the Estonian society and the Estonian state. This is particularly emphasised, however, by representatives of cluster C who are very critical of the Estonian state, from which they distance themselves. Representatives of other clusters also feel emotionally disconnected from the Estonian state, saying the main obstacle is the fact the state fails to recognise all Estonian residents as equally 'their own'. The injustice perceived in the policies that rule out giving Estonian citizenship unconditionally to people born in Estonia, and to those who already lived in Estonia before it regained its independence, is also said to be a source of alienation.

For respondents in B, D, and E clusters, a sense of a home country is rather based on having their family, relatives and social networks in Estonia, and therefore they actually feel more strongly connected to their immediate social environment rather than Estonia or Estonian society. A strong local identity is particularly characteristic of respondents from Ida-Virumaa. An extended societal self-identification is strengthened by an active professional life or civic participation. For instance, representatives of cluster B, who have higher scores in participation, also have a stronger sense of civic identity.

In creating a sense of homeland, a general 'sense of well-being' is of key importance for representatives of all clusters. This 'sense of well-being' is associated with socio-economic stability as well as with a sense of belonging and satisfaction. A sense of homeland in the case of cluster C is most strongly influenced by a perceived lack of recognition by ethnic Estonians. Respondents feel that they actively contribute to the society, but their contribution is not appreciated, sometimes even seen as an expression of disloyalty and penalised.

Social and political participation

Political participation finds its expression in all clusters mainly through participation in elections, the efficiency of street politics is seen as doubtful, or it is not mentioned at all. Among those who do not participate in elections the main reason mentioned is indifference, or the belief that participation does not make a difference regarding the decisions that the government or local governments make. The activities of the civil society are associated by representatives of all clusters mainly with culture and sport, or with social initiatives (for example the national campaign 'Let's do it'), or with housing associations. Civil organisations are not seen as medium for representing the interests of particular social groups. Representatives of cluster C are an exception to this tendency: they have participated in the democratic processes through civil organisations, representing the interests of the Russian-speaking population.

The level of social participation and its character varied considerably between different clusters. Representatives of cluster D, characterised by having somewhat more limited and Russian-language centred networks, participate little on a state or local city/town/municipality level. However, they take part in activities that are strongly related to their immediate relations, networks and daily life, including their professional and work communities.

All cluster groups mentioned the lack of interesting activities as a factor that determines their participation level. Respondents of different clusters expressed different opinions as to what activities would interest them. An idea expressed across all clusters was a common multi-lingual and multi-ethnic song festival as a possible strongly uniting symbolic event. It would contain the potential to overcome the disunity between the two communities, and it would send a signal to ethnic minorities that their culture is appreciated. This is an important presupposition for achieving a common identity. This kind of large scale event that aims at achieving greater multiculturalism could also contribute to Estonians becoming more open towards the minorities. Social projects such as 'Let's do it' were seen as positive, even when people themselves did not participate in them.

In the case of representatives of clusters D and E, social participation was closely connected to the level of economic well-being. When individuals experience economic hardship, their civic participation becomes more infrequent: they lack the financial means to cover the costs, but also need to spend all their time and energy on earning a living and providing for the family.

The cluster analysis highlighted the considerable diversity within the Russian speaking population as an integration policy target group. It also showed that no integration cluster can be seen as a model example of fully attained integration that would need no state support. The interview indicated that those who are generally multi-dimensionally integrated (cluster A) have their own integration needs, the fulfilment of which is limited. The interviews with representatives of cluster C show that good Estonian language

Tabel 3. Lõimklastrite spetsiifilised ja ühised vajadused lõimumisprotsessides

Clusters	Cluster-specific expectations and needs	Common expectations and needs
Perceiving the need to integrate		
A	Employing positive measures to enhance the careers of people whose background isn't Estonian, applying ethnic quotas in work collectives.	Mutual integration where Estonians would be actively involved, and where they would be a target group in integration programmes, is expected. Need for a common and unifying Estonian identity is perceived. Understanding Estonian culture, without the risk of losing one's own culture, is considered important. Strong alienation from the Estonian state and expectation that the state would show more concern for people's problems. Greater transparency is expected from the activities (and their funding) that take place in order to achieve integration, including publicity in media.
C		
B	Expecting stronger support for the Russian speaking civil society, for its empowerment.	
D	In order to reduce integration challenges, a solution needs to be found for socio-economic problems, establishing stronger contacts with Estonians needs to be supported. There exists a need for recognition.	
E	Strong need to maintain one's identity. Integration perceived as assimilatory causes strong resistance.	
Language, culture and media		
A	Greater tolerance for ethnic minorities in Estonian language media is expected, the current media publicity has a negative effect.	Equal treatment of minorities, regardless of language, is expected. Greater sensitivity/tolerance towards cultural differences is expected from media both in terms of form of expression and content. The development of media in Russian is expected in order to achieve a more diverse treatment of local Estonian topics, so that it would also reflect the discourse prevalent in Estonian media. Easing of language related pressure methods (including fines) is expected. Increase in the quality of Estonian teaching and quality control of provided language courses are expected. Free language courses need to be available. More language courses are needed that aim at improving the language proficiency and not studying for the state's language exam/diploma. The prestige of Russian language needs to be raised (currently low prestige). More efficient introduction to Russian culture/minority cultures also in Estonian schools. More information in Russian is needed.
C		
D	The disadvantaged situation of ethnic minorities that is caused by the Language Inspectorate needs to be tackled. Greater tolerance for those who are not yet fluent in Estonian is expected. There is a need to ensure affordable language tuition also for those who have already taken a language exam, but whose language comprehension is weak. This needs to be done in order to secure competitiveness in the job market.	
B	The challenges that stem from the lack of opportunities to practise the language need to be taken into account (in Ida-Virumaa) in the Language Act.	
E	More public information in Russian is essential.	
Citizen identity		
A	The state's recognition of the social contribution of minorities is important.	It is important that all permanent residents, especially ethnic minorities, are recognised at the state level, and that they are accepted by Estonians. It is important to further the acceptance of common and unifying civic identity in society. This should not come into conflict with the cultural identity of ethnic minorities. Alleviation of citizenship requirements is expected; gaining a citizenship should be made easier for those who are born in Estonia, and for those who have lived and worked in Estonia during the last 20 years. It is important to change the negative image of Russia and make it neutral – in Estonian media, in literature, in schools' history.
B	Greater opportunities are expected to realise one's potential working for the benefit of society – this concerns both civic and professional contribution.	
D	In order to increase the sense of belonging, ethnic minorities need to be more involved on the community level, especially outside Tallinn and Ida-Virumaa.	
C, E	It is important to avoid that which is perceived as coercion, the cultural particularities of ethnic minorities need to be recognised.	
Social and political participation		
A, C	Suppression of the civil initiative of minorities needs to be avoided. Mechanisms for the support of civil organisations need to be developed.	Communication between Estonians and ethnic minorities needs to be enhanced both in terms of quality and number of contacts. This is especially relevant in regions where ethnic minorities form a smaller part of population. More events that would be based on common human values, or where other cultures would be recognised (for example a multi-lingual song festival). In order to overcome the passivity that stems from a weaker socio-economic standing, it is important to provide effective financial support mechanisms, and knowledge how to use them/support (information in Russian about how to write projects/about finding support in writing projects, etc.).
B	More efficient mechanisms to support participation are needed. Information in Russian about participation opportunities as well as administrative info regarding civil society is necessary, including support measures, information about organisations, etc.	
D	In regions where the presence of ethnic minorities is small, it is important to ensure that Estonian organisations are aware of the importance, need and possibilities to include ethnic minorities in their work, their involvement needs to be stimulated.	
E	Information in Russian about participation opportunities needs to be ensured.	

proficiency in an unfavourable environment can have negative consequences in terms of integration – for example perceived discrimination in the labour market (including being aware of the 'glass ceiling' phenomenon) and a distaste for the Estonian media because of its tone and content. In order to support integration, the different needs of the people who make up integration clusters should be taken into account on both the political and institutional levels.

In addition to the differences between the integration clusters, our study also identified common features in terms of integration needs and expectations. Shared needs and expectations were raised in the discussions even independently from the interviewers' questions, giving witness to their general importance. Therefore, despite heterogeneity, the members of Estonian Russian speaking population share some problems – regardless of whether as individuals they have Estonian citizenship or not, whether they speak Estonian, or regardless of the level of their integration. All the people who participated in the interviews had in common:

- ⊙ the need to have their ethnic difference recognised in Estonia;
- ⊙ the expectation to be treated as equal;
- ⊙ the readiness to contribute to Estonian society and state; and as a result
- ⊙ the expectation that they would be treated by Estonians as genuine members of society.

The fact that the respondents' expectations are similar regardless of their integration cluster membership shows that in order to describe factors affecting integration as a process, we need to consider a number of additional factors, particularly the willingness of Estonians to meet these expectations.

Young people in education

High-school students whose first language is Russian

Margarita Kazjulja, Jelena Helemäe, Aida Hatšaturjan

Russian-speaking young people were one of the target groups for this study especially because since 2011, all Russian-language municipal and state gymnasiums have to integrate in their curriculum classes instructed in Estonian. According to the Development Plan for the General Education System for 2007-2013, the aim of the transition to Estonian as a language of instruction is to ensure equal opportunities to obtain higher and vocational education and to be successful in the labour market for those young people whose native language is not Estonian. This in turn would increase the loyalty of the population whose first language is not Estonian, as well as social cohesion.

We conducted four interviews in three environments that are different in terms of their ethnic-cultural composition: two group interviews in Tallinn as a multicultural city (44% of its population were Russian speaking according to a population survey conducted in 2011), one in Ida-Virumaa where 90% of the population in the towns is Russian-speaking, and one in Tartu where the percentage of the Russian speaking population is 17.

Interviews show that the transition to Estonian-language instruction was experienced as difficult. The main reasons for the students' concerns about the quality of education were: the lack of textbooks, the lack of teachers competent both in Estonian language and school subjects; the abruptness of transition, as in spring in basic school terminology was taught in Russian and in autumn in Estonian. Students think that the outcome of such a transition will be poor knowledge of both Estonian language and school subjects, i.e. inadequacy of precisely these qualifications that would be essential for the future of the Russian-speaking youth. Students themselves conclude that this will result in the lower competitiveness of the Russian-speaking youth as compared to young ethnic Estonians. This has also been the warning issued by organisations and individuals advocating for the preservation of Russian-language instruction at schools, and the execution of the reform has in fact deepened the Russian-speakers' pessimism regarding their possibilities to make a social or political difference. The transition to Estonian-language instruction in Russian-language gymnasiums is perceived as implemented under the pressure by the authorities.

In the interviews, Russian-speaking students consider the plans to leave Estonia to be a prevalent adaptation strategy. It applies even to those who think of Estonia as their homeland. For those who would stay in Estonia, an Estonian-language gymnasium, not instruction in Estonian in a Russian-language school, is considered a key measure in doing well in Estonia. At the same time, this option is considered neither possible nor suitable. In order to cope better in later life, parents should send their children to Estonian-language schools from the first grade or even kindergarten. Yet this is not seen as appropriate by respondents themselves, partly because this would weaken their relation with their native language and national culture, but also because of the negative experiences of friends studying at Estonian-language schools.

There were 'potential emigrants from Estonia' even among the youth proficient in Estonian language. They were planning to first acquire higher education in Estonia and then leave. The reasons for leaving were diverse, but they mainly had to do with doubts about one's future prospects in Estonia: the country

does not offer a favourable environment for self-actualisation and for the realisation of one's ambitions. Moreover, based on their relatives' experiences, young people believe that Estonian language proficiency is not enough to graduate and find a good job: even a Russian surname is considered as a basis for labour market discrimination.

Young people who considered Estonia their homeland were present in all of the group interviews. In Ida-Virumaa the local identity dominated. Everyone found it difficult, however, to answer the question about their belonging to the Estonian nation. The answer depended on the way how young people define term 'Estonian'. The answer was overwhelmingly negative.

Respondents believe that the opinion of Russian-speaking young people, like that of the rest of the population, is not taken into sufficient consideration at the political level. Political engagement and voicing one's opinions is perceived as pointless.

The patterns concerning social participation and contacts with Estonians are more diverse. There are people among secondary school students who participate rather actively in social situations. These students usually are usually proficient in Estonian at least at the level of communication and socialise with their Estonian peers. These young people do not sense inter-ethnic antipathy. On the other hand, there are also those who believe they are disadvantaged because of their ethnic belonging. Among the reasons, they mention limited access to information about state and municipal matters. Those who are less active say that the language barrier is one of the reasons for only limited communication between Estonian and Russian youths.

Vocational school students whose first language is Russian

Jelena Helemäe

Young Russian-speakers studying at vocational schools were selected as the target group of this study in connection with the amendment to Vocational Educational Institutions Act that the government approved in July 2013. The transition to instruction in Estonian takes place in a situation where the differences between young non-Estonians are increasingly based on the level of their proficiency in Estonian. These cleavages tend to coincide with the opportunity gap in education and disparities in the socioeconomic status of parents. If the quality of teaching Estonian language does not improve considerably at the level of elementary education, then the transition of vocational education to Estonian-language instruction will further increase polarisation. This is so because modest Estonian proficiency can result in Russian-speaking students dropping out of vocational schools. Vocational school experts say that these students will probably only complete their vocational and not their secondary education.

We conducted group interviews in Tallinn where there are two large ethnic-cultural communities (Estonian and Russian-speakers) and in the ethnic-culturally more homogeneous Ida-Virumaa (Jõhvi). It turns out that the experiences and opinions of the Russian speaking vocational school students in Tallinn and in Ida-Virumaa have both similarities and regional differences.

Students both in Tallinn and Ida-Virumaa preferred vocational education to be given on one's native language. Differences between vocational schools in Estonian and Russian are not only linguistic: transitions from one system to another are unusual, students rarely communicate with students from other schools, curricula differ, etc. In both Tallinn and Ida-Virumaa, participants were sure that proficiency in Estonian as native language gives Estonians a crucial advantage in the Estonian education system. They were also convinced that educational paths of Estonians and non-Estonian youth are hierarchically divided (technical knowledge and vocational schools are mainly for Russian speaking youth, while gymnasiums and universities are mainly for Estonians).

Students both in Tallinn and Ida-Virumaa perceive Estonian language not as a means of communication, but, on the contrary, as a means for differentiation. Nevertheless, the respondents talk about their intention to improve their Estonian for pragmatic reasons (in relation to studies, finding a good job in Estonia, or leaving Estonia for professional purposes with education obtained in Estonian language). The students of vocational schools in Ida-Virumaa claimed that the requirement of proficiency in Estonian language in a Russian-speaking region derives from political and not practical reasons, that learning Estonian in such a region is especially difficult, and that it should be voluntary, not compulsory.

The necessity of proficiency in Estonian was not discussed in Tallinn (it was probably considered self-evident), people argued about whether vocational education in Estonian (60% and more of the curriculum in Estonia) is the best way to learn Estonian. They were not convinced that this should be the only, and compulsory, way to learn Estonian.

Both in Tallinn and in Ida-Virumaa the attitude towards the transition of vocational education to Estonian-language instruction was influenced by negative experiences of the analogous transition in Russian-language gymnasiums (difficulties experienced by peers studying, also resentment of the fact that the protests of Russian-speaking population to implement the reform were ignored). On the positive side, it was said that education in Estonian would (probably) improve the students' Estonian language skills, even if this could damage the level of their subject comprehension. Students in Ida-Virumaa said that this reform could have positive consequences only for those who stay in Estonia, but the number of such young people was expected to be very small. Respondents in Tallinn claimed that the language reform would alter the composition of students in favour of those who are willing to work hard, while certain group of young people will now lose their opportunity to acquire a vocation. The downside was having one's choices curtailed and that learning in a foreign language is more difficult. The overall negative attitude towards the transition was largely influenced by the sense of being 'objects' of decisions made by authorities who do not take into account students' opinions.

In Tallinn, vocational school students – regardless of whether they were proficient in Estonian or not – shared the opinion that the compulsory introduction of Estonian as the language of instruction in all schools is an expression of a negative attitude towards the Russian-speakers.

Some interviewees in Tallinn were fluent in Estonian because of their early language experiences or military service. Interestingly, their attitudes were not different from the people who could not speak the language. Estonian is not seen as a means of communication, but, on the contrary, as a means for differentiation. Thus they thought that the best solution would be to give students a choice: to acquire vocational education in Estonian (60% and more of the curriculum in Estonian) or in Russian. Unlike in the discussion held in Ida-Virumaa, students in Tallinn did not speak about leaving Estonia as a solution but thought it was best to remain calm in dealing with particular problems (including when communicating with Estonians).

In all regions, students were convinced that in order to succeed professionally, a 'proper' (Estonian like) surname and contacts are needed in addition to language skills. Personal experiences of discrimination in the labour market were particularly underlined in by students in the capital.

In all regions, students want to be able to choose for themselves their language of education and believe that the education system should preserve different pathways.

The patterns of sense of belonging were diverse. Homeland is something that is understood in very different ways and one's attitude towards Estonia depends on the particular character of that understanding. If home was understood as a 'place where one was born', or where one was raised and has relatives, Estonia was considered to be a home. Those who thought that a sense of home needs an emotional attachment to state, did not consider Estonia their home. In Ida-Virumaa, the enjoyable atmosphere between 'one's own people' (the Russian-speaking population, we can infer) was noted, something that makes one feel at home locally. The question about having a sense of being a part of the Estonian nation was found difficult

to answer – this concept of belonging was not formed for the respondents yet. Among those who did answer the question, their sense of belonging to the Estonian nation was influenced by their understanding of the way that ethnic Estonians themselves define term ‘Estonian’, that is, the stance taken towards the question of belonging was explained using ethnic arguments.

The attitudes towards integration differed in the discussions held in Tallinn and in Ida-Virumaa. In Tallinn, there were respondents who claimed that integration is necessary, and public discussions were seen as a key means of attaining it. In Ida-Virumaa, however, a more sceptical attitude was prevalent. This was explained by the perceived substantial ethnic differences between Estonians and Russians.

Young people studying at higher education institutions whose first language is Russian

Tanel Vallimäe

One of the central aims of the Estonian integration politics is to increase educational equality. Important reforms have taken place in order to achieve this (chapter 3.1 of the full report addresses at greater length the intersection between integration and education politics). For this reason, young people studying at higher education institutions whose first language is Russian were included in the study. The group interviews were conducted by dividing the respondents into two groups. The first group interview was conducted with respondents whose language of education is Estonian, the second with those whose language of education is Russian. Both Bachelor and Master students were among those who were interviewed. In addition, two experts who often come into contact with Russian-speaking students (in the colleges of universities) were interviewed.

Unlike the younger students who participated in the study (vocational and secondary school level), the arguments of the university students are based on their individual points of view, including from the perspective of personal aims and opportunities. When deciding between higher education in Estonian and in Russian, the students have made their decisions pragmatically. The advantage of opting for higher education in Russian was its easiness and fast attainability. Those who decided to study in Estonian claimed that the subject they want to study is only taught in Estonian. The attitude towards the need of knowing Estonian depends on the language in which the student studies. While young people who study in Estonian claim that proficiency in the language will improve their opportunities in education and in job market, those who study in Russian believe that they can learn Estonian only when a specific need for it arises. This is something that the young people studying in Russian at the university level have in common with those who study in Russian at the vocational schools.

The majority of the people interviewed, including the experts, are critical of the transition that would see Estonian become the only language of secondary education. They claim that at the moment teachers are not prepared to teach their subjects in good Estonian. The quality of teaching will decline and this is not beneficial for language learning either. Therefore, the aim is to educate enough Estonian-speaking teachers for Russian-speaking schools. Both the students and experts claim that if secondary school education in Estonian will make it easier to undertake university studies in Estonia, then it will have a negative impact on the Russian proficiency of the students. It will cause problems for both those who choose not to continue their studies after secondary school, as well as for those who decide to continue their studies in Russia. Therefore both the experts and students consider it best to make the transition from Russian to Estonian gradually: beginning one’s studies in Russian and continuing in Estonian. This will make higher education taught in Estonian more accessible for students whose first language is Russian. The lack of such transition opportunities in the context where the number of curriculums in Russian is decreasing,

will, according to the experts, make Estonian higher education less accessible for young people from Ida-Virumaa. The deficient Russian proficiency of young Estonian university lecturers is also a problem because they are not able to provide students whose first language is Russian with special assistance.

Students whose first language is Russian have had positive experiences making contacts with Estonian students. They consider such contacts relevant for their future career. The interviewed experts believe that because of these contacts, also students who have had less contacts with Estonians can swiftly overcome their communication barrier. This shows the importance of encouraging joint activities of young people with different first languages already at secondary school level. Contacts and joint activities between Russian schools and Estonian youth organisations is another possibility mentioned. Both the students studying in Russian and in Estonian are passive when it comes to participating in large scale social events, although they follow both the Estonian and the Russian media and they show interest in Estonian internal politics. They consider elections to be the most important avenue for political engagement. They do not believe that other forms of political engagement would have any impact. At the same time, they are convinced that participation in social life is not determined by nationality or by linguistic background but one one's individual qualities.

All respondents considered taking part in the elections to be crucial for one's civic identity. But also a sense of belonging is very important for them. Both groups of students with different instruction languages have an emotional connection with Estonia, and they feel that Estonia is their homeland. None of the participants have felt either ethnically-based rejection or animosity. The tensions between ethnicities are perceived to indeed exist in Estonian society, but, according to the experts, they occur mainly in the media that tends to exacerbate existing stereotypes. The desire to leave Estonia can be found in the both interviewed groups. The decisive factor in making this decision is the availability or unavailability of jobs in Estonia.

Young people in Ida-Virumaa

Jelena Helemäe

The patterns of integration of the young people between ages 20-35 in Ida-Virumaa are interesting because their world-views were formed during years of intense societal transitions. But they are also interesting in terms of biographical time: we are dealing with people who have recently attained their educational qualifications, but who have already the experience of having to use these qualifications). The aim of this group interview was to study whether the logic of clusters that we applied in the study might be applied to this group (how do the opinions differ in terms of the integration dimensions). The participants were selected on the basis of the preceding survey; clusters A, B, C and E of our study were represented.

This interview showed that there is a clear distinction between active and passive members of society. This pattern of difference conformed to the results of the preceding survey, that is, to the initial criterions used for cluster formation. Representatives of clusters D and E appear to be socially and politically passive, whereas representatives of clusters A and B appear to be socially and politically active. In the case of active participants, three types can be discerned in terms of world-views. Cluster A contained relatively different world-views – 'liberal' and 'multicultural'. The third type – 'intuitive patriot' – is similar to those who are integrated in the citizen dimension (cluster B).

All types of active participants have a clearly expressed sense of belonging, a strong civic identity and a critical attitude towards political power. They are critical of using Estonian language requirements as a means to exert pressure on the minorities, and, when discussing social problems, emphasise their ethnic

dimension. All of this, however, is not a source of alienation or resignation. On the contrary, being an Estonian citizen in their view obliges one to actively contribute to one's country of birth, active engagement is seen as an important citizen's trait.

There are also important differences between the types:

- ⊙ in how their sense of belonging has developed (the liberal active participant considers the sense of belonging to be a right and an emotion that comes with one's place of birth, the intuitive patriot is similar in this respect, the active participant with multicultural views considers language acquisition and knowing the culture to be self-evident);
- ⊙ in how they relate to the Estonian state (the liberal active participant and the intuitive patriot consider the mutuality of responsibilities between citizen and state to be very important, the multicultural actor does not hope much from state);
- ⊙ in their attitude towards people in power (the liberal active participant and the intuitive patriot blame people in power for lack of democracy, the multicultural actor blames power for lack of ethics);
- ⊙ in their views on the official status of citizenship (the liberal active participant considers citizenship to be an important hallmark, the intuitive patriot and multicultural actor think that social and political engagement are sufficient for being a good citizen);
- ⊙ in their attitudes towards Estonian language proficiency (the intuitive patriot does not consider Estonian proficiency to be a presupposition for engagement, the liberal type sees bilingualism as an advantage in competition, the multicultural type sees it as a key for intercultural communication), etc.

Therefore, in this group of young people from Ida-Virumaa, it was clear that even in the case of similar integration patterns (in the dimensions of participation, language proficiency and sense of belonging), individual reasoning and expectations can differ to a large degree. The matching of these expectations and integration measures presuppose also continuous co-operation. In other words, it is important to recognise that Russian speaking young people are subjects, not objects of integration. This approach is especially important in the case of young people because they are quick to exit (using Hirschmann's terminology) when their voice is ignored. The strong Ida-Virumaa identity of active participants is not opposed to but rather supports the sense of belonging to Estonia. The example of the intuitive patriot reminds us that Estonian proficiency is not the necessary precondition of active participation and feeling of belonging to Estonian society. This example is also informative in terms of importance of comprehensive worldview. In critical situations, the lack of such a worldview might result in interpreting all unfavourable circumstances as deliberate harming. Our analysis confirms the link between a comprehensive worldview and the readiness to integrate. Education system, public discussions in media, civil society are expected to contribute to the formation of a comprehensive worldview and ability to apply it in the analysis of the state of affairs in Estonia. The necessary precondition for such an effort is cooperation between Russian speaking population and Estonians, which take into account the interests and needs of the former (in civil education as well).

The new migrants

Tanel Vallimäe

One of the goals that of integration policies is to facilitate the entry of qualified labour force into Estonia, including increasing the interest of top specialists and foreign students in Estonia. We conducted eight interviews with new migrants, including with foreign students and top specialists. We enquired into the experiences, expectations and needs of the respondents and their family members concerning the labour market, education, communication networks, civil initiative and acquiring the Estonian language. We also focused on experiences of settling in the Estonian society, and on the perspectives that have to do with staying in Estonia or leaving.

In the case of new migrants, we are similarly not dealing with a homogeneous group that would share reasons for migration. Their abilities to adjust and the perspectives they take on staying are also different. When in the case of Russian speaking population who have lived here for a long time, the importance of a flexible approach has been emphasised, it is equally important in the case of new migrants. When the ethnic and other background factors have been hitherto emphasised in the case of long-time migrants, then the current study shows that the earlier migration experience of the new migrants is equally important. The top specialists have more experiences with the services and life standard of various countries and the country of origin is not as relevant in determining their expectations as in the case of students and other new migrants. In the case of the latter, the socio-economic, cultural, and religious background of the country of origin have a greater significance. When coming to Estonia, the top specialists are more modest in their expectations and predispositions than other migrants.

According to the people who participated in the study, their greatest challenge is the lack of information. This concerns mainly information in English, but the Russian-speaking new migrants share their concern. This is why the various institutions and local governments should have information on their home pages displayed in addition to Estonian both in English and in Russian. Information in these languages should also be accessible via telephone.

In the case of acquiring Estonian language, it should be taken into consideration that people's attitude towards this is very pragmatic. Unlike other new migrants who qualify for low skilled jobs, or who are unemployed, the decisive factor for the top specialists is not the cost of language tuition but motivation. It is a choice for them, not a necessity. People who plan to stay in Estonia or who have gotten married with a local show greater interest in learning the language. But not all students or top specialists who can get by using English in daily intercourse wish to learn Estonian. Learning the language can be expected from the migrant in the case he/she is looking for a job. Language acquisition can be connected to social benefits, something that can be found in many other countries. Language proficiency is especially important for people looking for work because it helps them to find a job that meets their qualifications. There is no necessary connection between the interest to learn the language and being interested in Estonian culture and society. It is relevant for this reason to offer translation services in cultural events, for example in theatre performances, and to support translating Estonian literature. The reverse is also true: not all the students who want to learn the language are interested in Estonian culture. For this reason, introduction to culture and language instruction could be separate in some cases. Civil initiative that facilitates cooperation between Estonians and migrants needs more support from the public institutions – all the more so because

it is through joint activities that people develop an interest in learning the language. There is a clear need in Estonia for media in English. This should disseminate information about civil society, cultural life and about other relevant subjects. The universities too should contribute more to helping foreign students to settle in Estonia. This can be done in the form of mediating contacts between students and businesses and NGO's.

There should be a continuing emphasis on making the process of acquiring visas and residence permits less troublesome, especially for top specialists and foreign students. The communication skills of the officials who often come into contact with people with various cultural backgrounds need to be improved. Their English proficiency needs to be improved. Although personal experiences concerning intolerance are not disclosed in the interviews, a sense of clearly felt antipathy for people of other skin colours is mentioned. In order to counter these issues, more effort needs be put into educating the youth, and greater awareness about the sphere of diversity needs to be achieved. One of the ways to do this is to give better coverage of the lives and experiences of migrants in media. The same holds true for the Russian speaking migrants and media. The public institutions in turn should dedicate more time to explaining the migration rules and their goals to the public. They should explain the purposes of migration and give more information about the migrants (regarding their country of origin, etc.).

Estonian Roma

Maaris Raudsepp, Triin Roosalu

The Roma are a special minority both in the European as well as in the Estonian context. They have a special status for historical-cultural reasons as a historically persecuted and suppressed minority. The EU has declared the Roma an ethnic group under special attention in the EU. The fact that the Roma don't have their own state complicates their situation. The number of Roma in Estonia is small, but their community has been present in the area for at least four centuries. It is a culturally distinct minority that cannot be treated as part of the Russian minority. Like the Seto minority in Estonia, they have preserved a vibrant oral heritage culture. Such is the nature of their contribution to the Estonian culture being our own Estonian Roma. The Roma culture has many aspects that could enrich the local culture. Possible intersections and ways to learn from each other should be more closely studied.

Like other minorities, the Roma use different strategies for identity creation and cultural adaptation. Some Roma have chosen the strategy of individual adjustment: the Roma who are assimilated and well adjusted don't associate themselves with the Roma community. Some Roma use the kind of integration strategy that allows them to become a member of Estonian society and at the same time to be proud of being a Roma. The strategy of transnationalism (adjusting in more than one state) can be thought to be the case with the Roma who work abroad or who have a Latvian background. A large part of the Roma belongs to the poor and less educated social strata. They live in relatively isolated and tradition oriented communities. It is the latter group that faces difficulties: high unemployment, discrimination, and dropping out of education are the things that they share with Roma in the other EU states. The integrated Roma expect the state to support the Roma language and culture; they expect to be recognised as a historical minority in Estonia.

The community-embedded life of Roma is something that sets them apart from other minorities. This community bound family network has in a sense helped them to cope with hardship, unemployment and poverty. On the other hand, the conflict between traditional way of life and contemporary liberal individualist Western culture, especially the protestant work ethics, is bound to generate conflicts and contradictions.

The language proficiency of Roma could set an example for other ethnic groups, they are fluent in both Estonian and Russian. But language proficiency and citizenship are not enough for the equal treatment of Roma: discrimination based on ethnicity is widely perceived among the Roma.

The education problems of the Roma turned out to be the most pressing of all. There exists a strong need among the Roma for an identity that would embrace the two cultures (the Estonian and the Roma identity). Cultivating such an identity needs a pedagogical approach for the Estonian education system as whole is not prepared at the moment.

Communication with officials is a source of misunderstanding and conflict: some Roma don't know how to formulate their problems, and they don't understand the bureaucratic use of language. The inability to communicate with Roma stems from several cultural traditions that Roma have. These are different and even contradictory to the individualistic values and Western way of life that is characteristic for the rest of society. The interviewed experts also note that people in Estonian society, especially officials (including teachers), are not aware of the EC and EU documents that concern the Roma people.

Estonian society needs improved knowledge about the Roma culture; it needs positive personal encounters with Roma and to overcome the negative stereotypes. It is especially important that the people who come into immediate contact with the Roma (education and social workers, policemen, local government workers) would be aware of the differences of their culture and way of life. Estonia could become a model state in its policy towards the Roma and in its approaches to their adjustment because our Roma community is small, and solving their problems demands therefore fewer resources than in other countries. The Roma expect a comprehensive state program that is aimed at the Roma, and that would encompass a spectrum of issues such as education, medicine and housing problems. Single campaigns are not sustainable. The family centre project has been proposed as one possible solution that would aspire to integrate the Roma and the Estonian society.

The cultural societies of ethnic minorities

Tanel Vallimäe

There are around two hundred and fifty certified cultural societies and organisations of ethnic minorities in Estonia at the moment. Their aim is to introduce the cultural distinctiveness of minorities. At the same time, the activities of these societies have been inwardly oriented, and that is why the state has declared that their contribution to enriching social and cultural life could be more substantial. Participants at the group interviews that were dedicated to these questions were representatives of the Russian, Latvian, Ukrainian, Latvian, Belarusian and Kyrgystani cultural societies.

The greatest concern for these cultural societies is that the deficient language proficiency of their members that stops them from writing successful project applications and inhibits their social and political participation. Members of the cultural societies need more affordable Estonian language classes. Awareness about the existing language learning opportunities that exist for them should be improved. In the case of societies where active members are mostly older people it would be sensible if they would get publicly funded assistance with translation, for example assistance with translation of advertisements concerning their events. In general, it is language learning and project writing skills that need support. The capacity of the Russian speaking ethnic minority organisations should be increased. This concerns both their own activities, and the assistance they give to other organisations. In the current situation, the state needs to oversee that the capacities of the ethnic minorities' organisations are raised, especially given that this has already been planned by the state in the form of counselling and training.

The cultural organisations of minorities are relevant for standing up for the interests of those who have lived in Estonia for a long time as well as for helping the new migrants settle in Estonia. Children are for example taught in Sunday schools to speak their first language with people belonging to their ethnicity. Their role as bridge between Estonia and the country of origin is also important for the societies. They do this by mediating and introducing the cultural life of both sides. This is easier for those societies that have a connection to the embassies of their origin countries. The state should assist societies that don't receive support from the country of origin or its embassy in Estonia. The cultural societies are concerned about the lack of younger members, and about the fact the young people show little interest in their ethnic culture. Supporting modern forms of culture through greater funding of cultural societies would be an important step for the public power.

It is important that cultural societies would be more active in their participation in large scale cultural events, including in dance and social festivals. Here the state can support them with more stable funding (activity benefits), but also with measures that would raise the level of ethnic minorities' singing choirs and dancing groups (for example through supporting the funding of choir conductors). This would encourage greater cooperation between Estonian and minority cultural societies. Sharing information about one's activities is one means for increasing cooperation. Cooperation between societies on a cultural scene would motivate people to learn Estonian. Cooperation experiences with Estonian-speaking cultural societies make the cultural societies of ethnic minorities more visible and thereby introduce their ethnic culture. Eventually, the public power should pay more attention to the substantial inclusion of ethnic minorities' cultural societies. They would therewith send a message that the greater contribution of cultural societies, foreseen by the state, will also take place at a (cultural)-political level.

State officials whose first language is Russian

Triin Roosalu, Jelena Helemäe, Kristina Lindemann

The expectations and experiences of state officials whose first language is Russian are interesting in terms of interpreting the integration process because these people are multi-dimensionally integrated: their Estonian comprehension is good and they have an Estonian citizenship. They are interested in Estonian society, interacting daily with Estonian community. On the other hand, the public sector as an employer provides a decisive insight into the society as a whole. The Equal Treatment Law of Estonia declares that every employer needs to take the adequate measures to ensure equal treatment. Representative bureaucracy, including the balanced representation of social group in the public sector, is important in itself as a value, and also because the public sector sets an example for the private sector with its principles of personnel recruitment.

When instructions are formed in some public sector institution or in some domain about how to fulfil the requirements set by law, for example implementing the rule concerning impersonal CV-s, then this could be set up as an example for the other public sector institutions, as well as more broadly. In addition to direct supporting measures, ethnic dimension should be created when gathering personnel statistics.

The public sector should use more information channels when communicating with citizens in order to show that the Estonian public sector is already multi-ethnic, and that it successfully employs people whose first language is Russian. When public sector job vacancies are advertised on Russian channels, a signal is sent that non-native speaker are similarly welcome to work in the public sector. One way to alleviate the 'glass ceiling' effect that the analysis revealed is to encourage young people with higher education degrees to apply for the public sector jobs. In the interviews, measures like arranging internship days, doing work shadowing and, in the target group (including schools where the students first language is Russian, higher education institutions and hobby groups), arranging talks with people whose first language is Russian were mentioned. Our study showed that Russian officials with a very good Estonian proficiency turn to their colleagues for help with grammar and use of language. Estonian officials do the same with Russian. The necessary language competencies should be treated in a similar way, ensuring assistance with language editing also for those whose proficiency is very good. The same rule could also apply for English: our study shows that the interviewed new migrants find it difficult to access public services in English. However, officials are required to exchange information in the EU direction. It is difficult for some Estonian speakers to acquire English in the same way that it is difficult for some Russian-speakers to acquire Estonian. The experts, responsible for the public sector recruitment on both state and local government level, are poorly informed about ideas such as supporting equal treatment and representative bureaucracy more in particular. Therefore, when redesigning the public sector's personnel strategies, officials whose first language is Russian could be involved. This could be done in addition to providing information. In order to decrease the workload that the small number of Russian officials has, Russian population's possible specific problems should be given greater concern.

Some of the interviewed officials have the opinion that the situation can be improved in time and that no concrete measures will make a difference. But the time factor will be helpful only if both the practices (the number of native Russian speakers will increase in public sector), as well as attitudes change in the society, that is, if the next generations are not limited by the same ethnic barriers that exist now.